

THE
Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)



FOUNDER :

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

055.1
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VOL. LXXXVII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1950

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 12-8 Foreign Rs. 20.

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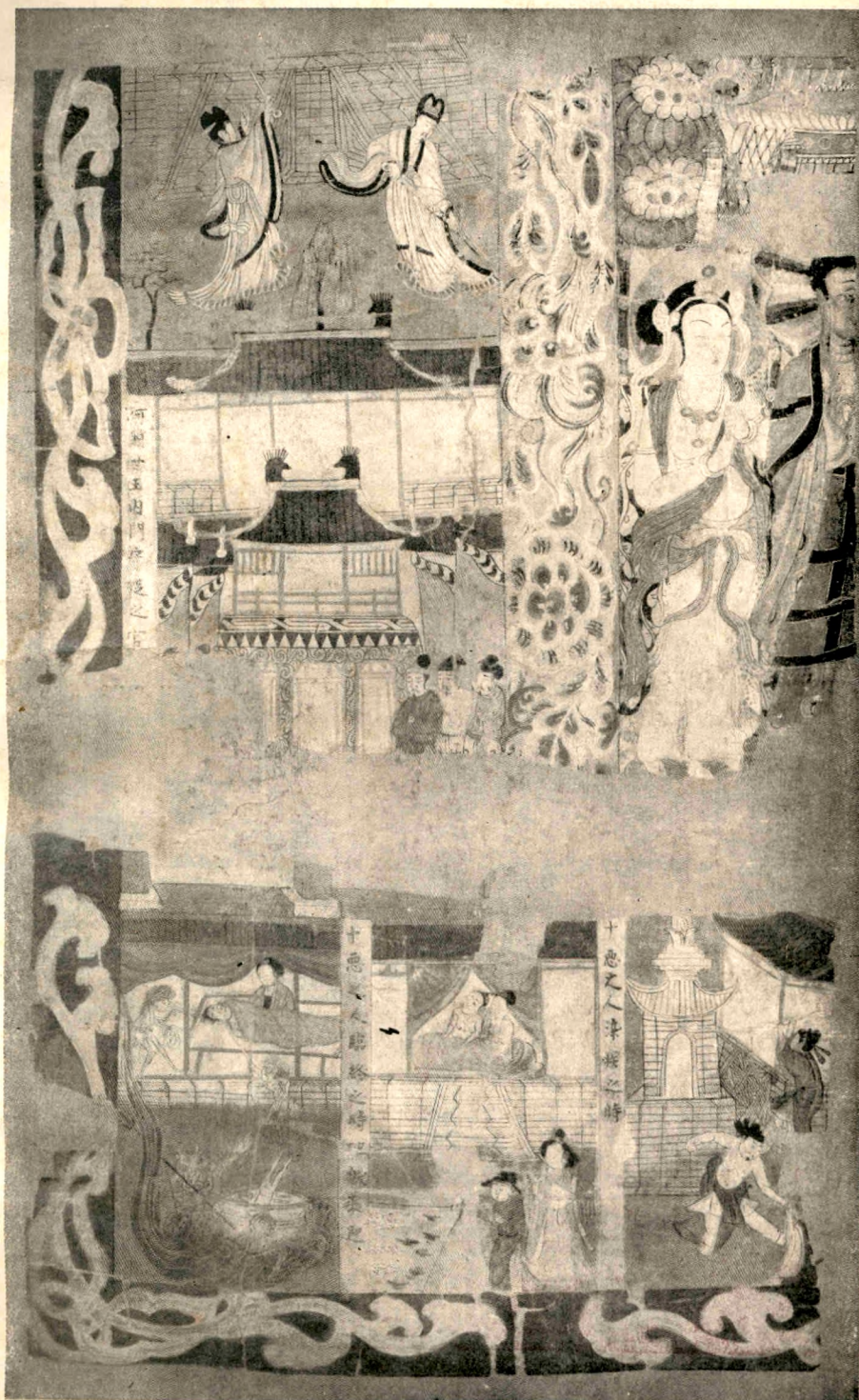
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A Mural from the Caves of Thousand Buddhas



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

BRATACHARINI
Observing Her Religious Vow
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

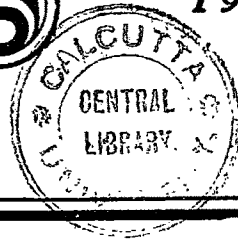
THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 1



WHOLE No. 517

NOTES

1950

The New Year is on our threshold at the time of writing, the Old Year meandering out on the very last steps of its weary way. Burdened as it is with hope deferred and promises unfulfilled, our minds react but little at the prospects of the third New Year of our freedom. Beset with problems on all sides, at home and abroad, the nation will have to face trials and tribulations, myriad in number, in the coming year.

But weary though we might be, there is no reason for abject pessimism. We are by no means at the end of our reserves, concrete or abstract. Mistakes we have made galore and we have been prodigal in the waste of our resources, but all can yet be redeemed if we would but profit by the bitterly-earned and dearly-bought experience. Ultra-optimism and cocksureness has led us into traps times without number, and utter lack of realism has cluttered up our national life with innumerable complications and liabilities, causing despair and resentment amongst our nationals. The Administration of the Union has become unduly lax, through the inefficiency, laziness—even dishonesty—of those officials who have got into the services through nefarious means—and their number is legion—and the functioning of the Supreme Executive of the Provinces and the Centre has become effete and futile through the blunders committed by those tragically feckless incompetents who have been included in every Ministry because of party-alignments, despite all disqualifications. And out of all these, there has been generated the greatest dangers to the State, namely, mass-discontent and disruption of public faith.

All would be well in 1950, if it brings Realism, together with balanced reasoning, in the minds and souls of our elected Supreme Executives. They have played too often with the susceptibilities of the common-man in the past; let them but realize that fact

in full, and measure the weight of their responsibilities in full, and then we may face the future with a stout heart in truth. Let our Supreme Executive view in retrospect the promises they held out in the past. How do we stand with regard to them, have they "gone with the Wind"? The cynic will reply with the poet, "Where are the snows of yesteryear?" We have trodden the path of Freedom for nearly two years and a half and the view in retrospect shows the road behind us littered with broken promises and blighted hopes like forest-path covered with autumn leaves! Where lies Hope if 1950 does not bring forth a change?

But let us cast forth despair and defeatism from us. Ministers and administrators are but clay-gods, to be worshipped and to be cast in the waters of eternity at the will of the People. If the Nation stands squarely on the four freedoms of humanity and faces its problems with a stern sense of reality then 1950 will bring in the dawn of a new age.

1950 carries one good omen for all Asia. The birth of the Republic of Indonesia marks the end of colonial rule in Asia with only two exceptions at the present moment—French Colonialism in Indo-China and the British Supremacy over Malaya. Recognition of Mao Tse Tung's Government in China, which seems to be a *fait accompli*, and the transference of Dutch sovereignty to a Free United States of Indonesia will definitely shorten the life of Colonial Rule in East Asia. Emergence of a Free Asia, free from all shackles of Colonialism, is a matter of paramount importance in world politics and international economics. This vital fact is now on the process of slow and reluctant recognition by the White races of the world. It is a matter of pride for us that India left no ambiguity in her attitude towards the cause of Indonesian struggle for freedom by convening the last Indonesian Conference at New Delhi. December 27 will remain a day of jubilation in Asia.

Problems for 1950

The most vital problems before us, on the solution of which depend the future well-being of the Union relate to food, raiment and shelter. And time is of the essence in the matter of successfully overcoming the deficits, for they constitute the gravest counts in the charge of irresponsibility against our leaders. The deficits in these provide the tools with which the reactionary, the disruptionist and the aggressor work for the destruction of the State.

Mr. Elkins, the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industries, has rightly laid the utmost stress on the lowering of prices of essentials.

We have given elsewhere a substantial report of Mr. Elkins' speech in the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry meeting in order to present the businessmen's picture of the muddle that still envelops the field of trade and industry, hampering production to a very large extent. Certainty and confidence are the two corner-stones on which the business life of a nation is built and maintained. The frequent fluctuations in Government policy have damped the confidence of the entrepreneur and the investor to such an extent that business has come practically to a standstill. The introduction of the element of uncertainty together with the control of production and imports, has stimulated speculation and has virtually reduced trade and commerce to gambling. Denial of adequate help and recognition of businessmen of long standing who have got stakes both in money and reputation, and windfall assistance to new-comers who have nothing to lose but much to gain has fostered speculators and black-marketeers who have intruded into industry.

It cannot be denied that Mr. Elkins has given expression of the general sentiments of the businessmen of this country. The Government of India is still faltering in every sphere of our economic activity. The National Planning Committee has been dissolved just when it had come to the point of maturity and the different departments of the governments are drifting without any coherent plan, either long term or short term, and not seldom they run counter to each other's activities. Declarations of new policies covering wide fields of economic activity followed by directions of "go slow" have become too frequent. The only way to get out of the present impasse is to set up one or more Brain Trusts.

Blackmarketing is the biggest anti-social force in action against the nation's well-being. As things stand legislative and executive action against blackmarketing ought to take priority over all legal measures in 1950. The recent sugar racket has shown us how helpless the consumer—who constitutes 99 per cent of our nationals—is against the organised rapacity of the grower, the manufacturer, trader and the organised labourer in such industries. A year ago we had the

same demonstration in the textile industry and trade, but even so our Supreme Executive did not profit by the lesson. We would state with all the emphasis at our command that unless blackmarketing and hoarding in foodstuffs and other essentials is ruthlessly eradicated, the nation will have to look for leadership elsewhere.

Our next most pressing problem comes from the intransigence of Pakistan. We have given *infra* detailed retrospects of the problems arising out of it, starting with Shri K. C. Neogy's statement on the stoppage of coal-supply to Pakistan.

Shri K. C. Neogy's statement shows that the Government of India has tried its best to be lenient to Pakistan to the maximum possible degree. It has been made clear that coal supply to Pakistan has been suspended only because of the non-delivery of the held-up jute and it has been promised that the Government of India are prepared not only to restore normal supply but to make good the short supply. This action, therefore, is as yet merely a temporary expedient and does not indicate any change of long-range policy. The Finance Minister and the Commerce Minister have both admitted that Pakistan has been systematically violating the Inter-Dominion Pacts practically from their very inception in the matter of trade as well as refugee property. A tendency to severe economic and political relations with India has been only too evident. We have had several occasions before to comment upon this one-way traffic in co-operation and friendship with Pakistan. The Rehabilitation Ministry in tune with the Finance and Commerce Ministries, has always been equally soft in the matter of Evacuee property and we have had to comment severely on Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's speech in the last Evacuee Property Conference. All the three Ministers, in their latest pronouncements, have stiffened to some extent but they still remain too soft to evoke any response from the other side of the Frontier.

All other problems before us—and there are many—are of secondary importance, though in our inexperience we may devote undue time, thought and energy to them. The Hindu Code, which has led to a storm in a tea-cup is one of them.

The Hindu Code Bill has been sent to a Select Committee. The Bill has evoked considerable interest all over the country and the support that it had received at the hands of the progressive section of the public is now being faced with an attempt at whittling down at the hands of a stubborn opposition. The Bill, in two of its vital features, has undergone drastic changes. In the name of equality of man and woman the former is being placed in an anomalous position in the matter of inherited property.

The second provision that has been bitterly criticised is the question of the definition of consanguinity in marriage. It is an established fact in

Eugenics and Anthropology that endogamous societies have always produced weaklings and degenerates in physique and intellect and have almost been wiped out from the face of the earth.

The Sugar Debate

As apprehended, the Sugar Debate in the Indian Parliament has produced much heat but little result. Acharya Kripalani and Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena had been the most severe in their condemnation of the sugar racket. The Government of India has met the very strong criticism by a mere promise to hold an enquiry. Four days after the debate and the promise, we find the news that the Government intends to hold this enquiry after the Tariff Board's work is finished. The two enquiries are entirely different. A Parliamentary enquiry was demanded to investigate into the causes and extent of blackmarketing in sugar and the Tariff Board's scope is confined to examine the question of further tariff protection for the industry.

The sugar industry of India has enjoyed continuous protection for 17 years. This has benefited only two provinces—and then only a comparatively small section of their peoples—at the cost of the other nine provinces and a host of native States. Nine provinces and 650 States of India have had to pay, *nolens volens*, more than double the international price of sugar for the benefit of only two provinces and a group of racketeers. All the above, in their turn, have let down the people of the country in general in a most unconscionable fashion. The Sugar Syndicate, in its enjoyment of statutory benefits, have acted unmorally as a monopoly body acting in restraint of normal trade and to the detriment of national interests. We fail to admire the brazen attitude in Lala Thappar's claim that the industry has made little profit; the Stock Exchange returns show an entirely different position, even leaving aside the important fact that a substantial slab in the profits in sugar—i.e. that of premia charged to wholesalers—has not entered the Statutory Books of the companies.

We firmly believe that the sugar industry of India has failed to justify its existence as a national industry and has forfeited its claims to any further protection. The maximum protection that it may now expect is to the extent of the present excise duty on it. The Sugar Syndicate must be disbanded at the earliest possible moment and the industry left to face open competition, free from any further spoon-feeding.

In opening the sugar debate in the Parliament Shri Jairamdas Daulatram said: It would be helpful if one particular suggestion, which was practically common to most of the amendments, was dealt with at the very start. That suggestion was that an enquiry be made as to how "a real surplus" was converted into a shortage of sugar and the consequences which followed from it.

He announced, "Government welcome such enquiry into all these happenings because the public have felt acutely in this matter and also suffered a great deal

from such happenings. Therefore, Government have come to the conclusion that there should be an enquiry in regard to all these happenings. Suggestions in regard to this enquiry relate to definite aspects of the sugar industry. One is the basic and more vital aspect dealing with regard to the basic problems of the industry—*how far protection is deserved, how far Indian sugar industry can stand on its legs, and how the industry should be rationalised*. The other suggestion with regard to enquiry relates to the happenings of the last few months."

He said with regard to the exact nature of enquiry there was one consideration which was in the mind of the Government. "We are on the eve of the report of the Tariff Board not only on the basic problems of the industry but also the recent happenings which have occurred during the last five or six months. I understand that in the course of the next two or three weeks the report of the Tariff Board dealing with both the basic and immediate problems will be before the Government. It is not possible for the Government to say how far that report dealing with the recent happenings with regard to which they made enquiries from the Central Government, Provincial Governments, commercial institutions and other interests, will cover all the issues discussed in the public and included in the amendments."

"Therefore, Government feel," added the Food Minister, "a full enquiry is to be made in regard to these happenings to the extent the Tariff Board has not covered any aspect of these happenings." That meant, said he, every issue that had been raised would be enquired into fully and adequately by a competent.

Prof. Shibbanlal Saksena's amendment asked the Government to appoint a committee of five members presided over by a High Court Judge to hold a public inquiry into the causes of the sudden and rapid deterioration of the sugar situation and to suggest measures for the removal of the possibility of any such recurrence in the future.

Mr. Thirumal Rao and Shrimati Durgabai in a joint amendment called upon the Government to bring the entire industry from the production of sugarcane to manufacture and distribution under the the control and organisation of a central statutory authority for the whole country with the Central Sugarcane Committee as a nucleus to start with.

Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain speaking on the motion stated that about Rs. 6 crores of public money had been pocketed by sugar mills and middlemen.

Acharya Kripalani scathingly criticised the capitalists and the Government for the present sugar muddle.

He said that the capitalists betrayed the country by trying to fill their own pockets. Such betrayal, he added, was nothing new on the part of the capitalists, as they had done so in the past also. The Government, he said, should have seen it before, but they were neither efficient nor clever enough to do so.

A. C. C. I. Presidential Address

Mr. Elkins, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industries, has given a survey of our economic maladies. His speech may not be acceptable *in toto* to all but it deserves the closest attention, specially in view of the fact that it was delivered in the presence of India's Finance Minister, who gave practically no direct reply to the questions of fundamental importance raised by Mr. Elkins. Mr. Elkins said, "We regard a material reduction in the retail prices of essential foodstuffs as the corner-stone on which all government plans must rest, for without this there can be no reduction in the present high cost of living and therefore no reduction in production costs. Whether the reduction is secured by increasing imports of food-grains from abroad, or by improving internal procurement arrangements at a lower price-level—or perhaps a combination of the two—is, of course, for the Government to decide. But the main thing is, somehow or other, to force down the prices of essential food-grains which, at present levels, constitute a very real danger to the economy of the country as a whole, and paradoxically—in the opinion of Mr. Elkins—benefit the grower very little in terms of real wealth. This is where the vicious circle of inflation must be broken."

Mr. Elkins also pressed for some relief in respect of those classes who knew what was required for their savings and who would be only too ready to support new industrial undertakings provided, firstly, that they have the money to do so and secondly, if "conditions favourable to investment are re-created."

He said, "The first of these objects can be secured only if direct taxation is materially reduced, and the cost of living brought down," the second, "if the field for private enterprise is clearly defined so that the investor may know, in advance, exactly where he stands, and may feel that his investment is continually at the mercy of new and untried theories which, if introduced, may result in a serious or even the total loss of his capital."

"This year," he said, "opened on a note of optimism, with the announcement on January 1 of the truce in Kashmir, and I am sure that there is not one amongst us here today who did not fervently hope that this happy event would prove to be the harbinger of closer and friendlier ties between India and Pakistan."

"Unfortunately these hopes have yet to be fulfilled and, although some gains have been made and a better understanding reached on some issues, the main problem remains unsolved, whilst any real hope of economic collaboration between the two countries has been frustrated, temporarily one can only hope, by the barriers of devaluation and non-devaluation which now stand as an almost impassable divide between the two countries whose economies—historically and geographically—are still obviously interdependent."

"There is no doubt that the decision to devalue

the Indian rupee came as a stimulating shock. A shock because, for reasons which I need not enter into here, we were not expecting it; stimulating because it undoubtedly jolted us out of that half-complacent, half-resigned attitude of mind into which we were tending to sink."

After referring to the importance of a material reduction in the retail prices of essential foodstuffs, Mr. Elkins continued: "Once the price of foodstuffs has been lowered, and provided the Government never loses sight of the fact that devaluation infers a lower standard of living in a country which adopts such a policy, considerable progress can be anticipated in getting down the retail prices of other essential commodities, as well as in lowering transport costs and reducing distribution charges. If these things can be done, we shall be well on the road to internal recovery, and external prosperity."

"But these things will not be achieved easily. Opposition from sectional interests is sure to arise. And when I say 'sectional,' I do not exclude the Government itself in certain of its Ministries. All of us, employers, labour and the Ministries, have our own ideas as to how conditions can be improved, but the greatest danger lies in the acceptance of particular theories, especially when these cut across the practical experience of the past. It is for this reason that we have, over the last two years, witnessed with apprehension the frequent acceptance of policies designed to restrict the enterprise, initiative and freedom of action of the employer, and the fettering of these qualities, which from time immemorial have been the driving forces of trade and industry, by irksome controls, cumbersome in operation and often ineptly administered."

"In the modern democratic State it is inevitable that there must be closer relationships between the State, the employer and the worker, and we realize that freedom, in the sense that we—and to some extent the workers—once knew it, is a thing of the past; but let us see that the new team—the tripartite yoke-full—is harnessed evenly to the coach of State and that the lash, if it must fall, falls fairly. Up to now, we have not felt this to be the case."

"Whereas, by innumerable recent enactments and Tribunal awards, the lot of the worker has been considerably improved, and the powers of the Government immeasurably strengthened, the employer—and in this term I include the investor—has experienced little in the way of encouragement, either tangible or otherwise."

"It began with the 1947 Budget, from the extreme rigours of which the retreat has so far been painfully slow, though nevertheless welcome. We are now encouraged to hope, by what the Finance Minister has said on more than one occasion recently, and by what Sardar Patel said at the Industries Conference in Delhi last month, that it is now generally recognized that the present tax structure is not best suited to India's economic needs, and that in future there must be left

to the investing public some room for saving and further investment. Otherwise, whence will come the money so badly needed to finance India's industrial expansion? At present the Government itself finds difficulty in raising funds, and there is simply nothing coming forward in support of projects sponsored by private enterprise.

"The redistribution of wealth, which has put huge sums of money into the hands of the labouring classes and the agriculturist has, from the investment point of view, benefited the country not one iota, as these classes have yet to have inculcated into them the habit of thrift and the employment of their surplus money in productive investment, either by way of supporting Government saving schemes or by co-operative participation in other forms of investment."

Referring to tax evasion, he said: "In our memorandum on devaluation recently submitted to the Government of India, we advocated a rapid—even an arbitrary—solution of the present impasse created by the Income Tax Investigation Commission's activities, to enable large individual entrepreneurs openly to resume their investment activities in productive spheres. But I want to make it quite clear that this does not mean that we condone evasion. What we are anxious to see is the slate wiped clean as quickly as possible, and a fresh start made with everyone sharing the burden fairly in proportion to his wealth."

"In the past, we have felt that taxation has been unnecessarily high, because by no means all who should be paying their dues to the State have in fact been doing so, and we would certainly support any move by the Government to ensure that there is a better moral sense in this matter, and we would like to see the severest penalties imposed on those who continue to defraud the Government of their dues by shirking their share of the total burden."

"That the Government of India should have been anxious to chalk out, as quickly as possible, the framework of a new industrial policy is understandable, but it is quite vital to the country as a whole that, in implementing this, the Government does not rush into ill-considered measures which may look all right on paper—may even have the approval of the economists—but which have not really in them the practical means of securing the much needed improvement in the country's economic condition."

"This Government came into office in the halcyon days of a worldwide seller's market and, no doubt encouraged by the apparently insatiable demand for goods of all sorts, some Ministries embarked, in the economic sphere, on most ambitious legislative programmes, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of those who had nothing much to lose and perhaps something to gain."

"But economic policies compounded of academic theory and class antipathy, in some cases quite un-leavened by practical experience of administration, have already created conditions in which little in-

centive remains for anyone, either the worker or the employer, to reap the rewards of personal industry or technical and administrative ability."

"I am fully aware that political considerations must control, to a considerable extent, the policy of any Government and that this is particularly so in the case of our present Government which is charged with the task of moulding an economy acceptable to the majority of the citizens of India. Our anxiety is, however, that in its zeal to create the new order, the Government does not break down the existing structure before it has satisfied itself, beyond all reasonable doubt, that it has a nobler edifice ready to take its place."

"An industrialist, before going to the public for financial support—if he is worthy of the name at all—proves beyond doubt that the venture holds out almost certain prospects of success. Every detail of his scheme is closely examined, every risk weighed up and, only when he is convinced beyond all reasonable doubt that the project is sound, does he get down to the task of drafting his prospectus. Here again he exercises extreme caution, soft-peddling as far as possible the favourable features and admitting the potential risks. He tries, in fact, to paint the picture in as subdued a light as possible, so that there is no fear of misleading his potential supporters by an over-optimistic presentation of the facts. He is well aware that any failure on his part to anticipate difficulties may result in the loss of his shareholders' capital and he simply cannot afford to mislead them. If he does, his future as an industrialist is ended."

"Now the Government stands virtually in the same relationship to every citizen of the country, and failure by it to forecast correctly the results of new industrial plans is thus immeasurably more serious. For this reason we most earnestly entreat the Government to subject all new policies to the most careful scrutiny before publishing them."

"This year we have had many instances of new legislative proposals being hurriedly introduced, and subsequently materially altered, but not before another blow had been struck against confidence, here and abroad. Recent instances have been the Industries (Development and Control) Bill 1949, the inquiry into State trading and the latest memorandum dealing with proposed amendments to the Indian Companies Act."

"These, in our opinion, are all matters which could far more suitably have been dealt with in their initial stages by consultations privately with representatives of industry and, when necessary, Labour. Instead, they were widely published, and administered severe shocks to the already depressed economy of the country as a whole. The Indian investor became still more discouraged, and the potential investor abroad was inclined to write India off as a field of possible investment."

"The desire for speed in implementing the country's new industrial policy is understandable, but

measures of this kind, if introduced without the most careful prior consideration, can only have an effect quite opposite to that which they were designed to achieve.

"And the speed at which the Government has been working—in measures of this sort—has very materially affected the assistance which bodies like the Associated Chambers of Commerce can render in proffering advice based on the experience of members located throughout the length and breadth of India.

"To take State trading as an example, we received the questionnaire on October 22, and were told that our reply had to be in Delhi by October 31. It will be appreciated that we cannot possibly do justice to inquiries of this importance, if we are only given a few days in which to apply our own thoughts to them and to collect and correlate the views of our constituent Chambers.

"There is another point. We cannot help feeling, at times, that the individual Ministries are apt to get ahead with their own particular plans without apparently first attaching the proper weightage to such schemes against the background of the Government's policy as a whole.

"It is not under such conditions that good work can be turned out, either by the Government or by us, and two years is not a very long time in which to reshape the economy of one of the largest and industrially one of the most potentially powerful countries of the world.

"All this sounds, I fear, somewhat sharply critical, and I therefore hasten to make it quite clear that I have only stressed these points because we share the Finance Minister's anxiety and his desire to see India growing industrially great, and we feel most strongly that this mutual ambition can only be achieved if we build together on firm foundations."

Referring to problems connected with labour, he said: "First of all, with one or two regrettable and incomprehensible lapses. I think we can safely say that the Tribunal machinery set up by the Government of India, and largely operated by the Provincial Governments, has now run itself in, and is working much more smoothly than it did in its earlier days when the most astonishing results sometimes emerged, without any opportunity being left to the employer to appeal against quite obviously unfair awards.

"Ever since those days we have been urging the Government to set up an Appellate Court, and it was therefore very encouraging to learn from Press reports published on Saturday that the Government has introduced a Bill for this purpose, and we hope there will now be no undue delay in getting this very necessary Act, in an acceptable form, on the Statute Book.

"The biggest problems confronting us today in the Labour sphere are those arising out of Rationalization and Retrenchment on economic grounds. If India is to take her rightful position in the world's industrial economy—a position which her vast man-power and

natural resources amply qualify her to take—it will be essential for her industries to adopt the latest technical improvements, which inevitably infer increased output with reduced employment, at any rate until expansion permits of the absorption of additional hands.

"Up to 10 years ago, the great advantage India enjoyed was the cheapness of her labour and, whilst I admit that this was not without serious disadvantages from the social point of view, we must now recognize that, *per capita, measured against individual output, the Indian labourer has gone almost from the bottom of the scale to the very top.* Innumerable instances could be quoted to prove this statement, and all of us must have had brought to our notice particular examples.

"That is why, if India is to progress industrially, we must have clearly before us two objectives, namely, increased individual productivity and an early advance in technical application. The process of swinging from the present set-up to the new conception will be a period of adjustment, not palatable and perhaps not fully understood by Labour.

"It was, therefore, a very great encouragement to hear at the Industries Conference in Delhi that the leading Labour representatives of the country recognized the employer's right to retrench on grounds of rationalization, and it is sincerely to be hoped that this breadth of vision will be transmitted downwards through the INTUC and other organizations to the men with whom we, in the humbler sphere of individual disputes, are accustomed to deal.

"Similarly the labour leaders, at the same conference, accepted the other proposition, namely, the right of the employer to retrench on economic grounds. Obviously there will be occasions when employers and labour will not agree on the grounds of retrenchment, but I visualize, unfortunately, many occasions in the not too distant future when there will be no grounds for dispute as to the reasons for the discharge of a section of workers. On such occasions I sincerely trust that labour leaders will not endeavour to import other issues into the discussions and, that, if they do, the Governments concerned will not take the line of least resistance and refer to Tribunals questions which are quite clearly confined to retrenchment on economic grounds. One of the great virtues in the past has been that business men and industrialists have been able to adapt themselves quickly and sensibly to changing economic and political conditions. Robbed of this advantage, the whole tempo of industry will be retarded, and incalculable harm will be done to the main body of workers, in a struggle to ensure the continued employment of the few.

"I would conclude this reference to labour problems with the assurance to the labour leaders that reasonableness on their part will be met by reasonableness on ours, and it will only be when such mutual

understanding of each other's problems is lacking that both our interests and theirs will suffer.

"The Government is here to hold the scales between us and, if we can meet in the same atmosphere of friendliness that characterized the Delhi conference under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel, I have every hope that we are well set towards overcoming our greatest difficulty, namely, the tug-of-war instead of the combined pull at the same end of the rope."

On the question of the system of managing agency he said: "The breaking down of the system would mean the saddling of the managed companies with far greater expenditure on administrative and technical officers and, even if such men were available in sufficient number, I doubt whether the final results would be any better so far as the shareholders are concerned. There would also be serious difficulties over finance. Banks can usually be relied upon to support companies, when the account is backed by reliable managing agents and, when bank support is not forthcoming, the managing agency itself is usually ready to carry the burden in times of difficulty, or at the outset of operations."

Suspension of Coal Despatch to Pakistan

The Government of India has suspended temporarily the despatch of coal to Pakistan as a measure against Pakistan's action in detaining raw jute purchased by Indians in East Bengal and even jute sent from Assam via Pakistan. The following is the text of the statement made by the Commerce Minister:

"With your permission, Sir, I should like to take this opportunity of making a statement explaining in some detail the latest developments in our trade and commercial relations with Pakistan. The House is aware that these have been based on a series of trade agreements, the last of which was entered into in June, 1949. These agreements proceeded on a recognition by both countries of the importance of continuing arrangements regarding the supply by each country of the requirements of the other. Thus, under the 1949 agreement, which is valid for the period July 1949 to June 1950, Pakistan agreed to make available to India four million bales of raw jute and 450,000 bales of cotton, while India was to make available to Pakistan 150,000 bales of cotton textiles, 80,000 tons of steel and 2 million tons of coal. I should add in this connection that India is herself an importer of large quantities of steel from the hard currency countries. Nevertheless, we agreed to supply steel to Pakistan in order to preserve as far as possible the traditional pattern of trade.

Soon after the 1949 Trade Agreement was signed, it became clear that Pakistan was not serious about implementing it. For instance, far from helping the import of cotton textiles from India into Pakistan, they actually took measures to restrict this trade. It was stated in the agreement that the import of Indian textiles into Pakistan was governed by Open General

Licence. *But the Indian textiles were frozen on arrival while textiles from other countries were allowed to be sold freely.* Thus there was positive discrimination against Indian textiles—a discrimination which they continued to maintain in spite of representations. Towards the end of September we were suddenly informed that the O. G. L. for the import of several commodities from India including textiles had been suspended temporarily. This was followed by a proposal to cancel the O. G. L. for mill-made textiles from all countries including India. Not only were our protests ignored but Pakistan went a step further. On the 12th November, Pakistan published by notification a list of countries from which no import of textiles would be allowed. India was included in the list. The Inter-Dominion Agreement for free movement of certain types of handloom cloth was never implemented by them, although we on our part continued to import handloom cloth from East Bengal.

In spite of the difficulties over textiles, India continued to buy jute in the normal way and there were no difficulties to start with. I should explain at this stage that it had always been the custom for Indian buyers to purchase jute through agents whom they finance. As a rule the agents pay for the jute on the spot in Pakistan. In this way as much as 12 lakh bales of raw jute had been purchased in Pakistan by the middle of September. Since then, Indian buyers had found it virtually impossible to make fresh purchases of jute owing to the fact that the movement of jute already purchased began to be interfered with. These difficulties became even more acute after the establishment of the Pakistan Jute Board. This body had not only fixed minimum prices but was also exercising certain checks on exports of raw jute. Under their orders as much as 5 lakh bales out of the 12 lakh bales purchased by India had been held up in Pakistan. All this jute was clearly Indian property, having been paid for long before the Jute Board had been established.

A large portion of this jute has been passed by the Pakistan Customs, the Pakistan export duty has been paid and the jute has actually been loaded in barges and flats. The hold-up of this jute is thus inexplicable and clearly indefensible. Repeated attempts were made by the Indian buyers and their agents to get this jute released. Claims were made to the Pak Jute Board, both verbally and in writing. The steamer companies produced before the Jute Board evidence regarding dates of loading. All this produced no result except admissions in principle by the Jute Board that the jute which is Indian property would be released. To find out what precisely had to be done to secure the release of this jute, the Indian Jute Mills Association sent a representative to discuss the matter with the Board, but his visit proved equally fruitless. *It became clearer everyday that the formalities regarding proof of transactions, were only being*

used as a pretext to detain the jute. Numerous buyers who were naturally anxious to comply with all necessary formalities individually approached the Jute Board and other authorities for clarification and advice about the action expected of them, but none of them was given any clear ideas about the precise formalities to be complied with.

All this time the jute had been deteriorating. The Government of India, therefore, brought these facts to the notice of the Pakistan Government and requested them to release the jute immediately and to facilitate a quick decision, even went to the length of offering arbitration to settle outstanding claims on either side. But the reply from Pakistan was that the proposal for arbitration was premature, that the reasons for the detention of jute had been misrepresented to us, that detention of jute was actually a nuisance to Pakistan and that Indian buyers had failed to take advantage of their simple and easy procedure for making claims. These statements are completely at variance with the facts which I have already stated. The value of the Indian-owned jute lying in Pakistan for over three months runs into crores of rupees. *The inference is irresistible that the procedure, if any, is really designed to hold up all movements of jute.*

The detention and obstruction to movement of jute is not confined to Pakistan-grown jute bought by Indian nationals. Such obstruction has of late been extended to Indian jute in transit from Assam through Pakistan to Calcutta. A number of barges and flats loaded with Assam jute are also being held up at various points in Pakistan. To our knowledge there are thirty of them carrying nearly a hundred thousand bales. The detention of Pakistan jute bought by Indian nationals, taken together with the obstruction to the movement of Indian jute in transit through Pakistan, can lead only to one conclusion, namely, that Pakistan is deliberately denying jute to Indian jute mills with a view to exercising economic pressure on the industry. There have been many other cases of hold-up of transit goods, particularly of railway stores required for the Assam railway link.

To make matters worse the Pakistan Government have in some cases called upon the steamer companies to unload the barges in Pakistan, the result of which would be further deterioration of the jute.

The supply of jute by Pakistan to India, and of coal by India to Pakistan are among the cardinal features of the Trade Agreement. India has throughout consistently fulfilled her obligation of supplying coal. Pakistan on the other hand far from facilitating the supply of jute is deliberately obstructing such supply to India.

The Trade Agreement, which both countries accepted only a few months ago as the basis of their mutual commercial relations, is thus being honoured by Pakistan only to the extent of receiving in full their monthly quota of coal. Some days ago we

pointed out to the Pakistan Government that unless there is reciprocity we shall have to reconsider our attitude to the Agreement itself. The Pakistan Government in their reply have argued that the only obstacle in the way of the fulfilment of the Agreement is India's failure to recognise their rate of exchange. This is not understandable at all. If Pakistan wishes to maintain a certain rate of exchange with other currencies, it is obviously her business to buy and sell other currencies at that rate. But even the Pakistan State Bank does not buy or sell Indian rupees.

On the other hand, banks and individuals are prevented from doing so except at the rate of exchange notified by Pakistan. Apparently no one is able to do business on these terms. In this connection Hon'ble Members will recall that for some time after devaluation trade continued between the two countries, although on a reduced scale, *until the Pakistan rupee came to be quoted at par with or even below the Indian rupee. It was then that the Pakistan Government issued orders prohibiting their banks to buy or sell Indian rupees except at the rate of exchange notified by them.* Any impediment to trade and commerce on account of exchange difficulties is, therefore, due to Pakistan's own regulations. Banks in India are free to buy or sell Pakistan rupees without restriction.

We had on more than one occasion in the past suggested a customs union or other similar arrangements with Pakistan, but there has been no response whatever. A formal and duly ratified agreement which had resulted from my personal discussions with the Pakistan Finance Minister in March last contemplated a conference to be held as soon as possible to find ways and means of relaxing import and export regulations to encourage and expand trade between the two countries. No conference has, however, yet been held. It has been postponed on some ground or other advanced by the Pakistan Government.

Meanwhile, we have tried to discharge our obligations under the Trade Agreement. But the operation of the Trade Agreement amounts now only to the export of coal from India. There is no other trade between the two countries. On the other hand, an enormous quantity of jute purchased and paid for by our nationals is being deliberately detained. The Government of India decided not to allow this situation to continue indefinitely. A telegram was, therefore sent to Pakistan on the 20th of this month in which the offer of arbitration was reiterated and Pakistan requested immediately to release all our raw jute. Till yesterday morning we had no reply. We were, therefore, compelled to suspend temporarily despatches of coal to Pakistan from yesterday and we have informed the Pakistan Government accordingly. We have also informed the Pakistan Government that as soon as resumption of trade is rendered possible by them by the release of raw jute, we shall be prepared not only to resume supplies of coal but even to make up the short supplies.

Property of Indians in Pakistan

Rehabilitation Ministry estimates place the value of evacuee property left behind in Western Pakistan at four thousand crores of rupees. According to a 54-page brochure on the subject, just published by the Ministry, this was six to ten times the value of Muslim property left behind in India, which is roughly estimated at four hundred crores of rupees.

Although exact figures of the value of non-Muslim property in West Pakistan and of Muslim property in India are extremely difficult to secure, according to estimates given in the introduction to the brochure the value of non-Muslim property left in West Pakistan is "from six to ten times the Muslim property left behind in India." The claims filed by non-Muslims for property left behind in Pakistan total nearly Rs. 40,00,00,00,000.

These claims, it is stated, are admittedly incomplete, and may even be somewhat exaggerated. A rough estimate of Muslim property left behind in India is placed at about four hundred crores of rupees.

The figures given about land left behind by non-Muslims are, however, definite. In West Punjab alone, it is stated, non-Muslims have left behind over eight million acres of land, large portions of which are canal irrigated. In addition, lands have been left behind by non-Muslims in Sind, N.-W. F. P., Bahawalpur, Baluchistan and Khairpur.

As against this, Muslims in East Punjab and in the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and Kapurtala have left behind only about four million acres, and the land is mostly unirrigated. The difference in the value of land alone is placed at over Rs. 300 crores. In addition, non-Muslims have left behind houses, factories, plant and machinery, huge stocks of raw materials, etc.

The disturbances which led to mass migrations covered some 300,000 square miles in Pakistan, while the area involved in India was about 87,000 square miles. In 93 per cent of the area in India, Muslims continued to live in peace and security. Some Muslims migrated from other parts of India of their own free will to partake of the opportunities of employment and business in West Pakistan created, to a large extent, by the planned eviction of non-Muslims from there.

It was at a meeting of the joint Defence Council held at Lahore on August 29, 1947, under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, that the problem of evacuee property was first discussed. The decisions taken here were also referred to in a subsequent public statement addressed to the people of East and West Punjab by the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions on September 3, 1947. This statement, among other things, stated :

"Illegal seizure of property will not be recognized, and both Governments will take steps to look after the property of refugees and restore it to its rightful

owners. Each Government is appointing a custodian of refugee property."

The decision was confirmed in similar language by the West Punjab Government in a Press communiqué issued subsequently from Lahore.

The whole central idea of these earlier discussions was the restoration of property to original owners. Governments of East and West Punjab also passed legislation which declared that the right of the owner to have his property restored to him was absolute.

But almost immediately afterwards, Pakistan took the first unilateral action. Without consultation with the East Punjab Government the West Punjab Government issued an Ordinance "to provide for economic rehabilitation in West Punjab." The Ordinance conferred very wide powers on the West Punjab Government, which were indirect violation of the letter and spirit of the decisions taken by the joint Defence Council on August 29, 1947. Soon after the Pakistan Prime Minister and the West Punjab Government itself had agreed that "illegal seizure will not be recognised," the properties of non-Muslims only were seized by the West Punjab authorities for the rehabilitation of Muslim displaced persons. The Government of India was confronted with a *fait accompli*.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and the then Governor of West Punjab, Sir Francis Mudie, were present at a meeting held at Lahore on October 5, 1947, where it was agreed that both Governments should consider questions relating to the treatment of evacuee property and make proposals with the object of carrying out a common policy.

But on December 1, 1947, the West Punjab Government, again without any reference to India, and "in pursuance of instructions received from the Governor-General of Pakistan" issued Ordinance No. VII of 1947, which had several confiscatory provisions.

In direct conflict with earlier joint decisions recognising the right of an evacuee owner to his property as absolute, this Ordinance provided that no transfer of any rights in or over any evacuee property made by an evacuee or his agent assignee or attorney would be effective unless several impossible conditions were satisfied. These conditions virtually took away the owner's elementary rights to transfer his property.

The custodian was also given the right "to pool together and to transfer such evacuee property as may be prescribed, to refugees or other persons resident in West Punjab. . . ."

The effect of this Ordinance was that evacuee owners could neither exchange nor sell their properties.

Several inter-Dominion conferences have since then taken place, bringing the matter to no nearer solution. A significant suggestion was made by Pakistan representatives at the first Inter-Dominion Conference at Secretariat level held at New Delhi

from December 18 to 22, 1947. Pakistan representatives seriously suggested that the Government of India should take action similar to that taken by Pakistan in regard to evacuee property all over India.

The 'catch' lay, of course, in the fact that non-Muslim property in West Pakistan was worth many times more than Muslim property left in India, and if India had accepted Pakistan's suggestion the net loss would have been hers.

This Inter-Dominion Conference appointed a sub-committee which produced an agreed document and discussions and deliberations ultimately led to the scheme of the Joint Official Committee (March, 1948).

Referring to this scheme, the brochure says: "If it had been readily accepted and acted upon, by the two Dominions, the evacuee property question may not have assumed unmanageable proportions." However, India was agreeable to accepting the scheme as a whole straightaway, Pakistan continued to delay decisions.

It was not until four months later than an Inter-Dominion Ministers' Conference was held (July, 1948) to consider the official scheme. From the beginning, the Conference was faced with delaying tactics. The only concrete outcome was the acceptance of that portion of the official scheme which dealt with movable property.

The official scheme had recommended a Government-to-Government exchange of agricultural property, the debtor Dominion paying to the creditor Dominion the difference in value in the shape of bearer bonds of a general issue current at the time. Although high Pakistan officials were responsible together with Indian officials for framing this scheme, the Pakistan Government subsequently went back upon it. Knowing that the land in their possession was far in excess of the land left behind by Muslims in India, the Pakistan delegation to the July conference evaded a straight solution to this problem and advanced the plea that more data relating to the agricultural property should be collected before taking a decision. That this was a delaying manoeuvre is evident from the fact that even till today the exchange of agricultural records remain uncompleted.

No agreement could be reached regarding urban immovable property either. As regards movable property, even before the ink on the agreement was dry a hunt began for all movable evacuee property in West Punjab. The authorities "took over" as much property as they could lay their hands on for the "rehabilitation" of the province and for the "restoration of the economic life of Pakistan."

Two new Central Ordinances were promulgated in October, 1948, by Pakistan, again without consultation with India. The effect of both was to "spread the net much wider for roving in as much non-Muslim property as possible."

In other directions also, it soon became apparent that Pakistan Government had no intention to honour the Karachi agreement.

The latest phase of the negotiations between India and Pakistan may be said to have opened with a conference held in June, 1949 at Karachi. At the very beginning the conference was faced with deadlock on a point raised by the Pakistan delegation. The latter maintained that the Indian Ordinance of June 1949, was a breach of the Karachi agreement (which Pakistan herself had virtually repudiated by constant breaches mentioned above).

The Pakistan delegation maintained that the Indian Ordinance of June, 1949, had extended evacuee property law to areas other than the "agreed areas" mentioned in the Karachi agreement. That this was a false issue, deliberately raised to create a deadlock and delay a solution of this problem, will be evident from the following facts:

The term, "agreed areas" was first used in connection with the official scheme prepared by officials of the two Dominions in March 1948. The Joint Official Committee had first recommended a limited area to which this scheme should apply. At a subsequent meeting, the Pakistan Minister for Refugees, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan desired an extension of this area.

He said: "It was decided for both the Dominions that in the first instance this scheme should apply to these areas only. But there is nothing to stop us from getting other areas included." (Quotation from verbatim report of the discussion, recorded by the Pakistan Government).

Finally, it was decided to widen the area, as subsequently included in the Karachi Agreement.

The expression "agreed areas," thus, meant nothing more than that the official scheme applied to those areas. It had nothing whatsoever to do with the application or otherwise of the Evacuee Property law. Both at the time of the Official Committee's report (March 1948), and the Karachi Agreement (January 1949), there were areas in India outside the "agreed areas" where Evacuee Property law existed and the fact was known to the Pakistan Government. Again, there were areas within the "agreed areas" where Evacuee Property law did not exist at the time of the agreement. Thus, the plea of the Pakistan Government does not bear any examination.

On July 26, 1949, the Pakistan Government issued yet another ordinance, forbidding all transactions concerning Evacuee Property as also the property of what they were pleased to call "intending evacuees." This drove the last nail in the coffins of the Karachi Agreement of January 1949.

In a letter dated August 22, 1949, addressed to the Pakistan Government, the Government of India summarised the situation then existing as follows:

"The position reached before the Karachi Conference of June 1949, was that all agricultural property belonging to evacuees had been virtually sequestered in Pakistan, and great efforts were also being made to reduce the value of urban immovable property. All

this was in complete violation of the Karachi Agreement. The only operative clause that still remained was the permission to sell urban immovable property. The latest ordinance which bans all transactions in evacuee immovable property completes the series of violations and makes the Karachi Agreement of January 1949, a dead letter in so far as immovable property is concerned. The Government of India very much regret that the Pakistan Government should have adopted this course. They now regard themselves free to take suitable action in regard to evacuee property in India."

This communication also reiterated that in the opinion of the Government of India a satisfactory solution of this problem would only be on the basis of both Governments assuming responsibilities for the evacuee property left behind in their territories—a just and fair valuation of property in either Dominion being made by joint machinery and the net liability resulting from such valuation being liquidated by agreed arrangements.

Pakistan's reply to this letter was characteristic of that Dominion's attitude to this problem throughout the period since partition, and merely tried to cloud the issues. To Government of India's proposal for a Government to Government settlement, the Pakistan Government replied :

"The Government of Pakistan have repeatedly stressed their inability to agree to a settlement of evacuee property claims on a Government basis." A new ordinance issued on October 15, 1949, tightened the Evacuee Property law still further in West Pakistan. The net result of this had been a fresh exodus of Hindus from Sind in West Pakistan, where some of them were still sticking out as Pakistan nationals despite great hardship.

The position today is that a fundamental divergence of opinion exists between the two Governments. While the Government of India feel that the property left behind by evacuees in either Dominion cannot be used by the Governments concerned without paying fair compensation to the owners, the Pakistan Government wishes to use such property for the benefit of its new Muslim nationals without any compensation, and without the payment of even current fair rent.

The fact of the matter is that the vast non-Muslim property in West Pakistan has enabled the Pakistan Government to rehabilitate their displaced persons without any expenditure, while the Government of India has had to spend nearly Rs. 70 crores so far on the relief and rehabilitation of their displaced persons, and are likely to spend another Rs. 100 crores before the problem can be brought under reasonable control. If the Pakistan Government were to accept liability for the assets they are using, they would have to pay considerable amounts to India for the liquidation of their liabilities. Even if they paid only the current fair rent of these properties, the amount due would be considerable.

Kashmir-Jammu Commission's Report

The United Nations Kashmir Commission's report was submitted to the Security Council on December 12. We publish it below in summary form: as it has appeared in the Indian Press on the 13th and subsequent days.

The Commission, in its third interim report to the Council, expressed its doubts whether the five-member Commission was the "most flexible and desirable instrument to continue in the task."

The group suggested that the Security Council should give one person "broad authority" in an endeavour to bring India and Pakistan together "on all unresolved issues."

It suggested that the Council consult with representatives of India and Pakistan "to arrive at terms of reference for its representative—including consultation regarding the scope of his authority to settle eventually by arbitration those issues involved in the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as may remain outstanding, which impede the creation of conditions for the plebiscite."

The Commission also recommended that the Security Council as both India and Pakistan to "take all necessary precautions to secure that their agreements regarding the cease-fire be faithfully observed."

It also asked that both Governments be requested to "abstain from any measure liable to augment tension in the State of Jammu and Kashmir pending the final settlement of the future of the State."

The Commission's report concerned its activities between February and September of 1949.

"The Commission must note, however, that the issues of the disposal of "Azad" forces, the withdrawal of troops, and the defence and administration of the northern area, have made of the truce an end in itself; the difficulty in disposing of them to the satisfaction of both Governments has been, if they are judged independently of other implications and exclusively of preliminaries to a plebiscite, out of proportion to their real importance."

The Commission said it had all along been reassured by representatives of both Governments that they were willing to meet their obligations. The agreements reached in the various resolutions "represent an advance toward a final settlement."

"As a consequence of that advance the primary and immediate objective of the Security Council was fulfilled with the cessation of hostilities on January 1, 1949, and in the Karachi Agreement of July when the cease-fire line was demarcated."

The Commission reported that it had completed the investigation of all facts designated to it by the Council.

"The protracted negotiations of the past have provided through knowledge of the facts of the case. This is a positive achievement."

The main issues which prevented the two Governments from progressing more rapidly towards a settlement of the Kashmir dispute were now in "sharp focus."

The State of Jammu and Kashmir had not been demilitarised, as was envisaged in the August 13 Council resolution.

"Until this is achieved the conditions necessary

to the holding of a plebiscite cannot begin to be established."

"Strong undercurrents — political, economic, religious—in both Dominions have acted, and do act, against an easy and prompt solution of this outstanding dispute between India and Pakistan."

Those currents, the U.N. Commission stated, accounted "to a considerable degree for the misgivings, reluctance and hesitancy which the Commission felt were often present in the negotiations and which restricted both Governments in the concessions which they might otherwise have been prepared to make to facilitate agreement."

Such tensions as were evident at the "early stage of national formation were often antagonistic."

"It is evident that the presence of large numbers of troops in the State is not conducive to the creation of a peaceful atmosphere. The demilitarisation of the State is essential to permit the holding of a free and unfettered plebiscite."

A settlement of the Kashmir issue was imperative: "the Commission believes that it can be reached." Establishment of conditions, at an early date, which would make the holding of a plebiscite possible, was essential.

The report stressed that "further consideration" should be given to the possibilities of arbitration.

"Since the Government of Pakistan accepted the suggestion that the issues relating to the truce be settled by arbitration, and the Government of India has stated that it does not object to the principle of arbitration as provided for in the Charter, further consideration should be given to the use of this procedure."

MAIN ISSUES

The United Nations Kashmir Commission's report to the Security Council puts the main issues creating the deadlock as:

1. The future of the Azad Kashmir Forces.
2. The synchronised withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani regular forces from Kashmir.
3. The administration of the northern territories, mountainous and sparsely-populated area on the borders of Pakistan.

The Commission found, after a series of negotiations with both sides that the points of view of the contending Governments on these disputed points were so irreconcilable that further chances of negotiating a truce were "very remote."

The Commission also pointed out that certain other factors "difficult to evaluate" may have their effect on the attitude of the Indian and Pakistani Governments.

These were "adjustments yet to be made on various territorial, military, financial and humanitarian questions resulting from the partition of the sub-continent."

During the Commission's negotiations, the two Governments are reported to have encountered further difficulties concerning the problems of waterways and evacuee property. These have not been solved, despite several Inter-Dominion conferences.

The report then gives the position of the two Governments as represented by them.

INDIA'S POSITION

"India considered herself to be in legal possession of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the Instrument of Accession of October, 1947, signed by the Maharajah of the State and accepted by the then Governor-General of India.

"From this basic premise that this is the legality of her presence in the State and of her control over it, there flows logically certain corollary attitude.

"The assistance which Pakistan rendered to tribesmen, who made incursions into the State, constituted therefore a hostile act; the entry of elements of the Pakistan Regular Army into the State was an invasion of Indian territory.

"India has her armies in Kashmir as a matter of right, and controls the defence, communications, and external affairs of the State as a consequence of the act of accession. Pakistan has no *locus standi* in Kashmir.

"From the fact of accession flows India's claim to be responsible for the security of the State; hence, the problem of demilitarisation must take into account the importance of leaving in the State sufficient Indian and State forces to safeguard the State's security. A plebiscite in the State would be for the purpose of confirming the accession which is, in all respects, already complete.

"India's claim regarding the northern areas of the State is also based on her fundamental argument. Her refusal to discuss with the Pakistan Government or even to allow it to know the details of withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian forces, is not only in line with that part of the resolution which provides for the prior withdrawal of Pakistan troops, but follows on her insistence that Pakistan is illegally in Kashmir and has no rights in the matter.

"The cardinal feature of India's position is her contention that she is in Kashmir by right, and that Pakistan cannot aspire to equal footing with India in the contest.

"The Government of India, in its letter of November 21 to the Commission reiterated its position and commented upon the arguments of Pakistan."

PAKISTAN'S POSITION

Pakistan bases its case on the contention that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India is illegal and rejects that there is any basis whatsoever for India's contention that the legality of the accession is 'in fact and law beyond question.'

"The State of Jammu and Kashmir had executed a standstill agreement with Pakistan on August 15, 1947, which debarred the State from entering into any kind of negotiation or agreement with any other country.

2. "The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had no authority left to execute an instrument of accession on October 26, 1947, because his people had successfully revolted, had overthrown his government and had compelled him to flee from the capital.

3. "The act of accession was brought about by violence and fraud and as such it was invalid *ab initio*.

4. "The Maharaja's offer of accession was accepted by the Governor-General of India on the condition that as soon as law and order had been restored, the question of the accession of the State would be decided by a reference to the people.

"The Indian Constitution Act does not recognise a conditional accession. The action of the Maharajah and of the Government of India has, therefore, no validity in law.

"Pakistan states further that the Azad movement was indigenous and spontaneous, the consequence of repression and misrule by the Maharajah's Government.

"The tribal incursions were likewise spontaneous, and were the result of the reports of atrocities and cruelties perpetrated on the Muslim peoples of Kashmir and the East Punjab.

"The entry of Pakistan forces into Kashmir was necessary in order to protect her own territory from invasion by Indian forces, to stem the movement of large numbers of refugees driven before the Indian Army into Pakistan, and in order to prevent the Government of India from presenting the world with a *fait accompli* by taking possession of the entire State by force.

"Pakistan rejects the Indian view that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a part of India, a view which, Pakistan says, begs the very question which is in dispute.

"It is Pakistan's opinion that her action in lending assistance to the people of Kashmir is far less open to criticism than was India's intervention at the request of an autocratic Ruler.

"Pakistan had, from the first presentation of her case before the Security Council, contested the whole of the Indian thesis.

"She considers herself as having equal status with the Government of India and entitled, as a party to the dispute, to equal rights and considerations.

"As regards the northern area question, Pakistan denies the claim of India to the right to assume in those territories the defence of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a result of the established relations between India and the State."

AZAD KASHMIR MOVEMENT

The report then dealt with the Azad Kashmir Movement. Its forces, the Commission computes, number some 32 well-equipped battalions.

"This movement, Muslim in character, has become the centre of strong and violent resistance to the accession of the State to India."

"It controls a considerable part of the western area of the State, claims to be fully organised as a government and its political activities appear to be directed towards the accession of the State."

While the Indian Government does not recognise the Azad, the report found that the Pakistan Government had rendered "important assistance" to the Azad movement and had officered the Azad forces with officers of the Pakistan Army.

"Units of the Pakistan Army itself are present in Azad Kashmir and have operated in the closest co-operation with the local forces. But the Pakistan Government had not formally recognised the Azad Kashmir Government."

The Commission reported that the Government of India now insisted that arrangements for the disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces must be established before it could agree to a withdrawal of what could be qualified, even restrictively, as the bulk of the Indian forces in the State.

"With the passage of time India has shown a growing tendency to consider the question of the Azad as the central problem in establishing a withdrawal plan.

"There is, indeed, no doubt that the Azad forces now have a strength which changes the military situation and to that extent makes the withdrawal of forces, particularly India, a far more difficult matter within a structure which considered only the regular forces of two Armies."

Dealing with the prolonged and extremely complicated negotiations on the withdrawal of the armed forces and a truce agreement, the Commission makes the following points: The Pakistan Government held that the objective of a truce agreement was to create a military balance between the forces on each side. The withdrawal of Pakistan forces depended upon plans acceptable to the Pakistan Government for the synchronisation of this withdrawal with that of the bulk of the Indian forces.

India's position was that it had never accepted the claim of Pakistan to equality of rights in a military or any other sphere, but considered that the presence of Pakistan troops in Kashmir constituted an act of aggression and violation of International Law.

India refused to discuss with Pakistan any feature of the withdrawal of Indian forces, maintaining that this was a matter for settlement between the Commission and India.

The report declared: "Pakistan has been consistent throughout in her contention that the withdrawal of the forces on the two sides should be synchronised, that is, in the opinion of the Pakistan Government that they should take place simultaneously and be arranged in such a manner as to obtain a balance between the remaining forces.

"This position is fundamentally opposed to the contention of the Government of India and has proved irreconcilable with it.

"As has been seen from the discussion of the Azad problem, and from the foregoing discussion on withdrawals India is not prepared to withdraw such part of her forces in Kashmir as might be characterised as the bulk, whether measured quantitatively or qualitatively, unless agreement with Pakistan on the large-scale disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces is reached.

"As long as the Government of India maintains its position that Pakistan should not have information regarding the nature and the timing of the Indian withdrawal before acceptance of the truce by both parties, and as long as Pakistan considered that this information alone will vouchsafe beforehand that synchronisation in the withdrawals is provided for, the prospects for an implementation of the truce are remote.

"The conclusion to be drawn from the experience of the Commission during the past year, and from the attitude of the two Governments as regards the withdrawal problem is clear. Developments in the State during the past year necessitate a modification in the original plan of demilitarisation.

"Such a modification must treat the problem of demilitarisation as a whole eliminating all distinctions and comprising all questions concerning the final disposal of all armed forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir."

The report then dealt with the problem of the mountainous northern areas.

It said that the Indian Government maintained that as soon as Pakistan troops and irregulars had withdrawn from the territory, responsibility for administrations would revert to the Kashmir Government while Indian forces took over responsibilities for defence.

Pakistan claimed that the northern areas should not require "special treatment" but that they should be included in any overall truce agreement.

The Pakistan Government argued further that there was no basis for an Indian claim that the Kashmir Government's administration in the area was undisturbed.

The Commission concluded that the entry of Indian forces into the area north of the cease-fire line would almost inevitably lead to a renewal of hostilities.

The Majority Report

Lake Success, December 12.—The report of the Kashmir Commission released here today is signed by four members—the representatives of Argentina, Belgium, Colombia and the United States.

The signature of Dr. Oldrich Chyle, the representative of Czechoslovakia, the country nominated by India, does not appear at the bottom of the recommendations.

It was learned from a high official of the Department of Security Council Affairs that Dr. Chyle had reserved his position regarding signing the report until he had received instructions of his Government.

Here is also a "note" attached to the Commission's conclusions by the representative of Belgium, Mr. Robert van de Kerchove D'hallebast. This is with regard to "the admission of representatives of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Constituent Assembly of India."

The Commission transmitted to the Security Council the protest of the Pakistan Government regarding the decision of the Indian Government and the Indian Constituent Assembly in the matter and said that while it was "difficult to oppose this measure of the Indian Government on purely local grounds," it could not be denied that the step was "undesirable from the political point of view."

"The Belgian delegation feels that it is its duty to draw the serious attention to the Security Council to this matter, as it reveals a conception of the problem the consequences of which are liable to create difficulties for the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question.

"Before the plebiscite envisaged in the resolution could take place, the Government of India was to proceed to the organisation of a 'constitutional' life by means of elections or by a consultation of the people in the part of Kashmir under its control. This policy would lead to the gravest consequences."

The Minority Report

Lake Success, December 17.—The minority report of Dr. Oldrich Chyle, the Czechoslovak delegation on the Kashmir Commission was distributed to the Security Council this morning.

Dr. Chyle in his report accused the Commission of having made several errors in its negotiations. He placed part of the blame for failure on Britain and the United States.

In charging the Commission with overstepping its terms of reference by making an "unauthorised proposal for arbitration of the truce agreement," Dr. Chyle said: "The secret arbitration offer of the Commission, being presented to the Governments of India and Pakistan, was placed at the disposal of the Governments of the U.S.A. and the U.K. and President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, in a synchronised action, made use of it for a public interventionary pressure."

Dr. Chyle said in his report that the American Press had been putting out forecasts about "Arbitration proceedings" and that "coupled with information conveyed time and again by Admiral Nimitz to the Press, the Commission considered it as an interference with its work, and its Secretariat repeatedly drew, by means of cables, the attention of Lake Success to the necessity of remedying matters."

He referred in particular to "a report transmitted by P. T. I. on August 23, 1949, under the headline 'Kashmir deadlock may be referred to an arbitrator,' and said that the Commission sent a cable to the President of the Security Council asking that a statement be published "stressing that it lay with the Commission itself to decide what action it should take."

That protest telegram was not delivered to the Security Council Chairman.

This needed examining, "just as it is necessary to subject to investigation how it should be possible for a secret memorandum of the Commission on the subject of arbitration to get into hands of the British High Commissioners in New Delhi and Karachi at the same time as or earlier than it could be officially presented to the Government of India."

"It is of course quite obvious that as a mere holder of a mandate from the Security Council, the Commission could, on taking over its task, only take cognizance of the given situation, and no fault can be ascribed to it as far as the core of the dispute proper is concerned.

"On the other hand, however, it is necessary to state that the mediation efforts of the Commission did not contribute in a constructive way to the positive solution of the whole problem.

"It needs placing on record that" (a) the Commission has made a serious mistake in that it cancelled the joint political conference which had been convened with the assent of both the Governments for August 22, in New Delhi.

"(b) But in its unauthorised proposal for the arbitration of truce agreement it overstepped its terms of reference.

"(c) The secret arbitration offer of the Commission was, before being presented to the Governments of India and Pakistan, placed at the disposal of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, and President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, in a synchronised action, made use of it for a public interventionary pressure.

"(d) The verbatim text of the secret arbitration memorandum came into the hands of the British High Commissioners in New Delhi and Karachi at the same time or even sooner than it was officially presented to the Indian Government, without even an attempt on the part of the Commission—despite urging by its Chairman at the time—to institute due investigation of both cases of a flagrant breach of the integrity of the Commission's proceedings.

"(e) The Commission did not show sufficient sagacity when presenting its basic proposal of a solution of the Kashmir problem—the proposal which was adopted as the resolution of August 13, 1948, in which the Commission deeply underrated the significance of the 'Azad Forces'—and failed altogether to take into account the situation in the 'North area', on which two problems, subsequently all the Commission's work, kept on foundering.

"(f) The Commission did not succeed in winning over the public confidence on either side.

"The Commission stated itself in its first interim report that it came on the subcontinent uncertain how it would be received and whether it would acquire the necessary co-operation of both Governments.

"This lack of confidence in its mission, however, can be seen through its labours.

"Instead of taking a firm stand on definite issues where it was necessary, the Commission preferred to go by way of clarification promises, compromising thus its own position and achieving on the whole in a positive way nothing.

"The failure of the Commission's mission is, therefore, not solely ascribable to the intransigence of the Governments of India and Pakistan.

"The reasons must be also looked for in the activities of the Commission *per se*, with a proper light thrown on the substance of the whole problem of Kashmir.

"The report of the Commission sets forth the three most important obstacles which bulked its efforts to reach agreement:

"(1) Disposal of Azad Kashmir forces,

"(2) Withdrawal of regular forces from the State, and

"(3) The Northern area.

"The reasons for the insolubility of these problems must be sought for in the shortcomings of the resolution of August 13, 1948.

"In its part two, the full implementation of which is the basic condition for any further measures that would ensure a fair and unhampered carrying out of a plebiscite, there is no mention whatever of 'Azad Force', because the Commission did not assume that the cease-fire line would be of such long duration.

"The 'Azad Forces' meanwhile grew by the spring of 1949 into 32 disciplined and fully armed battalions, which according to an evaluation by the Military Adviser of the Commission, represent a 'formidable force.'

"Owing to this fact, which is at variance with Part one, Section B, of the said resolution forbidding both parties any increasing of the military potential, the situation has materially undergone an absolute change, and so a new problem was created as to what within the meaning of the resolution represents 'bulk' of the Indian Army in Kashmir.

"From this have arisen logically further difficulties concerning the disarming of the 'Azad Forces' and the synchronisation of the withdrawal of military troops.

"Similarly, due to the lack of sagacity on the part of the Commission, the situation was rendered more difficult also for the solution of the other main problem, the 'Northern area.'

"When dealing with its proposal to both Governments adopted as the resolution of August 13, 1948, first by the Government of India—and subsequently sanction in the resolution of January 5, 1949, by the Pakistan Government, the Commission entirely omitted to concern itself with the situation in strategically very important territory to the north of Kashmir.

"Having ascertained this shortcoming, the Government of India submitted a reservation in respect of the resolution, dated August 13, 1948, concerning its right to administer the northern territory, of which, on the basis of the military situation then existing, it maintained that it could not be put on a par with the 'Azad territory' to the west of Kashmir.

"Instead of rectifying the aforesaid shortcoming by a formal rider to the resolution—which in fact the Government of Pakistan sanctioned only five months later—the Commission replied by a letter dated August 25, 1948, in which it acknowledged to the Prime Minister of the Indian Government the receipt of his reservation and stated that 'the question might be examined when the resolution of August 13, 1948, was implemented.'

"This obligation of the Commission, which—due to the Commission's own faulty judgment—therefore did not represent any formal part of the resolution of August 13, 1948, the Commission now explains as only a declaration of an intention to study later on the situation in the north, outside of the scope of the part two of the said resolution.

"From the legal point of view, the Government of Pakistan does not, therefore, consider the Commission's letter of August 25, 1948, as legally binding on it, because it was only a question of the exchange of correspondence between the Commission and the Indian Government.

"It is only natural that, each from its own standpoint, the Governments of India and Pakistan, should hold views diametrically opposed to each other.

"The Governments of India and Pakistan evaluate the legal weight of the Commission's letter of August 25, 1948, each from its own standpoint quite contrarily, of course.

"In this regard it has to be pointed out, that as early as September 3, 1948, the Government of Pakistan notified to the Commission its definition of evacuated territory as referring to the territories in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which were at that time under the effective control of the Pakistan High Command.

"And here—due to the Commission's lack of understanding of the situation—is the core of all subsequent legal contentions affecting the Northern area, which the Commission has not been able to bridge.

"While the Government of India made on August 20, 1948, a clear reservation regarding the position in the Northern area—two weeks after that the Government of Pakistan, in its aforesaid notification, made a claim of great consequences mortgaging practically the political future of vast territories in the State of Jammu and Kashmir where the Pakistan Army of forces under its High Command could have gained the upper hand.

"The Commission claims that at that time it had no practical means at its disposal to verify the factual situation in the different parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"This is, however, exactly the reason why the Commission should have been firm at least on the legal ground and not to have had recourse to empty promises.

"The Commission, facing later on the materially changed situation in the Northern area, is bound to admit that while the reservation of the Government of India of August 20, 1948, may be legally valid it is physically impossible to implement it.

"The letter of the Pakistan Minister for Kashmir affairs of April 26, 1949, contending that the definition of September 3, 1948, brought the whole of the northern area inside the 'evacuated territory,' is a logical sequel to Pakistan's position of September 3, 1948, and at the same time a reflection of the Commission's shortsightedness.

"Whatever the reasons are for not rectifying the oversight in the resolution of August 13, 1948,

by a proper, formal, legal instrument, it is to a great extent the Commission's own fault that its mediatory efforts to solve this second main problem have not proved successful.

"After the rejection of its proposal of April 28, 1949, to bring about a truce agreement, to which both Governments lodged material reservations, the Commission's majority considered on the whole any further efforts in mediation as futile and, from the beginning of June, 1949, the United States delegation strove to bring the Commission round to the idea of solving the question of the truce by arbitration.

"In its declaration, which took the form of a resolution, the Czechoslovak delegation, on the other hand, argued that it is the conviction of the Czechoslovak delegation that there exist on the part of the Commission a legal and at the same time even a moral duty to send invitations to both Governments to attend a joint political meeting before taking into consideration any other means of solution.

"The Commission was prepared to accept the Czechoslovak proposal but only subject to a successful termination meanwhile of the planned negotiations for the fixing of a definite line of demarcation, on the realisation of which the Czechoslovak delegation insisted with all the weight at its command.

"This trying up with a favourable result of the military negotiations in Karachi, the Czechoslovak delegation declined with the basic declaration that it is a serious political matter which must be considered on its own political grounds without any junction with military talks in Karachi, whatsoever might be their result."

Dr. Chyle then recorded his objection to a proposal that Admiral Chester Nimitz be appointed arbitrator for a truce agreement.

This was done despite his insistence that a joint political conference should be called first.

Such a conference was called, but at the same time the Commission was already ready with an arbitration proposal.

This was premature and politically unwise.

Dr. Chyle declared, "The course of the discussion on the offer of the arbitration of the truce agreement—to which the Commission was not even authorised on the basis of its terms of reference—made it clear indeed that the Commission was not free from outside influences, although it was to act only according to the mandate of the Security Council in the interests of the United Nations as a whole.

"The interventions by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee were only made possible on the basis of precise and timely information emanating from the Commission itself.

"The Kashmir dispute, however, is an affair of the whole forum of the United Nations, and in its solution all preliminary conditions and guarantees of its just settlement must be preserved.

"If every one of the member States of the United Nations took a similar course of action to that of the U. S. and U. K. in their interventions with absolute disregard of the competence of the appropriate organs of the U. N., each and every mediation action would be made impossible and the U. N. would be seriously undermined.

"If a peaceful solution of the dispute was to be attained it had to be seen that the Commission did not become an instrument of policy of certain great powers.

"It cannot be, indeed, deduced from the failure of the Commission's mission that any further mediation in the Kashmir dispute is precluded. All it needs is a proper evaluation of the actual facts.

"The conclusion presented in the majority report expressing doubts about the flexibility of the Commission composed of five members is unwarranted.

"It was not a lack of flexibility but rather too much flexibility—as demonstrated by so many and so important clarifications, elucidations, etc.—which considerably contributed to undermine the Commission's position, as a result of a vain attempt to please both parties to the dispute at the same time."

Dr. Chyle then made these proposals: (1) There must be a new mediation organ "untramelled by any outside influence."

(2) There should be a new Kashmir Commission composed of the eleven members of the Council.

A study of the majority and minority reports of the Commission will enable our readers to realize that certain of its members allowed themselves to be instruments of power-politics. Dr. Chyle has brought the charge that "the *verbatim* text of the secret arbitration memorandum came into the hands of the British High Commissioners in New Delhi and Karachi sooner than it was officially presented to the Indian Government. . . ." This shows that members of the Commission had amongst them a person or persons who were ever on the alert to act harmfully to the interests of India and Kashmir-Jammu, that in the Secretariat of the Commission there were persons who were not above spying and sabotaging. The Belgian General Delvoile, the Commission's Military Adviser, was caught while engaged in acts prejudicial to India's interest; the Belgian member of the Commission demonstrated his inclinations in his Note quoted above. Reports from Lake Success do not show that the Commission has had anything to show in justification of this dereliction of their duty.

Neither do they show that the India Government recorded protests in language that would make the Security Council take notice. The same complacency appears to have characterized their activities so far as the education of their own citizens in the intricacies of the Kashmir-Jammu situation was concerned. We should like to know how many of their publicists and public men have been kept informed by them of the beginning of aggression on Kashmir-Jammu as it is found recorded in the Paris report submitted to the Security Council last year (1948?). It was only during the second week of December last that the following "hand-out" was issued by the New Delhi Information Office :

In the Paris report, (Paragraph 60) the Commission records the statement of Sir A. Dundas, the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, made to them on July 31 (1948) in Karachi as follows: " . . . the movement of tribesmen into Kashmir had in fact to be canalised through his province in order to avoid the serious risk of outright war within the territory of Pakistan." Further, he said that tribesmen obtained petrol from local

sources in Pakistan and made use of railways and local motor transport. Mr. Mohammad Ali (Secretary-General of the Pakistan Government) added that denial of this petrol would have amounted to an economic blockade and might have implied grave consequences for the Government of Pakistan.

In paragraph 66 it is recorded:—"Sir Zafrullah confirmed that petrol was obtained by the tribesmen from local sources, repeating the argument that any attempt to stop the petrol supply would have entailed grave consequences for Pakistan."

In Paragraphs 119, 120 and 123 the Commission records as follows:—"The tribesmen. . . . swarmed from the mountains into the State of Jammu and Kashmir, penetrating as far as its southern borders on the east, entering the State in its south-western areas from the adjacent territory of Pakistan and reaching the outskirts of Srinagar. "Nationals of Pakistan entered Jammu and Kashmir for the purpose of fighting."

This story may have today a historical interest only. But it should have been told all over the United Nations world so that Pakistan's story could have stood discredited. We are afraid that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Department have failed in this duty. The then Governor of the N.-W. Frontier Province of Pakistan, the Secretary-General of the Pakistan Government and its foreign Minister could have been condemned outright by acknowledgments made by themselves. The lack of a sense of discrimination between essentials and non-essentials with regard to time, circumstances and persons on the part of the rulers of the State in India is responsible for this failure to put India's case in its proper setting and emphasis before the bar of world opinion.

Realism in Indo-U.S.A. Relations

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit raised hopes that are not easy to be fulfilled in the context of world developments. This imposes a heavy responsibility and burden of anxiety on countries that desire to remain neutral during this crisis in human affairs. The Left-wing London weekly, *New Statesman and Nation* sized up the situation for them, illustrating from India's case the difficulty felt by all of them. The extract from the article, written during the ebb-tide of enthusiasm created by Panditji's visit when the bearings could be taken with a certain amount of detachment, we reproduce below :

"Finally there is the question of India herself to be considered. However attractive might be the prospect of unrequited imports from the United States, would India's increased dependence on American supplies be compatible with the neutrality in the political cold war which Pandit Nehru has so boldly affirmed?"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the United States was interpreted by the independent right-wing *Time and Tide* as a sign of America's developing interest in India as an alternative to China as a bastion against the spread of Asiatic Communism.

It is becoming increasingly clear that, since the collapse of Nationalist China, American interest is shifting westward to the triangle Burma-India and Pakistan-Ceylon."

History has forced this choice on the United States. Bertrand Russell in his book—*Prospects of Industrial Civilization*—indicated the developing conditions, internal and external, that had been preparing that country for this "position." She might not have consciously devised it; but

"No nation with such resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any other previous aspirant to universal hegemony."

Since these words were written about 30 years back, people in the United States have grown conscious of this destiny of theirs; their publicists have begun to claim the 20th century of the Christian era as the "American Century" just as the 19th century had been Britain's. We know how the Britisher had behaved; and the question is being increasingly asked—would the American be a better dictator of world affairs?

This note of interrogation is necessary to be struck, if there is to be realism in the talks between India's representatives and America's. Group human nature being what it is and has been, those inhabiting "the triangle—Burma-India and Pakistan-Ceylon"—have to be very wary. But the division of our sub-continent into Bharat and Pakistan has introduced a complexity that is not easy to be overcome. Britain had sown the seeds of disruption; these fell on the fertile soil of Muslim separatism. Previous to 1941 December, the United States had only a "philosophic" interest in this affair. Japan by forcing her into the century's Second World War created for her a vested interest in India's internal developments.

Thus it came about that during the days of the Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission the Roosevelt Administration had been an interested observer, and often a mentor to Britain and to the rival parties in India. And it would not be stretching our imagination too far if we suggest that Britain consulted the U. S. Administration during the final negotiations that had preceded the Mountbatten Statement of June 3, 1947.

Linguistic Provinces Problem

By failing to deal with or solve this problem in a constructive way, the leadership of the Congress which is entrenched in the Central Government of Bharat to-day has once more proved that postponing a good step leads to any number of retrograde steps. The full text of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee sent out from New Delhi on December 21 last on the Karnataka Province issue presents no reason for the unbending attitude of the Congress "High Command." The members present, those

amongst them who have supported this resolution, appear to be moved by a sense of offended dignity and are not prepared to argue and convince the offending party and the general public. The resolution is :

"The Working Committee considered the resolutions of the Karnataka P.C.C., and of the Council of the Karnataka P.C.C. in regard to the formation of the Karnataka province. The Committee have clearly declared on a previous occasion the considerations that should guide the division of existing provinces or the formation of a new province. While the Committee have recognised in the past the widespread sentiment of the Karnataka people for a province of their own and the validity of such a proposal, no such province can be formed unless the aforesaid considerations are satisfied. In particular, the proposal to form a Karnataka province is now intimately associated with the future of Mysore and this raises constitutional and other questions of importance and complexity, which cannot be solved without the fullest consideration and the approval of the great majority of the people concerned. Further, in view of the vital change in the status of India and the inauguration of the new Constitution within less than five weeks from now, it is outside the range of feasibility or propriety to consider a constitutional change of this magnitude at this stage.

"The Working Committee have learnt with regret of the action taken by the Council of the Karnataka P.C.C. in suggesting the resignation of Karnataka members from the Provincial Legislature and accordingly that some such members have sought permission to offer their resignations and given publicity to this fact. The Committee consider this action of the P.C.C. Council as improper in the circumstances and conducive to disruption of the Congress. It is always open to a P.C.C. or its Executive to make representations of its views to the Working Committee. But it is improper to accompany such representations with action which is meant to be coercive and which places the members concerned in a false and embarrassing position, leading to a step which may be a breach of the Congress discipline and injurious to national interest.

"The Committee are not prepared to consider any request of this kind for resignation, which can only be interpreted as a threat or as an indication of displeasure against the Working Committee's decisions.

"The Committee presume that the resolution of the Karnataka P.C.C. Council and the offer of resignations that has followed from it are the results of an unwise and unthinking consideration of the subject under stress of high sentiment. On a calmer consideration, these decisions will no doubt be regretted. The Committee, therefore, do not consider it necessary to take any further action in this matter."

The Committee have put an extra emphasis on the "vital change in the status of India and the inauguration of the new constitution within less than 5 weeks from now." The following message published in the *Hindusthan Standard* in its issue of December 22 will expose the shallowness of the talk about "less than 5 weeks." The Sardar and the Government can be quick when they desire a thing to be done. The Vindhya Pradesh tactics are a case in point.

The Rajpramukh, Maharaja of Rewa, the Uparajpramukh, Maharaja of Panna and 22 other Rulers of Bakhelkhand and Bundelkhand States, now integrated in the Vindhya Union, have signed the merger deed.

It is authoritatively learnt that disintegration of Vindhya Union and territorial division between neighbouring provinces (C.P. and U.P.) will be completed before January 15. After securing the Rulers' consent and signatures on the merger deed, Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary to States Ministry, India Government, left by air for Bhopal yesterday.

Mr. Menon, despite the toughest opposition from the interested quarters and vested interests, succeeded in veering Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States Rulers round the Vindhya Union merger proposal. Mr. Menon attended the Rulers' Conference on Saturday afternoon, surveyed the situation and presented the State Ministry's proposal before 22 out of 26 Rulers, who attended the meeting. The Rajpramukh, the Maharaja of Rewa, did not attend owing to sudden indisposition.

The Maharajas of Maihar, Orchha, Ajaigarh, Sarilla and Khaniadhana who favoured merger in the Vindhya Union from the very outset, signed the merger deed, while other Rulers, who were counting upon anti-merger agitators' support, expressed reluctance to sign the deed. Twelve out of the 26 members who attended the Vindhya Provincial Congress meeting opposed the Union's disintegration. Six members remained neutral and eight voted for the merger.

Mr. Menon also addressed the Congressmen explaining to them his mission and at the same time asking them to support the State Ministry's move. The Conference lasted two days. Mr. Menon then proceeded to Rewa to see the ailing Rajpramukh. He met him in the palace and secured his consent to and signature in the merger deed. This made the other reluctant members to follow suit, though some signed "under protest."

During Mr. Menon's visit several hundred persons staged an anti-merger demonstration at Rewa and attempted to proceed towards the palace. The police dispersed the hostile demonstrators who clashed with the former and assaulted Sardar Karam Singh, District Superintendent of Police.

Territorial adjustments are expected to be finalised before January 15.

Many a linguistic area has been smarting under an unnatural administrative set-up. We are sorry that these should have been left with grievances when "a new status" is gained by their country; that these should not be able to participate in the joys of the occasion with a full heart. Somebody will have to rectify this wrong. It may not be the Nehru-Patel Government.

"Home Guards" in the Central Province

Gandhiji had blazed many a new path in our thoughts and activities. The leaders of the Congress who also happen to be heads of Administration in the Indian Union today talk of these in public but hardly practice these in their daily life and their official activities. Many of his aspirations, therefore, have become like classics which adorn the shelves of libraries only.

But reports from the United Provinces and the Central Province indicate that there are chances of

the fulfilment of Gandhiji's hopes broadbased as these had been on the renovation of our village economy shattered by alien habits of thought and life. Both the Provincial Governments have been publicising the activities of their "Home Guard" organizations. The general impression is that these "Home Guards" form part of the military formations a few steps removed from the authentic soldiery; they constitute the "second line of defence" of the country.

But the Central Province Government have shown that these "Home Guards" can be made into instruments for inaugurating a "silent revolution" in our villages. A report published in the Nagpur *Hitavada* during the last week of November last enables us to draw up a picture of this experiment full of immense possibilities as it is of good for the province and the country. We summarize it below: The opening of 23 Rural Uplift Centres recently in the Province sponsored by the Home Guards organisation marks a new chapter in the history of our villages. The scheme is the logical culmination of Rural Home Guards training which aims at producing *gram-sainiks*, who are also *gram-sewaks*. The soldier's training given to the Rural Home Guards enables them to acquire the art of self-defence and fits them to act as the second line of defence in emergencies. But the greater advantage which flows from it is inculcation of discipline in the villages. Many a scheme has foundered in the past on the rock of rural lethargy and apathy. The immediate advantage secured by the Province through the Rural Home Guards Scheme is the presence of a band of disciplined youngmen who are capable of vigorous and concerted action in any given field.

That the Rural Home Guards are becoming the heralds of a new silent revolution in the countryside was realised when during their Jubbulpur halt, the Hon'ble Pt. R. S. Shukla, Premier, the Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Mishra, Home Minister and other Cabinet Ministers paid a visit to the Natwara village centre about 22 miles on Shahpur road. The village opens an altogether new vista in the realm of long-despaired Rural Uplift work. The ten *gram-sainiks* of the village—nearly all labourers, who finished their training earlier—have volunteered for a three-month Social Service and village-uplift work. After their day's work, they foregather and according to their leader's directions launch upon road clearing, village-sanitation and other operations worked out to details in their schedule.

The result is—and seeing is believing—that in hardly a month's time, the face of the village has been changed. The village's old historic tank, which was covered with rotten leaves and other weeds and in a thoroughly unusable state has been cleared. The eight village wells, which lay buried and perhaps forgotten under the dust-heaps have been reclaimed. The old village temple and *choupal* have nearly been excavated, the village roads cleaned and the foul-smelling

ponds within the village treated with disinfectants. The incidence of Malaria has gone down considerably now for quinine is regularly distributed among the villagers. The village-refuse is no longer littered about the village-streets; instead, it is now deposited in a common compost-pit thus salvaging the village's manural wealth. The houses wear a more cheerful appearance and the whole village looks gayer. The Ministers visited the cleanest house in the village belonging to a Chamar. The Chamar was first hesitant to let in Pandit Shukla, lest the Panditji would be defiled. But soon his fears were disarmed when Pt. Shukla took out his shoes and made his way into the house. The house-owner's eyes welled up with tears of gratitude.

Of course, all this could not be merely the *sainik's* work. The villagers have taken inspiration from their own young men and have been joining their hands to the volunteers. That is the key to the success of Natwara and the other 22 Home Guard Uplift centres. Rural uplift work here has taken root in the village itself and the workers are no longer patronising towns-folk from outside but the village's own social service squads.

The Rural Uplift Plan is normally to be of six months' duration though a pilot plan of only three months' duration is being tried in the first instance. With a view to introducing system and sense of urgency, the Uplift work will be carried out in three stages. The first stage will include, sanitation, hygiene and health. The second stage would aim at Improved Agriculture and include 'Grow More Food' campaign. The third stage would be marked by an educational programme and by promotion of cultural activities and village-art, folk-songs and folk-dances. It includes, in fact, a comprehensive plan for the entire reconstruction of the village-life.

In early stages, an Instructor will be posted to each of the Rural Uplift centres. His work will be to co-ordinate the activities of the Rural Home Guards, who will work during their spare time. These Instructors have been taken through a special course in Nagpur before being sent out.

Collective Farming in Madras

Though Tamil-Telugu tension has been holding up many a progressive move in the province, we are glad to know that the Madras Government has launched an experiment in collective farming in Marudur, a village in the Trichinopoly district. It is hoped that it will "foster better relationship between the land-owner and the tiller of the soil." We summarize below the report on the subject as we have seen it in the press:

The scheme consists of the leasing of land belonging to private owners to landless labourers through a co-operative agricultural colonisation society.

It is a novelty in that both the land-owner and *ryot* are being made to co-operate in food production work by a colonisation society. Other colonisation societies formed in the province hitherto deal only with Government land and not private land.

The Provincial Government has advanced Rs. 20,000 to the society and also stood guarantee for Rs. 40,000 loaned to the society by the Central Agricultural Credit Bank of the district.

The affairs of the society are controlled by a board consisting of Government representatives, land-owners and the tillers of the soil.

The Government have also placed at the disposal of the society the services of a senior inspector of co-operative society and an agricultural demonstrator to offer advice to the members of the society.

It is an experiment in better living in a Madras village which all will watch with interest. Officials have begun however to talk of requesting the Central Government to treat their scheme "as falling within 'Grow More Food' schemes and granting financial assistance on the usual 50-50 basis." There is a disposition in every provincial Government to invite the Delhi Government to share their labour, forgetting that this invitation opens the door to intervention which more often than not results in the diminution of their "autonomy." We say, learn to do without Central help. don't run to Delhi with the beggar's bowl on every conceivable occasion.

Leprosy in India

The second session of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference was held at Calcutta on December 29 and 30, 1948, under the auspices of the West Bengal Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Association. The report of the proceedings has been published in the April number of *Leprosy in India* that has reached us lately.

From this we come to know that there are more than a million (10 lakhs) of lepers in India; West Bengal has more than one-fifth of these though in area she is the smallest province in India; Bankura, Manbhum and some of the places in Orissa have a high incidence of this disease.

For centuries this scourge has created a dread and abhorrence in the minds of all peoples. Modern science shows that it is "far less dangerous from the point of infection than many others," to quote the words of India's Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who presided over the Conference. Other speakers, chiefly non-official workers like Dr. E. Muir, stressed the point that the disease may be "difficult to cure, but easy to prevent." For this purpose education in "simple precautions" is necessary; this work can be carried on by "honorary workers"; and a resolution was passed:

"That publicity and welfare work in connection with anti-leprosy campaign should largely be done

by voluntary agencies, and it recommends the building up of a network of district organizations which in co-operation with the Government, local bodies and public-spirited men can spread a humane and enlightened view of leprosy and organize welfare work for patients and ex-patients."

A Central Leprosy Institute is in the offing. But as the disease is "largely a village problem", it would be better to concentrate attention on villages; "in the immediate segregation of children born to suffer from leprosy lies the key to the eventual eradication of this disease"; homes in rural areas training lepers in arts and industries are an immediate need.

Department of Commercial Intelligence

It is said that the Ministry of Commerce is contemplating transfer of the Department of Commercial Intelligence to New Delhi with a view to economy.

Established in 1906 by Lord Curzon, its main function is to stimulate India's foreign trade and to help the Commercial community with information and advice relating to trade, commerce, and industry in the country. Its location in Calcutta is specially justified because the sea-borne trade returns of India shows that 64 per cent of India's export trade is done through the Port of Calcutta. The Indian Trade Journal and the Commercial Library are inseparable limbs of the Department and supplements greatly its function as a whole. Its removal to New Delhi, is all the more impracticable as the Government of India Press in New Delhi is not equipped for its publication; similar moves in the past had to be abandoned for the same reason. As regards economy it is fallacious inasmuch as to manage the work in Delhi would cost much more than in Calcutta, at the same time incurring a huge expenditure for its removal and the installation of equipment for the publication of the Indian Trade Journal.

The work relating to Agricultural Statistics which was being managed in Calcutta by 19 hands is now being managed by treble the number after its removal to Delhi. The very same thing may happen in regard to Commercial Intelligence also if removed to Delhi.

The contemplated saving by the removal is shown as 1,10,000 by retrenching one gazetted officer and 50 assistants. The Editor of Commercial Publication and his meagre but highly-paid staff, for retaining whom, this move is contemplated, costs the Government about Rs. 50,000 yearly. It is also reported that the move is designed to save some surplus highly-paid officers and staff in Delhi at the cost of some poorly-paid officers and staff in Calcutta.

Colour Insanity

The Press in India published a news that arrangements are almost complete for the holding of a conference between the Governments of India and Pakistan on one side and the Government of South

sources in Pakistan and made use of railways and local motor transport. Mr. Mohammad Ali (Secretary-General of the Pakistan Government) added that denial of this petrol would have amounted to an economic blockade and might have implied grave consequences for the Government of Pakistan.

In paragraph 66 it is recorded:—"Sir Zafrullah confirmed that petrol was obtained by the tribesmen from local sources, repeating the argument that any attempt to stop the petrol supply would have entailed grave consequences for Pakistan."

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"Finally there is the question of India herself to be considered. However attractive might be the prospect of unrequited imports from the United States, would India's increased dependence on American supplies be compatible with the neutrality in the political cold war which Pandit Nehru has so boldly affirmed?"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the United States was interpreted by the independent right-wing *Time and Tide* as a sign of America's developing interest in India as an alternative to China as a bastion against the spread of Asiatic Communism.

It is becoming increasingly clear that, since the collapse of Nationalist China, American interest is shifting westward to the triangle Burma-India and Pakistan-Ceylon."

History has forced this choice on the United States. Bertrand Russell in his book—*Prospects of Industrial Civilization*—indicated the developing conditions, internal and external, that had been preparing that country for this "position." She might not have consciously devised it; but

"No nation with such resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any other previous aspirant to universal hegemony."

Since these words were written about 30 years back, people in the United States have grown conscious of this destiny of theirs; their publicists have begun to claim the 20th century of the Christian era as the "American Century" just as the 19th century had been Britain's. We know how the Britisher had behaved; and the question is being increasingly asked—would the American be a better dictator of world affairs?

This note of interrogation is necessary to be struck, if there is to be realism in the talks between India's representatives and America's. Group human nature being what it is and has been, those inhabiting "the triangle—Burma-India and Pakistan-Ceylon"—have to be very wary. But the division of our sub-continent into Bharat and Pakistan has introduced a complexity that is not easy to be overcome. Britain had sown the seeds of disruption; these fell on the fertile soil of Muslim separatism. Previous to 1941 December, the United States had only a "philosophic" interest in this affair. Japan by forcing her into the century's Second World War created for her a vested interest in India's internal developments.

Thus it came about that during the days of the Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission the Roosevelt Administration had been an interested observer, and often a mentor to Britain and to the rival parties in India. And it would not be stretching our imagination too far if we suggest that Britain consulted the U. S. Administration during the final negotiations that had preceded the Mountbatten Statement of June 3, 1947.

Linguistic Provinces Problem

By failing to deal with or solve this problem in a constructive way, the leadership of the Congress which is entrenched in the Central Government of Bharat to-day has once more proved that postponing a good step leads to any number of retrograde steps. The full text of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee sent out from New Delhi on December 21 last on the Karnataka Province issue presents no reason for the unbending attitude of the Congress "High Command." The members present, those

amongst them who have supported this resolution, appear to be moved by a sense of offended dignity and are not prepared to argue and convince the offending party and the general public. The resolution is :

"The Working Committee considered the resolutions of the Karnataka P.C.C., and of the Council of the Karnataka P.C.C. in regard to the formation of the Karnataka province. The Committee have clearly declared on a previous occasion the considerations that should guide the division of existing provinces or the formation of a new province. While the Committee have recognised in the past the widespread sentiment of the Karnataka people for a province of their own and the validity of such a proposal, no such province can be formed unless the aforesaid considerations are satisfied. In particular, the proposal to form a Karnataka province is now intimately associated with the future of Mysore and this raises constitutional and other questions of importance and complexity, which cannot be solved without the fullest consideration and the approval of the great majority of the people concerned. Further, in view of the vital change in the status of India and the inauguration of the new Constitution within less than five weeks from now, it is outside the range of feasibility or propriety to consider a constitutional change of this magnitude at this stage.

"The Working Committee have learnt with regret of the action taken by the Council of the Karnataka P.C.C. in suggesting the resignation of Karnataka members from the Provincial Legislature and accordingly that some such members have sought permission to offer their resignations and given publicity to this fact. The Committee consider this action of the P.C.C. Council as improper in the circumstances and conducive to disruption of the Congress. It is always open to a P.C.C. or its Executive to make representations of its views to the Working Committee. But it is improper to accompany such representations with action which is meant to be coercive and which places the members concerned in a false and embarrassing position, leading to a step which may be a breach of the Congress discipline and injurious to national interest.

"The Committee are not prepared to consider any request of this kind for resignation, which can only be interpreted as a threat or as an indication of displeasure against the Working Committee's decisions.

"The Committee presume that the resolution of the Karnataka P.C.C. Council and the offer of resignations that has followed from it are the results of an unwise and unthinking consideration of the subject under stress of high sentiment. On a calmer consideration, these decisions will no doubt be regretted. The Committee, therefore, do not consider it necessary to take any further action in this matter."

The Committee have put an extra emphasis on the "vital change in the status of India and the inauguration of the new constitution within less than 5 weeks from now." The following message published in the *Hindusthan Standard* in its issue of December 22 will expose the shallowness of the talk about "less than 5 weeks." The Sardar and the Government can be quick when they desire a thing to be done. The Vindhya Pradesh tactics are a case in point.

The Rajpramukh, Maharaja of Rewa, the Uparajpramukh, Maharaja of Panna and 22 other Rulers of Bakhelkhand and Bundelkhand States, now integrated in the Vindhya Union, have signed the merger deed.

It is authoritatively learnt that disintegration of Vindhya Union and territorial division between neighbouring provinces (C.P. and U.P.) will be completed before January 15. After securing the Rulers' consent and signatures on the merger deed, Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary to States Ministry, India Government, left by air for Bhopal yesterday.

Mr. Menon, despite the toughest opposition from the interested quarters and vested interests, succeeded in veering Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States Rulers round the Vindhya Union merger proposal. Mr. Menon attended the Rulers' Conference on Saturday afternoon, surveyed the situation and presented the State Ministry's proposal before 22 out of 26 Rulers, who attended the meeting. The Rajpramukh, the Maharaja of Rewa, did not attend owing to sudden indisposition.

The Maharajas of Maihar, Orchha, Ajaigarh, Sarilla and Khaniadhaba who favoured merger in the Vindhya Union from the very outset, signed the merger deed, while other Rulers, who were counting upon anti-merger agitators' support, expressed reluctance to sign the deed. Twelve out of the 26 members who attended the Vindhya Provincial Congress meeting opposed the Union's disintegration. Six members remained neutral and eight voted for the merger.

Mr. Menon also addressed the Congressmen explaining to them his mission and at the same time asking them to support the State Ministry's move. The Conference lasted two days. Mr. Menon then proceeded to Rewa to see the ailing Rajpramukh. He met him in the palace and secured his consent to and signature in the merger deed. This made the other reluctant members to follow suit, though some signed "under protest."

During Mr. Menon's visit several hundred persons staged an anti-merger demonstration at Rewa and attempted to proceed towards the palace. The police dispersed the hostile demonstrators who clashed with the former and assaulted Sardar Karam Singh, District Superintendent of Police.

Territorial adjustments are expected to be finalised before January 15.

Many a linguistic area has been smarting under an unnatural administrative set-up. We are sorry that these should have been left with grievances when "a new status" is gained by their country; that these should not be able to participate in the joys of the occasion with a full heart. Somebody will have to rectify this wrong. It may not be the Nehru-Patel Government.

"Home Guards" in the Central Province

Gandhiji had blazed many a new path in our thoughts and activities. The leaders of the Congress who also happen to be heads of Administration in the Indian Union today talk of these in public but hardly practice these in their daily life and their official activities. Many of his aspirations, therefore, have become like classics which adorn the shelves of libraries only.

But reports from the United Provinces and the Central Province indicate that there are chances of

the fulfilment of Gandhiji's hopes broadbased as these had been on the renovation of our village economy shattered by alien habits of thought and life. Both the Provincial Governments have been publicising the activities of their "Home Guard" organizations. The general impression is that these "Home Guards" form part of the military formations a few steps removed from the authentic soldiery; they constitute the "second line of defence" of the country.

But the Central Province Government have shown that these "Home Guards" can be made into instruments for inaugurating a "silent revolution" in our villages. A report published in the Nagpur *Hitavada* during the last week of November last enables us to draw up a picture of this experiment full of immense possibilities as it is of good for the province and the country. We summarize it below: The opening of 23 Rural Uplift Centres recently in the Province sponsored by the Home Guards organisation marks a new chapter in the history of our villages. The scheme is the logical culmination of Rural Home Guards training which aims at producing *gram-sainiks*, who are also *gram-sewaks*. The soldier's training given to the Rural Home Guards enables them to acquire the art of self-defence and fits them to act as the second line of defence in emergencies. But the greater advantage which flows from it is inculcation of discipline in the villages. Many a scheme has foundered in the past on the rock of rural lethargy and apathy. The immediate advantage secured by the Province through the Rural Home Guards Scheme is the presence of a band of disciplined youngmen who are capable of vigorous and concerted action in any given field.

That the Rural Home Guards are becoming the heralds of a new silent revolution in the countryside was realised when during their Jubbulpur halt, the Hon'ble Pt. R. S. Shukla, Premier, the Hon'ble Pt. D. P. Mishra, Home Minister and other Cabinet Ministers paid a visit to the Natwara village centre about 22 miles on Shahpur road. The village opens an altogether new vista in the realm of long-despaired Rural Uplift work. The ten *gram-sainiks* of the village—nearly all labourers, who finished their training earlier—have volunteered for a three-month Social Service and village-uplift work. After their day's work, they foregather and according to their leader's directions launch upon road clearing, village-sanitation and other operations worked out to details in their schedule.

The result is—and seeing is believing—that in hardly a month's time, the face of the village has been changed. The village's old historic tank, which was covered with rotten leaves and other weeds and in a thoroughly unusable state has been cleared. The eight village wells, which lay buried and perhaps forgotten under the dust-heaps have been reclaimed. The old village temple and *choupal* have nearly been excavated, the village roads cleaned and the foul-smelling

ponds within the village treated with disinfectants. The incidence of Malaria has gone down considerably now for quinine is regularly distributed among the villagers. The village-refuse is no longer littered about the village-streets; instead, it is now deposited in a common compost-pit thus salvaging the village's manural wealth. The houses wear a more cheerful appearance and the whole village looks gay. The Ministers visited the cleanest house in the village belonging to a Chamar. The Chamar was first hesitant to let in Pandit Shukla, lest the Panditji would be defiled. But soon his fears were disarmed when Pt. Shukla took out his shoes and made his way into the house. The house-owner's eyes welled up with tears of gratitude.

Of course, all this could not be merely the *sainik's* work. The villagers have taken inspiration from their own young men and have been joining their hands to the volunteers. That is the key to the success of Natwara and the other 22 Home Guard Uplift centres. Rural uplift work here has taken root in the village itself and the workers are no longer patronising towns-folk from outside but the village's own social service squads.

The Rural Uplift Plan is normally to be of six months' duration though a pilot plan of only three months' duration is being tried in the first instance. With a view to introducing system and sense of urgency, the Uplift work will be carried out in three stages. The first stage will include, sanitation, hygiene and health. The second stage would aim at Improved Agriculture and include 'Grow More Food' campaign. The third stage would be marked by an educational programme and by promotion of cultural activities and village-art, folk-songs and folk-dances. It includes, in fact, a comprehensive plan for the entire reconstruction of the village-life.

In early stages, an Instructor will be posted to each of the Rural Uplift centres. His work will be to co-ordinate the activities of the Rural Home Guards, who will work during their spare time. These Instructors have been taken through a special course in Nagpur before being sent out.

Collective Farming in Madras

Though Tamil-Telugu tension has been holding up many a progressive move in the province, we are glad to know that the Madras Government has launched an experiment in collective farming in Marudur, a village in the Trichinopoly district. It is hoped that it will "foster better relationship between the land-owner and the tiller of the soil." We summarize below the report on the subject as we have seen it in the press:

The scheme consists of the leasing of land belonging to private owners to landless labourers through a co-operative agricultural colonisation society.

It is a novelty in that both the land-owner and *ryot* are being made to co-operate in food production work by a colonisation society. Other colonisation societies formed in the province hitherto deal only with Government land and not private land.

The Provincial Government has advanced Rs. 80,000 to the society and also stood guarantee for Rs. 40,000 loaned to the society by the Central Agricultural Credit Bank of the district.

The affairs of the society are controlled by a board consisting of Government representatives, land-owners and the tillers of the soil.

The Government have also placed at the disposal of the society the services of a senior inspector of co-operative society and an agricultural demonstrator to offer advice to the members of the society.

It is an experiment in better living in a Madras village which all will watch with interest. Officials have begun however to talk of requesting the Central Government to treat their scheme "as falling within 'Grow More Food' schemes and granting financial assistance on the usual 50-50 basis." There is a disposition in every provincial Government to invite the Delhi Government to share their labour, forgetting that this invitation opens the door to intervention which more often than not results in the diminution of their "autonomy." We say, learn to do without Central help, don't run to Delhi with the beggar's bowl on every conceivable occasion.

Leprosy in India

The second session of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference was held at Calcutta on December 29 and 30, 1948, under the auspices of the West Bengal Branch of the British Empire Leprosy Association. The report of the proceedings has been published in the April number of *Leprosy in India* that has reached us lately.

From this we come to know that there are more than a million (10 lakhs) of lepers in India; West Bengal has more than one-fifth of these though in area she is the smallest province in India; Bankura, Manbhum and some of the places in Orissa have a high incidence of this disease.

For centuries this scourge has created a dread and abhorrence in the minds of all peoples. Modern science shows that it is "far less dangerous from the point of infection than many others," to quote the words of India's Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur who presided over the Conference. Other speakers, chiefly non-official workers like Dr. E. Muir, stressed the point that the disease may be "difficult to cure, but easy to prevent." For this purpose education in "simple precautions" is necessary; this work can be carried on by "honorary workers"; and a resolution was passed:

"That publicity and welfare work in connection with anti-leprosy campaign should largely be done

by voluntary agencies, and it recommends the building up of a network of district organizations which in co-operation with the Government, local bodies and public-spirited men can spread a humane and enlightened view of leprosy and organize welfare work for patients and ex-patients."

A Central Leprosy Institute is in the offing. But as the disease is "largely a village problem", it would be better to concentrate attention on villages; "in the immediate segregation of children born to suffer from leprosy lies the key to the eventual eradication of this disease"; homes in rural areas training lepers in arts and industries are an immediate need.

Department of Commercial Intelligence

It is said that the Ministry of Commerce is contemplating transfer of the Department of Commercial Intelligence to New Delhi with a view to economy.

Established in 1906 by Lord Curzon, its main function is to stimulate India's foreign trade and to help the Commercial community with information and advice relating to trade, commerce, and industry in the country. Its location in Calcutta is specially justified because the sea-borne trade returns of India shows that 64 per cent of India's export trade is done through the Port of Calcutta. The Indian Trade Journal and the Commercial Library are inseparable limbs of the Department and supplements greatly its function as a whole. Its removal to New Delhi, is all the more impracticable as the Government of India Press in New Delhi is not equipped for its publication; similar moves in the past had to be abandoned for the same reason. As regards economy it is fallacious inasmuch as to manage the work in Delhi would cost much more than in Calcutta, at the same time incurring a huge expenditure for its removal and the installation of equipment for the publication of the Indian Trade Journal.

The work relating to Agricultural Statistics which was being managed in Calcutta by 19 hands is now being managed by treble the number after its removal to Delhi. The very same thing may happen in regard to Commercial Intelligence also if removed to Delhi.

The contemplated saving by the removal is shown as 1,10,000 by retrenching one gazetted officer and 50 assistants. The Editor of Commercial Publication and his meagre but highly-paid staff, for retaining whom, this move is contemplated, costs the Government about Rs. 50,000 yearly. It is also reported that the move is designed to save some surplus highly-paid officers and staff in Delhi at the cost of some poorly-paid officers and staff in Calcutta.

Colour Insanity

The Press in India published a news that arrangements are almost complete for the holding of a conference between the Governments of India and Pakistan on one side and the Government of South

Africa on the other with a view to neutralize the racist policy of the Union Government of which citizens of Indian birth have been victims for about 75 years, almost since the days when Indian labourers were allowed to go to South Africa.

In view of this conference the following cabled from Cape-Town on November 27 last may be regarded as a break through the darkness :

Capetown's Diocesan Synod adopted on Friday (November 25) a motion condemning racial discrimination in South Africa.

The Right Rev. S. W. Lavis Coadjutor, Bishop of Capetown, declared, "The deadliest disease we suffer from in South Africa is colour insanity. All of us are guilty of allowing this poisonous growth to come to a stage where we are reaping a dreadful harvest."

In England there was an impression that the present South African Government invented racial discrimination but it would be sheer hypocrisy to say it was due to anyone particular.

The Synod's resolution expressed deep concern at the deterioration in race relations reflected in the dreadful uncertainty about the future that has gripped the coloured African and Indian people.

It deplored the 'threatened new attack on human rights, political status and economic security of non-Europeans' through the proposal to deprive coloured people of political rights held since the institution of constitutional government in the Cape by abolishing representation of Africans in the South African Parliament.

The resolution particularly condemned 'the ever-increasing tendency to relegate non-Europeans solely to unskilled and low-paid kinds of work, contrary to Christian principles, cruel and unjust in practice and dangerous to the peace and welfare of our country as well as undermining the morals of our white fellow-citizens.'

India's Resolution on S.-W. Africa

The U. N. Trusteeship Committee has adopted India's resolution on South-West Africa expressing regret at South Africa Government's repudiation of previous assurance and inviting it to resume submission of reports to the Trusteeship Council. The Resolution was passed by 31 votes to 11 with four abstentions. The South African delegation was not present during discussion.

The comprehensive resolution as adopted is as follows :

"The General Assembly expresses regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has repudiated its previous assurance to submit reports on its administration of the territory of South-West Africa for the information of the United Nations; reiterates in their entirety the previous General Assembly resolutions recommending the placing of South-West Africa under United Nations Trusteeship; expresses its regret that the Union of South Africa has decided not to take them into account and invites the Government of the Union of South Africa to comply with the previous decisions of the General Assembly and to resume the submission of reports to the Trusteeship Council."

Earlier the decision of the Union Government to take no further part in the Committee's discussions was conveyed to the members by Mr. G. P. Jooste, Leader of the Union delegation.

This was a direct sequel to the decision of the Trusteeship Committee to grant a hearing to the Rev. Michael Scott, a missionary, on behalf of the Herero and other tribes in South West Africa, which the Union Government regarded as a deliberate bypassing of the constituted authority of South Africa.

The resolution recalled previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly containing undertakings to submit reports on the administration of South-West Africa for the information of the United Nations.

The operative part read : "The General Assembly expresses regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has repudiated its previous assurance to submit reports in its administration of the territory of South-West Africa for the information of the United Nations and invites the Government of the Union of South Africa to resume the submission of such reports to the Trusteeship Council."

China's New Set-up

Administrative circles in the United States appear to have been cultivating an ostrich attitude towards developments in China. The Foreign Secretary has declared that the question of recognizing the Communist regime is premature to decide ; Mr. Jessup, her ambassador-at-large, has said that the question of withdrawing support from the Chinese Nationalist Government cannot be entertained now. As against this is the British declaration at the United Nations Political Committee that "the recognition of the Communist regime in China must be based on fact and not on sympathy."

Owen Lattimore, sometime editor of the New York *Pacific Affairs* magazine and for 8 years "political adviser" to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, does not share America's official obduracy. Addressing a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs on December 19 last he uttered words that are significant. "Communist domination of China was a matter of much more than Asian importance; it will have far-reaching effects on world balance." He was outspoken in his other remarks which we summarize below from the report in the Press :

On the impact of New China on Central Asia we should expect in the next decade or two a very rapid economic development with cultural and strategic consequences in the area around China.

An authoritarian and efficient Government in the New China would ultimately lead to a "definite improvement in the standard of living of the people." This rise in the standard of living would affect the people living across the border in India, Pakistan, Iraq and Turkey.

One notable consequence of the new set-up in China would be the acquisition of a "most secure"

frontier by Russia on her eastern side. China would receive from Russia technical and other help for developing her economy.

He did not rule out the possibility of Communist incursions into Tibet but did not consider it inevitable. It was unlikely that they would infiltrate into Burma and Indo-China, as for a considerable time the Chinese would be busy solving their own problems.

Atom Bomb Politics

The following two items of news cabled on September 26 last, a little after the burst of atom bomb experiment in the Soviet Union, should be an eye-opener to leaders of modern science and of the great States :

Chicago, September 26.—Western Europe is at the mercy of Russia : Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize-winner and discoverer of heavy water used in atomic research, said, "If peace is preserved it will not be because we can prevent Western Europe from being attacked."

The scientists also agreed that if the United States and Russia ultimately engaged in atomic warfare, it would be at least a ten-year military struggle, requiring occupation as a final step.

The scientists expressed their views at a Press Conference on Russia's reported development of atomic energy.

They agreed on the following points :

(1) Russia, because of its territory and concealed war industries, would not need as many atomic bombs as the United States to reach parity with this country in respect of atomic weapons.

(2) Atomic weapons alone would not be decisive in any such war, and such a military struggle would last at least ten years.

(3) Russia was at least abreast of the United States in the development of long-range rockets—potential carriers of atomic weapons.

(4) Bacteriological warfare was "not in the same class" with atomic warfare. A nation needed air superiority to start bacteriological warfare, the materials were difficult to sort, and there was a danger that the diseases would get back to the attacking nation.

(5) Russia's hand was vastly strengthened in any future discussions on international control of atomic energy.

Dr. Urey said that he saw no defence against the atom bomb within 50 years other than political organisation.

Charles Bentley

Charles Bentley, Bengal's Director of Public Health (1915-31), has died in England in his 76th year. He had to fight the vested interest of the Indian Medical Service to make good his position in the official hierarchy. Free from the colour conceit of the Anglo-Saxon, he was a friend of the Indian people, respecting their prejudices and sentiments. He recognized early the pest that malaria has been in Bengal for more than seventy-five years; and by constant iteration he made it a live problem. But

British official policy was a wall against which he unsuccessfully struggled. The memory of this good man will be cherished by health workers in Bengal.

Sailendra Nath Ghosh

The death of this Indian revolutionary patriot at this time cuts short a life which would have served his country more constructively now than British power has retired from India. A brilliant science graduate of the Calcutta University, he had been caught in the revolutionary fervour following the 1905 movement in Bengal. He became a marked man, and could only escape out of India through the help and encouragement of Asutosh Mukherji, the then power behind the throne in the Calcutta University.

Kedar Nath Banerjee

The death of this Bengali literary man in his 87th year snaps the link with the age which began with Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and ended with Rabindra Nath Tagore.

His picture of Bengali middle class and lower class life with its idealisms, with its attempt to reconcile the old with the new introduced by Britain will live in memory as the visible expression of an eastern society slowly being shattered by the onslaughts of an aggressive civilization. His experience of Chinese life gathered while he had been engaged under the British gave him an insight into the various processes of this disruption.

Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya

Professor Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, the illustrious Bengali savant, quietly passed away after a brief illness on the 4th December at his sylvan retreat at Serampur. Born on the 12th May, 1875, he was educated at the Calcutta Presidency College. He won the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1901, the subject of his dissertation being "Studies in Vedantism" subsequently published by the University.

His works on "The Doctrine of Maya" (a paper read before the First Session of the Philosophical Congress held at Calcutta in 1925), "The Subject of Freedom" (published by the Amalner Institute of Philosophy), "Adwaitavada and its Spiritual Significance" (Ramakrishna Centenary Volume)—all speak not only of the depth of his knowledge but also of his powers of original thinking in the blended light of Indian and Western learning.

Acharya Krishnachandra was an unassuming man of simple habits—an apt example of plain living and high thinking, religiously avoiding the lime-light. He lived the life of a true philosopher in whose life was illustrated the words of the Gita—*A-ratih Janasamsadi*.

THE NEW ORDER AS FROM JANUARY 26

Some Candid Reflections

By C. L. R. SASTRI

P19205

"Indian independence is still incomplete . . . Actually, what we have got is *not* real independence *but only* the removal of certain obstacles placed by the British."—Acharya Kripalani at a public meeting in New Delhi on the "Gandhi Jayanti Day", October 2, 1947.

"When power is attained much else of value is gone. Political trickery and intrigue take the place of idealism, and cowardice and selfishness the place of disinterested courage."—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru : *The Discovery of India*.

THE fateful January 26, 1950, is fast approaching, and it behoves us—the big guns as well as the small, the leaders no less than the led—to tidy up our minds preliminary to taking stock of the political situation as dispassionately as we can. This is by no means an easy task, requiring as it does not a little of moral courage and—let it be added—an equal measure of self-sacrifice in the sense of being amenable to relinquishing much the greater part of our preconceived notions. The primary requisite, of course, is not to be afraid of voicing a minority opinion if such should turn out to be the case. We have had, if the truth is to be told, far too much of this kind of shameful cowardice in our hallowed land and have paid for it dearly in toil and blood and sweat and tears—that quartette of human pains to which Mr. Winston Churchill drew our pointed attention some years ago. Our country—especially during the last two or three decades—has produced quite a sufficient number of what have now come to be known as "Yes-men." As Emerson quaintly said of Burns's songs :

"The wind whispered them, the birds whistled them, the corn, barley, and bulrushes hoarsely rustled them, nay, the music-boxes at Geneva were framed and toothed to play them ; the hand-organs of the Savoyards in all cities repeated them, and the chimes of bells rang them in the spires."

"NO-MEN"

Look where you would you saw a swarming horde of lackeys and *Jo-hukums* straining at the leash, as it were, to bow the head and to bend the knee to the panjandrums of the day. The political colour-scheme was one of the most monotonous monochrome : nor was there anything in the events themselves to justify such a sickeningly dazzling display of unanimity. The top-persons thundered and their stooges vociferously muttered their assent. But there the matter seemed to end, there being no noticeable correspondence between that tumult and that shouting on the one hand and actual achievement on the other. The reflection is unavoidable that we could have done with a few *No-men* for a change : *they* might have been instrumental in delivering the goods more promptly. Emerson said once that whoso would be a man must be a Nonconformist. I cannot help thinking that, as usual with the concord page, there is a good deal of wisdom in that dictum. It takes all sorts to make the world, and not merely the "Yes-men." Belonging, as I have done all along, to the other camp my views may not commend themselves to most of my readers. I shall, however, consider myself amply rewarded if they contrive to arrest the attention of the discriminating few.

THAT TIDAL-WAVE OF REJOICING

There is, I am sure, in the light of the foregoing, no harm in confessing that I was one of the very few persons in the country that were not "bowled over", so to speak, by the shock of happiness that the vast majority of my countrymen experienced on the memorable night of August 15, 1947. On that night a veritable tidal-wave swept over the countless millions of our beloved Motherland. It was a tidal-wave of rejoicing—"the joy in widest commonalty spread," as Wordsworth says somewhere. That tidal-wave, however, failed to make any appreciable impression upon me. I have never been one to succumb to mass-hysteria, and I did not succumb to it on the memorable 15th of August, 1947.

Why should I have succumbed to it ? I am a realist in politics and, as such, am accustomed to "see things steadily and to see them whole," to see them, that is, in the dry light of reason and not in the prismatic hues of an over-heated imagination. A yellow primrose by the river's brim is nothing to me, as it was nothing to someone else before me, but a yellow primrose by the river's brim. Not having been blessed with the poet's eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," I do not deceive myself into imagining that it is something bigger and brighter than what it actually is. I was brought up in a school of politics where "penny-plain" and not "two-pence coloured" had been the vogue. That school was what was called the "Liberal." But after the lamentable demise of its most sincere, as well as its most prominent, member (I refer, of course, to Sir C. Y. Chintamani), it has been leading a more or less moribund existence, and hardly counts in the politics of the day. I have myself ceased to be Liberal, having, long since, transferred my affections elsewhere.

THE ECLIPSE OF THE GREAT LIBERAL TRADITION

There is no suggestion here, let me explain, of my having lost faith in the great Liberal tradition. I have not. Liberalism, as the late Mr. Augustine Birrel has pointed out, is not a creed but a frame of mind. That tradition, that frame of mind, cannot—it only stands to reason—be submerged altogether by even the tallest and most massive of tidal-waves ; and, to do it full justice, the tidal-wave of August 15, 1947, was certainly out-size, a real whale of a wave. But the tragedy is that, taking it by and large, Liberalism as a political force has vanished from off the surface of the earth : there are now none so poor as to do it reverence. The eclipse that it has suffered in India, unfortunately, is more glaring even than the one it has suffered elsewhere.

Nor is the reason far to seek. Most of its present members have (comparatively) little faith in Liberal principles. If ours had all along been a free country they would have been called the *Conservatives*, instead of the Liberals. But ours having been all along a subject country the presumption has been that there cannot, in the nature of things, be any Conservatives, properly so called, in its body politic: its politicians must, *ipso facto*, all belong to the Left, the differences and divergences among them being confined only to the finer shades of Leftism, not to its broad outlines. But, actually, the Liberal party in India is dead as nail in door: it is a miserable rump of its old self—a sort of “hang-over,” if I may say so, from what today looks like a hoary past. We have but few genuine Liberals now. “No birds are flying over-head: there are no birds to fly.”

NO FIGHT LEFT

The Liberal Party, then, is dead, *not* my faith in it. Its members, after the lamentable demise of its most prominent politician aforementioned, became faint-hearted. They lost trust, not only in it, but also in themselves. Else, the party could have put up a fight of sorts with the mighty Leviathan that was opposed to it. It would have lost the fight, assuredly, but going down fighting is one thing and going down *without* fighting is quite another. It did not care even to keep its hat in the ring. The Congress was allowed to have a regular walk-over. I am certain that had the Liberals, not counting the cost, stood up boldly to the serried ranks of Congressmen from the very beginning right up to the bitter end—or “the final end,” in the late Quaid-e-Azam’s exquisite phrase—the face of the country would have been vastly different now.

But they became victims to stage-fright rather earlier in the proceedings than was compatible with their dignity: they developed cold feet much sooner than had been expected; and the fight was finished before it ever commenced. During the old days the Liberals, being more stout of heart and strong of limb than they are today, would at least have passed resolutions strongly condemning this and that action of their rivals. Latterly even this show of resistance had been given up. As an erstwhile Liberal I am ashamed to say that, when the disastrous partition of this thrice-hallowed land of ours was looming on the horizon, when what had once been but the inchoate dream of an astute and ambitious politician was, against all the rules of the form-book, on the point of being translated into an accomplished fact, the Liberals, to a man, did not care so much as to lift the littlest of their fingers to ward off that imminent catastrophe. On the contrary, they silently acquiesced in it.

*“Who but must laugh if such a man there be,
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?”*

THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

My point is that, having been brought up as a Liberal, I have had the good luck not to be carried off my feet by whatever the Congress happened to do, or not to do, at a given moment. Nor, as I have already recorded,

was I carried off my feet by the country-wide celebrations on the night of August 15, 1947. Both as an honest man and as a true patriot I was more inclined to hang down my head in shame (for what had been accomplished by our self-appointed leaders) than to go about with my head in the clouds. Not, unlike many others, having mortgaged my mind to these self-appointed leaders, I could, as Hamlet says, tell a hawk from a handsaw: in other words, distinguish between real freedom (the “Poorna Swaraj” of our fondest dreams) and the cruel travesty of it which was presented to us on that memorable night of August 15. I had my own conception of complete independence, and what was bestowed on us on that night did not seem to me quite to tally with it. The gap between the ideal and the real was so wide as (in my opinion) to make even Blake’s angelic host

*“... throw down their spears
And water heaven with their tears.”*

A NIGHT OF PENANCE AND OF PRAYER

“The roses and the raptures” of that night of nights, then, were not for me: for me it was, rather, a night of penance and of prayer. I could not but recall the words of our distinguished Premier (though in quite a different context) in his broadcast on September 9, 1947:

“Is this the realisation of our dreams of a free India that we have aimed at all these long years?”

The answer, quite obviously, is that it is not. It is as far from that as chalk is from cheese, or Khorassan from Kidderminster, or, to indulge in a little levity, Eastern Pakistan from Western.

Recollecting in tranquillity, as the poet has recommended us to do, the varied emotions of that night two significant doubts assail us. *One is*: Was it really independence? *The other*: Even it was, was it worthy of attainment at such an exorbitant price as the vivisection of our country?

My answers to these two questions are: (1) That it was not real independence; and (2) that, even if it was, it was not worthy of attainment at such an exorbitant price as the vivisection of our country. I shall bring in the poor Liberals here again. However low they might have fallen in the estimation of the world of late I can say of them, without any fear of contradiction, that, had they had the inestimable privilege of ruling the roost at the crucial juncture instead of our namby-pamby Congressmen, they would never have given their *imprimatur* to the deplorable fragmentation of our ancient land. If they had been confronted with a choice between freedom *with* fragmentation and slavery *without* they would, undoubtedly, have preferred the latter. *And I would have done the same.* It is a pity that, even at this admittedly late hour, with such colossal mass-killings and their inevitable concomitants, arson, rape, and rapine, staring them in their faces, our Congress leaders have not ceased to “play up”, to the top of their bent, the boon of freedom (as they love to call it) which, by their strenuous and single-handed efforts, they are supposed to have conferred upon our dumb millions “*and with such a conspi-*

cuous dearth of blood-shedding, too, my dears," they add by way of a postscript!

ACHARYA KRIPALANI

Mine may be a voice in the wilderness; but, surely, Acharya Kripalani's is not: he is one of the big guns of the Congress and, at the time of making the statement which I have affixed as a motto to my article, he was probably the biggest gun of the Congress, being still the President of that organisation. As such he could not have been talking through his hat. I have always had an immense respect for him: he is one of the few Congress leaders of whom it can be said without any hyperbole, that they have their heads firmly screwed on to their shoulders. Public memory may be notoriously short, but I trust that there are some persons at least scattered over the length and breadth of Hindusthan—for it is that, and nothing else, though the official fiat has gone forth that "India" minus "Pakistan" contrives to be still, by some esoteric process not easily comprehended by the man in the street, the same entity, "India"—public memory, I repeat, may be notoriously short, but I trust that there are some persons at least scattered over the length and breadth of Hindusthan who have not forgotten his historic report on the Noakhali affair (which, however, appears to have hit the Congress *triumvirate* between wind and water), as also his learned Presidential Address at the Meerut session of the Congress. He was plain to the point of bluntness in the former; and he was no less plain, though not, perhaps, to the point of bluntness, in the latter.

"IN THE BOWELS OF THE LORD"!

I shall permit myself to quote an extract from that Presidential Address. He was referring to the famous appeasement policy of the Congress (which policy is still, by the way, continuing merrily—age, apparently, not being able to wither, or custom to stale, it). He was at pains to tell the Congress *triumvirate*—for even a President of the Congress is a mere back number before them, a sort of hewer of wood and drawer of water—that the country had had enough of that policy, which, nevertheless, failed to achieve their cherished object, namely, of bringing about a startling change of heart in the Muslim Leaguers. His criticism was on a par with the adjuration uttered by Cromwell on a famous occasion: "I do entreat you, in the bowels of the Lord, to search your hearts, and conceive the possibility that you may be wrong." Shree Kripalani's actual words were:

"The communal conflict has today assumed not only a serious but a vicious aspect. It is quite possible that to avoid immediate trouble we may have accepted principles that cut at the root of nationality and democracy. If we continue to do so we shall not only be betraying the nation but, ultimately, the Muslim and other communities also."

He added:

"I hope our elders will guard themselves and the country against being coerced or cajoled into making any anti-national and undemocratic compromises in the future."

It is humiliating to reflect that his passionate exhortation fell on stony ground, because, not long after, *the most anti-national and the most undemocratic compromise of all*, was made—namely, the Congress's acquiescence in the creation of Pakistan.

SCRAPING THE GILT OFF THE GINGER BREAD

This extract will, no doubt, have given my readers a penetrative insight into Acharya Kripalani's quality of thinking. He is not always a *Jo hukum*, a mere "Yes-man." He can hit out whenever he feels like it; and he hit out in his speech in New Delhi on the "Gandhi Jayanti Day" on October 2, 1947. *He just scraped the gilt off the ginger-bread.* He told his hearers that August 15 did not, as they had been fondly imagining, create a new heaven and a new earth in our country.

"Indian independence is still incomplete . . . Actually, what we have got is *not* real independence *but only* the removal of certain obstacles placed by the British."

That wanted saying very much, and it was said: and the point to note here is that it was said by a man of Acharya Kripalani's calibre.

LET THE TRUTH BE TOLD

So far I have rendered unto Caesar what was Caesar's; given Acharya Kripalani the praise that is his due by virtue of his hitting straight from the shoulder. *But a question remains to be asked of him and of those of his way of thinking*; for there must be many of them, though they may not have the courage to come out into the open, to proclaim their views from the house-tops, as the distinguished Rashtrapati had done in that speech of his before a New Delhi audience.

When he, along with the rest of the Congress hierarchy, persuaded his (and their) innumerable followers to make merry as they had never made merry before on account of the (alleged) dawn of that millennium for which the country had been waiting eagerly for more than half-a-century, did they sincerely believe that it was the genuine article, the authentic dawn "the far-off divine event for which the whole creation moved," in the poet's exquisite imagery? Or, were they merely indulging in a grievous practical joke, in a mere rhetorical rant, knowing full well all the time that that *much-vaunted dawn was, as a matter of stark, sober, fact, nothing of the kind; being more in the nature—if the truth is to be told—of a cock-and-bull story that they were interested in putting about for certain nefarious ends of their own?*

POORNA SWARAJ OR DOMINION STATUS

Unless, of course, we are inclined to dub the Congress leaders as abysmal idiots and incorrigible fools we must assume that when they so tragically misled the unthinking masses on August 15, 1947, in regard to that complete independence which they flattered themselves they had won for them—and with so little *shedding of blood, too*—they misled them *on purpose* and that they were not, like Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, suddenly smitten by a dazzling light on October 2, as Acharya Kripalani's strange revelation may dispose us to believe. The question now arises: What becomes of the first of their vaunted twin

principles—Truth? Ruthlessly massacred, gentle reader, ruthlessly massacred!

There is another aspect of the matter. What was achieved on August 15, 1947, even if it could be called freedom of sorts, was only Dominion Status, if even that—the same Dominion Status against which the Congress leaders had all along set their faces like flint, opposing to it their own grandiloquent concept of “Poorna Swaraj,” a concept which the poor Liberals could not be presumed to understand, much less to appreciate, even if they tried “with both hands,” as Humpty-Dumpty would have said. These Congress leaders, in their *hauteur*, had always looked upon that *Ultima Thule* of Liberal ambition, Dominion Status, as something that was totally lacking in spirit, pep, ginger, what you will. The retention of Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India was proof positive that the *manna* that fell from on high on that memorable night of August 15, 1947, was not “Poorna Swaraj” but merely Dominion Status.

THAT “SYMBOLIC LINK”

Tell me not, in mournful numbers, gentle reader, that the link binding India to the British Commonwealth is *only* of the variety known as “symbolic.” If our revered leaders wish to kid themselves we can, of course, have no objection to their doing so to their hearts’ content. It is one thing, however, to kid themselves: it is, manifestly, quite another to attempt to throw sackfuls of dust into the people’s eyes. Apart from the undisputed and indisputable fact that even a symbolic link is a link (on the analogy, let me say, of a bearded woman who is still a woman, though with a hirsute ornament, unlike the majority of her sex who go about with “unconditioned” chins, chins in their pristine starkness)—apart from the undisputed and indisputable fact that even a symbolic link is a link, it may be permissible for us to wonder why, if that link is as flimsy, as tenuous, as indeterminate, as we are being incessantly urged to believe that it is, we have had to devalue our rupee at the same instant (and to the same extent) as the British devalued their pound sterling, and why, determined as we are to recognise the new regime in China at the earliest opportunity, we have not done so up to the moment of writing. Is it not because we are, not to put too fine a point upon it, still waiting for a gesture from London? All this talk of symbolic links is so much eye-wash: just as much eye-wash as that other talk of our rigorous neutrality as between the two blocs into which the world is now broadly divided.

DISCRETION IS THE BETTER PART OF VALOUR

Sober reflection compels us to think highly of the old Liberals. They, at any rate, scrupulously avoided telling it in Gath and bruited it about in the streets of Askalon that they would not be satisfied with a jot or tittle less than “Poorna Swaraj,” complete independence, full-fledged self-government, *et hoc genus omne*. But Congressmen never stopped putting themselves in the back for what they pretended were manlier ambitions, while they knew (none better!) right from the beginning that they would be supremely content with the tiniest crumbs of reform that fell from the British Government’s table—

including a merciless vivisection of our beloved Motherland.

The Liberals, however, have ever been conscious of the limitations under which they have had to work and have, consistently with that consciousness, been careful to cut their political coats according to the available quantity of cloth. If they have been prone to regard discretion as the better part of valour at the very outset itself, as against their more vociferous brethren’s arriving at the same *prosaic conclusion* after months’ and years’ and decades’ of heart-rending trials and tribulations, of leading our thrice unfortunate countrymen a dance of the most unparalleled hysteria imaginable—why, that is a distinct feather in their caps, indicating an extraordinarily high order of political acumen, indeed!

THOSE RIVAL CAMPS

In the light, then, of the latest developments, of which mention has been made in the foregoing paragraphs, it is rather amusing to recollect the way our valiant Congressmen used to poke fun—and endless fun at that—at the poor, misguided Liberals. Here, we were explicitly informed, were Indians divided into two markedly rival camps: the one craving with heart and soul for full-fledged self-rule; and the other (O ye gods and fishes!) eternally pleading, on bended knees, with an obscurantist Government, for *just* a further instalment of reforms to tide over another decade or two—all these recurrent instalments totting up, in the final analysis, to that most despicable of political concepts, “Dominion Status,” the King Charles’s head of our neo-revolutionaries. I have never been able to help laughing in my sleeves at this new technique in Indian politics that had, as its sole end and aim, the deliberate deceiving of a pathetically trusting public.

My thesis is that if it is, *on the one hand*, a question of raving and ranting and winning popular applause by intentionally misleading policies and programmes, and, *on the other*, of a sane and sober calculation of all the factors in a given situation and acting accordingly with a minimum of fuss, of beatings of the air, of frothings and fumings, it does not require much prescience to judge which side is right in the long run.

SUMMING UP

The long and the short of it is that in one bosom at least there is no marked enthusiasm for the shape of things to come on January 26, 1950, or, for that matter, for the shape of things that has already come. Independence without unity is not worth a single moment’s hearty rapture: it is worth even less when, at the first blast of the Higher Criticism, it is found to shrink to that *anathema maranatha* of our revered Congress leaders until the other day—namely, “Dominion Status,” however symbolic the link may be that attaches us to the Crown. As for that “Republic” business, the less said about it the better. Links—symbolic or otherwise—and Republics seldom exist side by side. Those of my way of thinking can but ask, with the poet:

“Whither is fled the visionary gleam?

Where is it now, the glory and the dream?”

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

By PROF. D. N. BANERJEE,
University of Calcutta

ON December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations "passed and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Thereafter the General Assembly "called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on political status of countries or territories." We have accordingly assembled here today to celebrate the Anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Before, however, I deal with this Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself, I should like to say a few words by way of introduction. And this will indicate, to some extent at least, the necessity of this Declaration.

A distinguished American journalist who had recently visited Calcutta, told some of us who had an occasion to meet him, that a Negro could not, even today, travel in the same bus with white men in some of the Southern States of the United States of America, although he added, such a disability did not exist in the case of a Federal transport agency. It seems that things have not much improved since James Bryce wrote in his *American Commonwealth* (New Edition, 1927) that in many States in the South of the United States the law required the railroad and even the street-car companies to provide separate cars for the blacks; that in most parts of the South a person of colour could not enter a public refreshment-room used by the whites except as the servant of a white; that one might see the most respectable and, possibly, even educated coloured woman, perhaps almost white, forced into the coloured car among rough Negroes, while the black nurse in charge of a white child was admitted to the white car.

"The two races are everywhere taught in distinct schools and colleges, though in one or two places Negroes have been allowed to study in medical or law classes. They worship in different churches. . . . In concert halls and theatres, if the coloured are admitted at all, it is to an inferior part of the chamber. . . . Civil justice is mostly fairly administered as between the races, but not criminal justice. In most parts of the South a white man would run little more risk of being hanged for the murder of a Negro than a Mussalman in Turkey for the murder of a Christian."

And I also find in Professor Laski's *American Democracy*, published in 1949, that

"Whatever be the small improvements made here and there in the treatment of the Negro, he is, in general, as ruthlessly exploited as the contempt and ingenuity of the South permit." "He is exploited as citizen, as consumer, as producer. . . . Even for the educated or wealthy Negro, the South is a prison. . . . He is oppressed or repulsed at every turn. If he asserts his rights, he is arrogant; if he accepts humiliation, he is servile. Whether it be education or health, the place where he lives or the place where he works, whether it is justice in the courts or justice in the legislature, the assumptions of Southern action

are destructive of the very basis upon which the Negro can hope for fulfilment as a human being. There is no single vocation in which he does not suffer from (*sic*) being a Negro; there is no single environment in which he can hope, quite simply, to give expression to his own personality. Even so tolerant and humane a president as Franklin Roosevelt hardly dared do more than pay occasional verbal homage to the Negro claim to be treated as a rational human being." Even "there is discrimination against Negro patients in the hospitals; and there is similar discrimination against Negro medical students seeking hospital training."

And it is not merely the Negro who suffers from various disabilities in the United States. The Oriental (say, a Chinese or a Japanese), the Jew, and the Roman Catholic are also subject to some kind of disability or other.

"The experience of Governor Smith, in 1928," says Professor Laski in the book referred to before, "makes it clear that the time has not yet come when a Roman Catholic may count on entering the White House. Save in the world of industry and finance, there are many invisible barriers to the upward progress of the Jew, Universities where he may not teach, hospitals where he may not practise, clubs which he cannot join, even areas in cities where he cannot rent a house or spend a night in an (*sic*) hotel." Again, "though Roman Catholics and Jews have reached positions as high as the Governorship of New York, neither, as yet, can hope for a successful candidature for the Presidency." One can easily imagine the sense of psychological frustration imposed on these minorities on racial or religious grounds. And "it breeds in large numbers of American citizens an unnecessary inferiority complex, and this, in its turn, finds expression in excessive arrogance or undue humility."

We all know also the effect of race and colour prejudice in South Africa.

"Canada and Australia," Beatrice Webb tells us, "ignored the native tribes (when they did not exterminate them) as possible citizens of the newly formed State."

And even in England a Roman Catholic suffers today from disabilities in the matter of succession to the throne or in the matter of appointment to the offices of Lord High Chancellor and the High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. And in our own country disabilities arising out of "untouchability" have been a most disgraceful feature of our social system. Fortunately steps have recently been taken by the Indian Constituent Assembly for the abolition of untouchability which has been declared to be a penal offence under the proposed New Constitution of India.

The problem of national minorities appears to have been more satisfactorily solved in the Soviet Union than in many of the Western Democracies.

"All sections of the community," observe Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their *Soviet Communism*, "apart from those legally deprived of citizenship on grounds unconnected with either race or nationality, enjoy, throughout the USSR, according to law, equal

rights and duties, equal privileges and equal opportunities. Nor is this merely a formal equality under the law and the federal constitution. Nowhere in the world do habit and custom and public opinion approach nearer to a like equality in fact."

In view of what I have shown above, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, has a special significance of its own. The Declaration which comprises thirty Articles relating to "human rights and fundamental freedoms," asserts, among other things, in a Preamble worthy of its noble character:

(i) that the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world";

(ii) that the "disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind";

(iii) and that "it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

The Declaration of Human Rights next affirms, among many other things:

(a) that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights; that they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood";

(b) that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

(c) that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person";

(d) that "no one shall be held in slavery or servitude, and slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms";

(e) that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment";

(f) that "everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law";

(g) that "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law";

(h) that "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile";

(i) that "everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him";

(j) that "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation; and everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks";

(k) that "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each

State;" and "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country";

(l) that "everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution";

(m) that "men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family," and "they are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution";

(n) that "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others," and "no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property";

(o) that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion," and "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression";

(p) that "everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association" and "no one may be compelled to belong to an association";

(q) that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives";

(r) that "everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country";

(s) that "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government, and this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures";

(t) that "everyone.....has the right to social security, to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests, to rest and leisure, and to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family;" and

(u) that "everyone has the right to education, and education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages."

The Declaration has also emphasized that "everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible," and that "in the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

I have given above a summary of the human rights as proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations through the Declaration, of Human Rights. This Declaration, I need hardly point out, is based on a belief in, and a respect for, the dignity and worth of man as man, and also on the principle of "unity or equality of man" and the idea of a universal brotherhood. As such, it can worthily take its place by the side of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens

proclaimed by the National Assembly of France on the 26th of August, 1789. In a reply to Burke, Thomas Paine asked in his *Rights of Man*: "What was man when he first came from the hand of his Maker?" "Man," he himself replied, "Man was his high and only title and a higher cannot be given him." The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes this. Now the question is: what is the sanction behind this Declaration and who is going to implement it? The Declaration deals with matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States and the United Nations is not empowered by its Charter to intervene in those matters. We have also recently seen the attitude of both South Africa and Great Britain towards the attempted intervention by the United Nations in the affairs of South-West

Africa. In view of this, the only sanction to-day for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be the force of a broad-based international public opinion, and it should, therefore, be the duty of everyone of us to contribute to the growth and effectiveness of this public opinion. Member States have "pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for an observance" of the human rights and fundamental freedoms set forth in the Declaration. Let us all sincerely hope and trust that they will duly fulfil their pledge in the interests of humanity.*

* Presidential Address delivered at a meeting, held at the Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, on 10th December, 1949.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

A Study in His Philosophy

By DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., F.R.S., Ph.D.,
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ON this day, eighty years ago, was born that super-man whom the world may justly regard as the Father of the Indian Nation and the greatest man of the world in modern times, I mean Mahatma Gandhi who, after Gantama the Buddha, may rightly be called the Light of Asia. He was a Mahatma in the true sense of the word. Mahatma literally means a great soul. Rabindranath, the greatest of India's poets, says:

"He is the Mahatma who makes the joys and sorrows of all his own, and recognises the good of all as his own good."

A more philosophical definition of the Mahatma is to be found in the Bhagavad-Gita which is the Hindu Scripture *par excellence* and may well be called the Universal Scripture for mankind. It is here stated that

"A Mahatma is that rare person who in the light of wisdom attained through many lives of intense *sadhana* or spiritual training resorts to God as all this manifest universe."

What the Mahatma is, is more explicitly stated in the same Scripture when we are told that

"A *yogin* is that great soul who having seen Brahman in all, sees his own self in all beings and all beings in his own self, and feels the joys and sorrows of all beings as his own."

If we accept this as a correct description of the Mahatma, then Gandhiji is essentially such and is rightly called the Mahatma or the great soul.

In the august personality of Mahatma Gandhi we find the rare combination of two great, but greatly different, characters, *viz.*, those of the saint and the statesman, of the philosopher and the politician. The mass of people in our country as also in other countries know him more as a politician and a statesman, but much less as a saint, a thinker and a philosopher. So I would like to say something mainly about his philosophy.

Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy is substantially the

same as the philosophy of the Upanishads which are probably the earliest records of human speculation regarding God, man and the world. It has a firm basis in the Upanishadic idea of reality as the universal self which is manifested as the visible universe and is present in all beings and things as their inmost self, and is the ultimate ground out of which they originate, by which they are sustained and to which they return on dissolution. It is his firm faith in the Upanishadic ideas about God, self and the world, and his rational adoption of the Upanishadic ideal of life with proper adjustments to modern conditions that make the Mahatma a product of the ancient Indian culture, at the same time that he assimilates in his life the best elements in the culture of the Occident.

The impact of Western thought and culture on the Indian mind had, in its earlier period, one baneful effect. at least, for the younger rising generation. It had terribly shaken their faith in the *sanatana* or eternal culture of India and weakened their allegiance to it on the one hand, and, on the other, enslaved them to Western habits of thought and life by reason of their apparent charm, external glitter and appealing elasticity. The result was that India stood divided, so to speak, into two parts, the ancient and the modern, the old and the young. The gulf of difference separating the one from the other widened as time went on and the influence of Western education made itself felt in all the strata of our social and cultural life. The younger generation would now turn away from their ancient religion and philosophy in disdain and replace them by those of the West, while the old generation would look down upon them as a band of atheists, materialists and *mlecchas* or untouchables. It was at this pass that India had need of men who would bridge the gulf that separated ancient India from the modern. the old from the new. As Rabindranath says:

"The spread of Western education has been dividing India into two parts, the past and the present. He who builds the bridge to connect them will save us. By his faith he will inspire new faith in us, will give us an anchorage, censure our false sense of humiliation and diffidence, and will put us in possession of such ancient treasures that we shall no longer feel the necessity of covering our shame with a foreign cloak."

Those who know anything about the renaissance of Hinduism in the form of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement will readily acknowledge the contributions of Bengal towards the construction of a bridge to connect ancient India with the modern. But the contributions made by Mahatma Gandhi towards the same end are more important and more valuable in so far as they go a great way to synthesise and reconcile new India with the old not only in the sphere of religion but also in those of our national, political and social lives. Both in his philosophy and practical life the Mahatma effects a glorious reconciliation between ancient and modern India which has had its repercussions throughout the length and breadth of the country and in all the spheres of our national life.

The fundamental doctrine of Mahatma's philosophy is that 'Truth is God, and God is Truth.' God as the highest Truth is the ultimate reality. The ultimate reality is conceived after the Upanishads as the self-manifest spirit which lies hidden in all beings, pervades all things, and is the inmost self of all living creatures in the whole universe. In the light of this conception of God we are to recognise every man, whatever his position in life may be, as divine, as a living image of God, and as a finite centre of God's manifestation. We should look upon all men and women as children of the same Father and so related as brothers and sisters in the divine body politic.

In his philosophy of life Gandhiji accepts Karma-yoga as the moral ideal and follows it all through his life. The law of Karma has been rather misunderstood and misrepresented by both the Indian populace and the Western critics of Indian philosophy. For them, the law means an inexorable fate or destiny which binds us hand and foot and leaves no room for free will or initiative in us. Like dumb, driven cattle, we are governed by the law of Karma and made to reap the consequences of our past deeds without any hope or possibility of averting or modifying them by fresh actions and efforts on our part. It thus takes away all initiative of action from us and makes us fatalists and passive tools in the hands of an almighty power. Gandhiji gives the lie direct to this misinterpretation of the law of Karma. He has shown by his practical life that the law is not so much an obstacle to Karma or activity as a call, and a command to perform all sorts of actions in a disinterested spirit and in accordance with one's station in life. All of us know what a life of intense political and religious, social and literary activities he led from day to day and till the last day of his earthly existence. He lived an ideal life in the cause of truth and freedom, and in the service of suffering and degraded humanity. It is the life of a Karma-yogi in conformity with the ideal of *niskama karma* or unselfish

activity as preached by Sri Krishna in the Bhagavad-Gita. In the light of this, it may very well be said that Mahatma Gandhi gave the nation a fresh initiation into Karma-yoga and a fresh training in the art of selfless activity in modern times and under modern political conditions.)

The doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-violence is another notable aspect of Gandhiji's philosophy of life. It is not, of course, anything new or original in the history of Indian thought and culture. The Mahatma, however, gave it a new form and a wider scope by the force of his personality and the intensity of his devotion to it in all spheres of his life and activity. *Ahimsa* means abstinence from injury to any life in thought, word and deed. The doctrine of *ahimsa* was generally adopted by men as a principle of the moral or religious life. Gandhiji extended its scope and application to other spheres of life as well. He used it even as a political weapon in a political setting. He was not a believer in the method of revenge and retaliation even in politics, nor had he any faith in its underlying principle of 'eye for eye and tooth for tooth.' It was his firm conviction that hatred is not to be conquered by deeper hatred but by love, that anger is not to be pacified by fiercer anger but by sweet reasonableness, and that one brute force is not to be conquered by a stronger brute force but by moral or spiritual power. He followed the law of non-violence with deep devotion even in his political life. But, unfortunately for us, the apostle of non-violence fell a victim to violence and that for no other reason than his unflinching devotion to the cause of non-violence in political matters.

In the saintly life of the Mahatma, there is the realisation of the highest moral ideals like *upeksha*, *maitri*, *karuna* and *mudita*. These are the gems which shine in his life as they once did in the perfected life of the Buddha. In him, we find that *upeksha* or equanimity of mind, serenity of thought and tranquillity of spirit which is not perturbed by the troubles and difficulties of life, the success and failure of the plans of life, or by petty considerations of name and fame, of good or bad reputation. There was in him that universal *maitri* or amity which could grasp within its loving embrace all human beings irrespective of their caste and creed, religion and nationality. His heart was full of that *karuna* or compassion which made it beat in sympathy for suffering humanity and made him strive incessantly to relieve the miseries of the poor, the oppressed, the down-trodden and the neglected in human society. He had in him that *mudita* or sense of satisfaction for the happiness of other fellow beings, which would enable him to participate even in the joys of his so-called enemies. It would be no exaggeration for us to say with the poet that the Mahatma was one of those immortal beings whose birth on the face of the earth glorifies the parents of which they are born, sanctifies the family in which they are born, and lends perfection to the world into which they are born.*

* Presidential address delivered at a public meeting held in connection with Gandhi Jayanti at the Central Institute for Training Instructors, Koni Camp, Bilaspur, on 2nd October, 1949.

UNION EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATURE

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

Parliament
P. Rajeswara Rao
320-060

THE executive power and command over the defence forces are vested in the President of India. He shall exercise his powers either directly or through officers subordinate to him. He shall be elected by an electoral college consisting of :

(a) Elected members of both Houses of Parliament ;

(b) Elected members of the Legislatures of the States ; which mean the Lower House in the States having a Second Chamber. Every elected member of the Legislature of a State shall have as many votes as there are multiples of one thousand in the quotient obtained by dividing the population of the State by the total number of elected members of the Legislature. Each elected member of either House of Parliament shall have such number of votes obtained by dividing the total number of votes assigned to the members of the Legislatures of the States by the total number of such members. In this connection fractions exceeding one-half are counted as one leaving out other fractions. The votes are so weighed as to secure equality of voting strength as between the Central Legislature and the States Legislatures put together.

The election of the President shall be held in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the voting shall be by secret ballot. It is felt that when one person alone is to be elected there is no need for this system. What is more he may have had a small proportion of the first preferences. But election by a bare majority means that the majority party would be in a position to elect the President without the minority party having any voice in the election. The term of the President is five years. He is eligible for re-election. The necessary qualifications are that he should be a citizen of India, aged thirty-five years and duly qualified for election as a member of the House of the People. The age-limit is superfluous as hardly anyone below that would command such a wide influence as to be elected as the President. In case some one does, why should he be debarred ? Pitt the younger became the Prime Minister at the age of 24 and he was quite successful. The President shall not be answerable to any Court for the exercise and performance of the powers and duties of his office. It does not take away the right of a person to bring appropriate proceedings against the Government of India. He can be impeached for the violation of the constitution by two-thirds of the members of the total strength of the either House of Parliament. The fourteen days' notice of such a resolution should also be passed by one-fourth of the strength of the House. The Vice-President will act as President during the casual vacancy or the absence of the President. He is elected by members of both Houses of Parliament at a joint meeting in accordance with the system of

proportional representation. The qualifications and terms are similar to that of the President. Doubts and disputes relating to the election to these offices are enquired into and decided finally by the Supreme Court. There shall be a Council of Ministers with Prime Minister at the head to aid and advice the President. They hold office during his pleasure and they are collectively responsible to the House of the People. Under a Republican Parliamentary system, it is neither necessary nor desirable that the head of the State should act as an umpire in the competition for cabinet membership. It is interesting to recall that in the Republics of Germany and Czechoslovakia after the first World War cabinet was given the legal status of Government and made the custodian of executive power in its own right. The British fiction that the cabinet is merely a body of advisers was discarded. It is also necessary to bear in mind that though the power of the British Crown is restricted its influence is far greater.

"The Prestige of Royalty, the long term of office by the Sovereign and the influence of tradition combine to secure for the King a degree of consideration and confidence from the cabinet and the Prime Minister which is rarely accorded to any other constitutional head," as Prof. Keith puts it.

The President should not be the Government but merely the head of the State and the embodiment of National Unity. Under the new constitution of Burma the President appoints the Prime Minister on the nomination of the Chamber of Deputies and appoints other ministers on the nomination of the Prime Minister. The danger that Parliamentary Election of all members of the cabinet may weaken the leadership of the Prime Minister is thus avoided. It remains to be seen that what results will ensue when the President exercises his constitutional power to urge the Prime Minister to include in his cabinet persons with whom he happens to be in political disagreement. The proposition of Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar that if the President of the Union stood in the way of the Council of Ministers discharging their collective responsibility to the House of the People, he would be guilty of the violation of the constitution, remains to be tested. It is admitted on all hands that there would always be marginal cases in which the President could not accept the advice of his Ministry. It would be better if special conventions regarding representation in the Cabinet, such as those prevailing in Canada are permitted to be evolved by the interaction of political forces in due course.

The Attorney-General for India who advises the Government is appointed by the President. He holds office during the pleasure of the President. He shall have the right of audience in all the Courts of India. The qualifications for such a person are the same as those that are necessary for one who aspires to become

a Judge of the Supreme Court. In the conduct of the business of the Government it shall be the duty of the Prime Minister to communicate to the President :

- (a) The decisions of the Council of Ministers ;
- (b) Such information relating to the administration as the President may call for ;
- (c) If the President so requires to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister but which has not been considered by the Council.

If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part of its territory is threatened by war or internal disturbance he may proclaim the same. The Proclamation may be revoked subsequently. It shall be placed before each House of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of two months unless it has been approved by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. If such a proclamation issued when the House of the People has been dissolved or its dissolution takes place during the period of two months and the same has not been approved by a resolution within two months it shall cease to operate at the expiration of thirty days from the date on which the House of the People first sits after reconstitution, unless before expiration of that period resolution approving the proclamation has been passed by both Houses of Parliament.

When a proclamation of emergency is in operation the President may by order declare that the right to move any Court for the enforcement of such of the fundamental rights as may be mentioned in the order and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of the same shall remain suspended for the period during which the proclamation is in force or for such shorter period as may be specified in the order. Every such order shall be laid before each House of the Parliament as soon as possible. The President has also the right to proclaim a State of emergency to meet a financial crisis. It practically follows the National Recovery Act of U.S.A. passed in 1930, which gave power to the President to make provisions to remove both financial and economic difficulties that overtook America following the great depression. It is keenly felt that the President is invested with powers which cannot be consistent with democracy and responsible Government. Time alone will reveal whether the Indian President will reign or govern.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the following observation of the Supreme Court of U.S.A., while declaring National Industrial Act void :

"Emergency does not create power, does not increase granted power or diminish the restrictions imposed upon power granted or reserved, though emergency conditions might afford a reason for an extraordinary use of existing power."

Besides the British Emergency Powers Act of 1920, provides that the proclamation should be laid

before Parliament within five days of issue and would cease to operate after expiration of seven days from the time it was so laid before Parliament unless Parliament provided for its continuance. The Weimer Republic provided that the proclamation should be laid before the German Parliament immediately and should be revoked at the demand of the Parliament. Under the constitution of U.S.A., suspension of fundamental rights could be authorised only by the Congress and even then the Supreme Court can set it aside if it felt that conditions under which such suspension would be justified did not exist.

Evidently the exercise of such drastic powers must be subject to greater safeguards under democratic process than have been provided in the constitution.

"These emergency Provisions," observed Prof. K. T. Shaw, "constitute the grand finale and crowning glory of the most reactionary chapter of the constitution."

Mr. H. V. Kamath, another member of the Constituent Assembly, proclaimed with vigour and emotion that

"This arch of autocratic reaction surmounts the edifice of democracy."

The soundness of a constitution must be judged with reference to the way that it is likely to operate in difficult situation. It is hoped that these provisions will remain dormant and that there will be no occasion at all to press them into service.

The Union Parliament shall consist of the President and two Houses of Parliament called the Council of States and the House of the People. The Council of States shall consist of 250 members of whom fifteen well-versed in arts, letters and social sciences shall be nominated by the President and the rest shall be the representatives of the States. The representation of each State on the Council of States is calculated on the basis of one representation for every million of population for the first five millions and one additional representation for every additional two millions. The Council of States shall not be subject to dissolution but nearly one-third of the members shall retire on the expiration of every second year. But the House of the People is directly elected on the basis of adult franchise, shall consist of not more than 500 representatives. There will be one representative for every five lakhs of population. The House continues for five years unless sooner dissolved. Its life can be extended by the President for one year at a time during emergency. In any case its life shall not be extended beyond 6 months after the proclamation ceased to operate. The Parliament shall meet at least twice a year and the interval between the sessions shall be less than six months. The President can summon and prorogue the Houses of Parliament and also dissolve the House of the People. The President may address either House of Parliament or both jointly and also send messages with respect to pending bills. The Vice-President of India shall be

the *ex-Officio* Chairman of the Council of States. Some are inclined to think that it is unnecessary to have a Vice-President and deprive the Upper House of the right to elect its own Chairman. But a Deputy Chairman shall be chosen by the said body. The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the House of the People shall be elected by its members.

One-sixth of the total number of members of the House shall be the quorum. Each House of Parliament shall have a separate Secretariat Staff. The members have freedom of speech in the Parliament and they will not be liable to any proceedings in respect of publication by or under the authority of either House of Parliament. Besides, the privileges of members of Indian Parliament shall be the same as those of the members of the British House of

Commons until the Indian Parliament itself takes up legislation relating to privileges in whole or in part.

The Lower House will have complete control over finances of the country while in regard to other legislative matters, a conflict between the two Houses is left to decision by a simple majority of a Joint Session of the two Houses.

The President can promulgate ordinances during recess of Parliament which shall be laid before both the Houses of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the reassembly of Parliament. The Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary which are the main organs of the Government should know their functions and limitations, if any constitution is to work successfully.

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PEACE IN THE CHANGING WORLD

A Review of the Schools of Pacifism

By DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.Litt,

THE most important and urgent problem that has been engaging the attention and thought of all the great savants in the East and the West is the problem of *Peace*. World War No. I was fought with the avowed intention "to end all wars" and "to make the world safe for democracy" with the result that within a quarter of a century we had the Second War and very little democracy was left in the world to be made safe for. The result of the two wars has convinced the world that wars are "great illusions." It is economically futile and politically stupid to indulge in modern wars which are mainly fought in the air, with poison-gas and monsters like atom-bombs. Lord Russell observed that

"Fear of war increases armaments, armaments increase fear of war, and fear of war increases likelihood of war."

Supremacy in the air decides the issue of modern wars. It is not waged between combatants but with the civilians also. The degeneration that war brings about in men's character is phenomenal. The Greek historian Thucydides observes :

"Reckless daring is held to be loyal courage ; prudent delay is the excuse for cowardice, moderation is the disguise of unmanly weakness."

Men have learnt from the study of history that violence and war have contributed nothing to world's culture. Over and over again in the past the greatest civilisations have either been degraded or destroyed by war. Lord Russell recounts the tale, the fighting which Homer taught the Greeks to regard as glorious swept away the Mycenaean civilisation and was succeeded by centuries of confused and barbarous conflict. The speech of Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war spelt the end of the Athenian empire.

Those born after that war added nothing permanent to the world. The Roman civilisation perished completely in the Barbarian invasion. The remnant out of which the modern world has grown was preserved, not by men who fought against the barbarians, but by the monks who retired from the strife and devoted their lives to religion and study.

The UNESCO declares that lasting peace cannot be secured exclusively by political and economic arrangements of governments. In the words of Prime Minister Attlee,

"Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

The late Roosevelt in his celebrated unpublished speech declared :

"The mere conquest of enemy is not enough, we must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and fears and ignorance and greed which made the horror possible."

A study of the current pacifist literature shows up *four distinct schools* of thought : The most prominent and forcible school is the principle of *collective security*. The practical-minded statesman of this school holds that if any state used its aggressive force against its weak neighbour, the League in the past employed and U.N.O. in the present will employ its collective force against it, after trying economic sanctions, blockade, etc. The U. N. O. is the most effective institution of this school better than the League of Nations in some aspects. The League was the first practical political engine devised. It failed because in the words of H. N. Brailsford,

"The statesmen who participated in its debates proved to be *national agents* and not *cosmopolitan statesmen*. Their parish was England, Poland or Peru."

The same is repeated by the veto clause and power-blocs in the U.N.O. The morality of the nations is lagging behind the concept of the U.N.O.

"Constitutions," Plato observed, "are not born out of rocks, but are born out of the dispositions of men."

II

The second group of pacifists are the *Socialists*. Peace, they say, is a function of an equitable social order and not the silence of the grave. It can only exist in a just economic order. Such an order can come only through the redefining of class-relationship. They hold that the present world order is based on the violence of capitalist politics supporting vested interests. They declare that

"Government is irresponsible and omnipotent, the press is its mouthpiece and art its echo. History is its apologist and education is its propaganda."

So they do not support the collective security principle of the power-blocs.

III

The third group of pacifists are the *Absolute Pacifists*. The great representatives of this school are the Peace-pledge Union, the late Wick Shepherd, George Lansbury, Aldous Huxley, War-Resisters International and Lord Russell in the last war. They are all-out pacifists. They contend that the use of violence in any form in defence of any cause is bound to end in disaster and brand the expression 'Just War' as a contradiction in terms and "violence is immoral and not *amoral*." They say their purpose is peace and the way to achieve it is "we will not fight." War and violence in their opinion can never be justified on any account, be it for the establishment of a class-less society or to punish an aggressor, not even in self-defence. The absolute pacifists follow Christ. They leave violence to go its own way and have nothing to do with it.

IV

The fourth school of thought is the *constructive pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi*. His doctrine of non-violence is a definite advance on the view of the Absolute Pacifist. It is a constructive and creative creed. He has not merely proclaimed a programme like the visionary but also fashioned a technique, Satyagraha *i.e.*, soul-force. William James called it the moral-equivalent of war. To a war-shattered and nerve-racked world the message of non-violence has a terrific topicality. Gandhiji declared that we can not cast away Satan with the help of Beelzebub. Non-violence is not negative and it is not cowardice. Bapuji exhorted men to say :

"Take me before you take my country."

Non-violence is not saving one's skin or escape from the danger spot, or flight from the enemy. It confronts the enemy, seeks to transform the mind of the enemy by educating him through self-immolation if necessary. It is built on the rational faith that man is essentially a divine being and is educable. This attitude transmutes the instinct of defiance and enables a friendly discussion on the merits of the problem. In the words of Gandhiji,

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and knows no law, but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law, to the strength of the spirit."

On another famous occasion he declared :

"If blood is to be shed, let it be our blood, cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing ; for man lives freely only by his readiness to die if needs be at the hands of his brother, never by killing him."

Non-violence is not an academic debate for high-brows, but it is the exasperated cry of the age. The attitude is best described by Shelley in his *Masque of Anarchy* :

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay,
Till their rage has died away.

Then they will return with shame
And to the place from which they came
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.

Gandhiji, when he was in London, gave expression (in the journal *Liberty*, 1931) to his conception of the new world-order. It best sums up the case for his pacifism :

"The world of tomorrow will be and must be a society based on non-violence. It may seem a distant goal, an unpractical utopia, but it is not in the least unobtainable, since it can be worked from here and now. An individual can adopt this way of the life of the future, *i.e.*, the non-violent way without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can do it, cannot groups of individuals, whole nations ? Men often hesitate to make a beginning, because they feel the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely our greatest obstacle to our progress, an obstacle that each man if he wills it can clear away."

The constructive pacifism of Gandhiji concludes that violence is a bane to society and not basic to it, and it is not inherent in man and it is built into him by mis-education. The greatest document of India, *Rig Veda X 183* concludes with an exhortation to all interested in a sound world-order thus :

"Come together, speak in harmony, may your minds be alike, become one conclave, deliberate as one body and may your minds and thoughts be concordant."*

* सं गच्छन्वं सं वदन्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।

देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं संजानाना उपासते

समानो मन्त्रः समितिः समानी सभावं मनैः सह

समानं मन्त्रमग्नि मन्त्रये वः समानेन वो हविष्यां जुहोमि

चित्तमेषाम् ।

समानी व आकृतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।

समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN BRITAIN AND ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

GREAT Britain has recovered her economy from the aftermath of war in a miraculously short period. Her national income rose from £4,640 million in 1938 to £8,111 million in 1946, £8,725 million in 1947 and £9,675 million in 1948. Her industrial production as a whole is to-day 25 per cent higher than the 1946 level which is also the same as pre-war. Output of steel ingots and castings in 1948 was nearly 15 million tons, as against the pre-war peak of 13 million tons in 1937. Her agricultural production in principal crops has improved as follows :

	1936-9 (Average)	(1,000 tons) 1946-7	1947-8	1948-9 (provisional)
Bread grains	1,661	2,006	1,689	2,408
Other grains	2,781	5,216	4,513	5,508
Potatoes	4,873	10,166	7,760	11,798
Sugar Beet	2,741	4,522	2,959	4,319
Linseed	1	—	15	35

The number of registered unemployed in Great Britain stood at 376,000 in June, 1946 and 348,000 in December, 1948 as against 1,270,000 in June, 1939. Thus the volume of employment was higher after the war. One of the main policies of the Labour Government was the carrying out of a big programme of capital investment. Based on 1948 prices her annual capital investment has been maintained at an average of £2,000 million. This constitutes about one-fifth of the national income—a proportion reckoned by economists as the maximum in normal times. In U.S.A. the corresponding proportion was one-sixth. In India not more than 3 to 4 per cent of the total national income has gone to capital formation in recent years. It may be noted further that her total national income is very low.

The budgets in 1947 and 1948 showed revenue surpluses to the extent of £338 million and £684 million respectively. This exerted a great influence towards disinflating the national economy. Through manipulation of the budget and other means, a large measure of re-distribution of incomes has been achieved. The improvement in the standard of living was evidenced by the personal expenditure on consumers' goods and services which stood at £4,296 million in 1947 and £4,437 million in 1948, all at 1938 prices. The cost of living had not recorded much increase in Britain as will be evident from below :

	(1937=100)				
	U.K.	Australia	Canada	U.S.A.	India
1939	103	105	100	97	100
1945	132	129	118	125	222
1948	132	148	153	167	286

Against this increase in cost of living most workers in Britain are earning to-day more than double their

pre-war pay. There has been comparative absence of industrial strife. Between V-J Day (August 15, 1945) and October 1, 1948, it is estimated that fewer than 8,500,00 working days were lost through strikes. In the same period after World War I the number was 152,000,000. Further, Britain has today a most elaborate and expensive scheme of national insurance and family allowances which protect every citizen against adversity and guarantee free medical aid to every one. It is said that Britain has now social security from the cradle to the grave. Every worker is insured by the receipt of substantial benefits against loss of subsistence or earning power from the contingencies of unemployment, injury, sickness or retirement. A mother gets a maternity benefit; a family gets an allowance for every child after the first. A widow receives a pension and a guardian, an allowance for each child in his or her care. At death a grant is made to meet funeral and other expenses. Then there is the national health service, the national education system and other social services in the fields of housing, town and country planning, legal aid and welfare work.

The nature and degree of this recovery becomes much more intense when it is set against the facts that Britain herself bore the direct brunt of the last war, she was the target of much devastation, many of her houses, factories and machinery were destroyed by bombing and her population was inherently dependent on a critical import trade for nearly half their food and her industry for nearly half its raw materials.

FACTORS BEHIND RECOVERY

While the tenacity of the English people, their inherently diligent habits and great adjustability provided the subjective conditions for such remarkable recovery, the national process by which it could be brought about can be summarised in the two words 'Economic Planning' which means thinking ahead with a view to use the economic resources in the best interests of the nation as a whole. The Labour Party on assuming power has set itself to a well-thought-out economic policy based mainly on the doctrine of mixed economy, that is, combination of State and private enterprise. The highlights of this policy are as follows:

(1) Balancing demand with supply of essential articles for consumption through a system of controls till scarcity continues. The distribution of essential consumer goods in short supply like food, clothing and fuel was controlled by means of rationing mechanisms with 'points,' 'coupons' or other devices, and prices have been

kept low through subsidies. Total food subsidies by Government stood £464 million in 1948, utility cloth rebates at £7 million and subsidies on fuel at £4 million.

(2) The highest possible level of production and productivity through nationalisation or public ownership and control of some important industries and rational control over many others. The Bank of England, cable and wireless, civil aviation, coal mines, inland transport, electricity and gas—all these have passed into public ownership and management through the medium of the public corporation in course of the last three years. The output of private industries, on the other hand, was regulated through control over the allocation of raw materials, industrial equipment, manpower and of finance.

(3) A great programme of capital investment which was required to replace and renew existing machinery, as also to build new factories.

(4) Mechanisation and other improvements of agriculture. British agriculture had already been mechanised during the war. It was equipped with 19,000 tractors as against 60,000 pre-war and its output had increased by 35 per cent. In respect of agriculture Government policy was to switch over production from crops to livestock and its products, especially pigs and poultry.

(5) Improvement in the balance of payments through increase of exports and reduction of imports. Before the war Britain's foreign trade position was unfavourable. In 1938 about 8 per cent of her imports had to be covered by the sale of assets. The war and its aftermath brought about a further deterioration in this position. It was one chief aim of Government policy to improve the balance of payments by reducing imports and stimulating exports. Imports were controlled through a system of licensing and those industries were encouraged which produced for exports. As a result it was possible in 1948 to reduce visible imports by 20 per cent. and increase exports by 50 per cent.

(6) Extended social services and extensive insurance benefits. Social insurance of some type or other has been in vogue in Britain for over three centuries but after the war it was made more adequate and comprehensive. It is comprehensive in two senses—(i) that it insures every man, woman and child in the country and (ii) it covers almost every kind of misfortune. The principles behind this development are three: (a) the State has a duty to provide its citizens with a sense of security in which to pursue their careers and functions; (b) the citizens should get security not for nothing but in return for service and contribution, there is the requirement of weekly financial contributions from every citizen; and (c) the obligations of the community to the individual should be assessed upon his needs rather than upon his social position or inherited wealth.

A brief reference may be made to the technique and machinery of planning. The first item in *technique* is adequate information on every aspect of the economy. Britain's fact-finding organisation existed previously. The Central Statistical Office had been established in 1940. More frequent censuses of production and distribution

were provided for in the Statistics of Trade Act, 1947. The second requirement is to derive from the facts a comprehensive picture of the whole economy. This was being done since 1941 through a series of official publications dealing with national income, capital investment and balance of payment. The third item, which is the most important, consists in the formulation of a plan for future action. Britain had not been so ambitious as to formulate a long-term plan covering five or ten years. Such a plan would have been too premature in the light of uncertainties all around. The emphasis has therefore been rightly laid upon short-term planning—planning annually. The three annual Economic Surveys brought out since 1947 set out the achievements for the preceding year, the targets for the current year and the plans proposed to fulfil them.

The principal elements in the *machinery* of planning are (1) the Cabinet, (2) a Minister for Economic Affairs created in September, 1947 and since identified with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to co-ordinate and supervise the whole field of economic policy with an Economic Secretary added to the Treasury, (3) the Central Economic Planning Staff consisting of permanent Government-officials, economists and statisticians to initiate thought and action on vital economic matters and (4) an Economic Planning Board, consisting of representatives of both sides of industry, senior officials of the Treasury, of the Planning Staff and of the main Economic Departments such as the Board of Trade, the Ministries of Supply, Transport, Fuel and Power, Works, Civil Aviation, Food and Agriculture, whose function is to advise Government on the best use of economic resources, both with long-term view and for remedying immediate difficulties.

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

In India the greatest drawback of present-day economy is that, it is fundamentally planless, rather it is moving in divergent directions, with a net effect more static than dynamic. So late as in August, 1949 one hears of mobilisation on the food front and austerity measures and of encouragement to the cultivation of banana, tapioca and other subsidiary foods. Food control itself was introduced when prices had fairly risen and in the initial stages control of price without control of supply failed miserably so much that more than 15 lacs of people lost their lives in the Bengal Famine, a catastrophe which is unthinkable in any civilised part of the world. Control over some items was lifted towards the end of 1947 to be re-imposed afterwards, great damages being caused to the country's economy in the meantime. Taxes are levied one year, to be repealed next year. Concessions and reliefs are granted as incentive to industry but its power to distribute dividend is limited as well. At the same time a tax investigation commission reopens old cases and the deadweight of arbitrary assessment kills many flourishing industries and businesses. The same budget, which is supposed to check inflationary pressure in general, imposes or increases indirect taxes, raising prices and thereby accentuating inflation. When food and capital

goods cannot be had in plenty for lack of foreign exchange, expenditure on foreign embassies mounts up. While the Centre recommends cut in development expenditure, the provinces indulge in grandiose schemes of prohibition, Zemindari abolition and compulsory primary education, weakening the fight against inflation.

The remedy lies in planned economy, not a theoretical blueprint, nor a long-run project but a practical short-term plan, relative to the immediate needs, circumstances and ready resources of the country. Appointment of a full-fledged Planning Commission may be postponed but a Ministry for Economic Affairs is an urgent necessity. Pandit Nehru announced in the Dominion Parliament in August, 1948 that such a Ministry would be established shortly, but no concrete steps have been taken so far. On a yearly basis definite targets should be laid down in different spheres of production, directives given and

methods outlined for attaining them and at the end of the year progress should be reviewed, achievements assessed and pitfalls analysed. Where problems are many and available resources are few, a policy of priorities is absolutely necessary. Curtailment of public expenditure, co-ordination of Governmental activities, concentration on the food front and on disinflation, all-out effort for increased production and investment, improvement of balance of payments are some items which should figure prominently in the programme. Top priority should be given to the item of food. For it is by increasing its supply that its price and the cost of living in general can be lowered. In any way the time has long come when the unplanned, unco-ordinated and in many respects, mutually antagonistic activities of different authorities, Central and Provincial, should be ended and the country's economy should be placed under a coherent, well-designed plan.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY MEMORIAL CELEBRATION IN JAPAN

By KAMALA RATNAM*

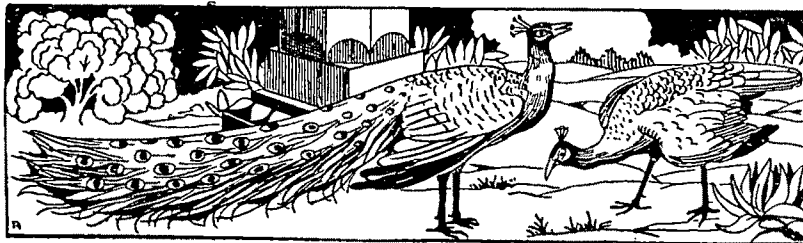
THE function held here on October 2, 1949 was truly a remarkable one. It was held in the spacious main hall of the Tsukiji Honganji Temple, Tokyo, a Buddhist temple built in ancient Hindu architectural style. Nearly all the nationalities residing in Tokyo were represented at this memorial service including Indians, Japanese, Lebanese, British, Indonesians, Americans and Negroes. There were two services: one according to the Buddhist ritual accompanied by traditional Japanese music and the other according to Hindu rites with the recitation of Vedic hymns. Both these services were conducted by properly ordained Buddhist priests who are Japanese. These services were followed by readings from the *Bhagavadgita* done by myself. The Japanese appreciated the portions read from the 4th Chapter beginning with *Yada Yadahi dharmasya*... as a symbol of future hope for their nation. This was followed by various speeches on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

The following two poems by Mr. Edmund Blunden on Mahatma Gandhi—the shorter poem composed last year and the longer one this year—were read at the birthday

memorial celebration held in Tokyo by the Gandhi Association of Japan. Mr. Blunden has been a professor of English Literature in various Universities of Japan for a very long period and is Educational and Cultural Adviser to the British Embassy at present. By some people he is regarded as the future Poet Laureate of England.

Finally there was an inspired and inspiring speech from Dr. Towiko Kora, who was the constant companion and interpreter of Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore during his several visits to this country. Dr. Kora is a representative of all Japan in the upper house of the National Diet and is now preparing to visit India as a delegate to the World Pacifist Conference scheduled at Santiniketan and Wardha before the end of the year. She will be accompanied by Rev. Piri Nakayama, the Chief Abbot of Honganji Temple. Dr. Kora is an able woman and holds the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in Psychology and has taught in various colleges in Japan.

*Wife of Sri P. Ratnam, First Secretary, Indian Liaison Mission, Tokyo.



MAHATMA GANDHI

By EDMUND BLUNDEN

What garland for him now, Imagination,
Honour and Joy and Grief, can you bring
That might be even a little new?
What song remains to sing
That all who held his life in contemplation
Heard not hitherto in the deepest silence,
"Calling the lapsed soul
And weeping in the evening dew"?

This also; was not he of famous men
Least to be called famous? It seemed one might
Call, Nature herself famous, or the stars, or the sea
As rightly as this calm presence, this mind, this integrity.
Not but he dreamed awhile, the whole world saw
The vastness of his dreams, and they as a law
Of the age through the governance of mankind
East and West took the mightiness, simply enshrined
In his heart originally and his musing mind.

What garland for him now that already springs not
In himself as he is? What melody that sings not
Pure and rounded there in his oneness? Above him
What canopies will we raise, all we who love him,
Of jewelled speech and laud—since nothing can
Well word the man,

Who had his time with words, and knew his own;
O, yet may love and kindly custom claim
The sweet dues of remembrance; and make known
The thoughts that this high name

Awakens even as flowers, as spring's young flowers,
And the stars over the wheatfield, the moon on the towers,
And all the songs that he heard by the paths of the
years,—
Twine we our blooms, our verses; fall still, our tears.¹
Tokyo, October 2, 1949.

TO THE MEMORY OF GANDHI

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."—*The Tempest*

The manner of this death would make life seem
Strange stuff indeed of some vast shadow's dream,
And when this old saint fell by such an act
The world's nerves jarred, as reason's walls were crackt.
From that bedevilled hour, those plunging trials,
Hear him yet speak:—"Away! the good prevails.
Death comes in countless forms; regard all those
As one, and that one take as the due close
Of what continues through the larger scheme,—
Fulfilled, fulfilling in the rounded dream."²

¹Composed for the first anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi birthday and read at a function to celebrate the event at the Honganji Temple, Tokyo.

²Composed and read at the first memorial meeting of Mahatma Gandhi's death, held in Tokyo.

—:O:—

BUDDHISM OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

OCTOBER 10, 1911 is a red-letter day in the history of China. It is the day the revolution overthrew the Chiang Dynasty in Hankow and Wuchang. A National Council representing the revolutionaries assembled in Nanking and elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President of the Republic with a view to unite all the Buddhists of China to face the new situation. The Buddhist Association of All-China was formed with its headquarters at Nanking under the leadership of Chin-an, the priest of the Monastery of Tien Tung Hills.

In the first year of the Republic, Chin-an who led representatives from the monasteries of Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces, petitioned to the provisional Government of the Republic for the protection of monastical properties. He was not successful at that time, as Dr. Sun Yat-sen resigned in favour of General Yuan Shih-kai in his stead. The Provisional Government moved to Peking and the petition was renewed. Unfortunately Chin-an had differences with the Ministry of Home Affairs, which could not be made up. His

mission failed again. He returned to the Fa Yuan Sse or the Monastery of Dharma Source with great indignation. He died the next day at the age of 63.

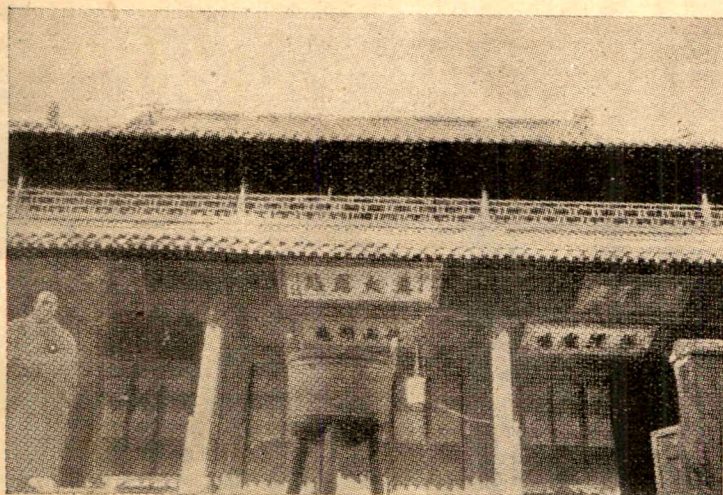
Chin was a great Buddhist scholar and poet. His death left a void which it was not easy to fill. General Yuan Shih-kai who had succeeded Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President of China had issued orders through his Cabinet instructing the Ministry of Home Affairs to recognize the Regulations of the Buddhist Association of All-China. In the fourth year of the Republic, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued proclamation by which the Buddhist Monasteries were to be protected and this has been in force since then. The efforts of Chin-an who laid down his life in the struggle were crowned with success.

Since then, various movements have been afoot with a view to purifying and reviving the Chinese Buddhism. Many temples and monasteries have been renovated, great efforts were directed towards printing and circulation, the co-ordination of monks continues, and popular lectures have been delivered. The Buddhist Upasaka Grove and the

Buddhistic Vocational Association of Pure Land in Shanghai are the well-known examples that symbolise this renaissance.

The Jetavana Vihara managed by Upasaka Yang Wen-hui has since closed down in Nanking. Tung-fang, then Governor of the provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsu, established a Monastical Normal School in Nanking, with Ti-hsien as Principal. But soon Ti-hsien resigned in favour of Yueh-hsia who succeeded him. Among the other Buddhist institutions that deserve mention are: the Kuan-tsung Preaching Hall of Ningpo under the direction of priest Ti-hsien which lays emphasis on the doctrine of Tien-tai Sect; the Avatamsaka College of Ch'ang-chou, of which the priest Yueh-hsia was the principal; the Buddhist Institute of Wuchang and the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College established by His Holiness

The engraving of the Buddhist canons is entrusted to two Boards of Engraving Canons; one has its headquarters at Peking and the other at Tientsin. They are engaged in the printing and publishing of the Epitome of Chinese Tripitaka in accordance with the last desire of Upasaka Yang Wen-hui. The Kalavinka Vihara of Shanghai had pretty volumes of Tripitaka printed by the Hung-chiao Institute of Japan. The Commercial Press Limited has photo-printed the Japanese edition of Continues Tripitaka, comprehensively collecting, in the Manchuria, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan languages, the Dharani from the Tripitaka. Several famous Upasakas like Chu Ching-lan and Yet Kung-che have recently planned to print the Tripitaka of the Sung (dynasty) edition; this shows what interest people take in Buddhism.



Monastery of Dharma Source, where Priest Chin-an resided

Tai-hsu which still exist; the Ching-ling Buddhist college which has since shifted from Ch'ang-chou to Shanghai and is presided over by priest Ying-tze; the Inner Learning College of China in Nanking which was established by the distinguished Buddhist scholar O-yang Shen Wu and is devoted to an application of Dharma Vajrasana thoughts. Besides, several Buddhistic research groups in China have their own organs for the preaching of Buddhism. For example, a collection journal of Buddhist monthlies was published during the first year of the Republic, but it closed down after two years. The *Ocean Tide Voice Monthly* published by the Wuchang Buddhist Institute is still in existence. The *Monthly of Pure Land and Vocation* published by Buddhistic Vocation Association of Pure Land and the *Inner Learning Monthly* by the Inner Learning College of China are well known in China.

Able and earnest Tai-hsu who was the outstanding leader has sent his disciples to India, Japan, Ceylon and Tibet; they either preach Chinese Mahayana Buddhism or learn the Hinayana and Esoteric Buddhism. They have been successful in their mission.

The years following 1911 witnessed the renaissance of Buddhism in the country. These were due to (1) the increasing enthusiasm for national culture and classical literatures, (2) intensive propaganda of Buddhist literature laying emphasis on popular appeal, (3) the civil war and all its ravages which have re-established new spiritual values by demonstrating the folly and futility of material pursuits. Even some of the highest officials turned to Buddhism for solace.

DISCOVERIES IN CHINESE CANONS FROM TUNHUNG CAVES

In 1900 A.D., the 25th year of Emperor Kuang-hsi's reign (Ching dynasty), certain Chinese Buddhist manuscripts calligraphed by the people of the Tang dynasty (7th to 11th century A.D.) were discovered from the Caves of Thousand Buddhas in Tunhung district of Kansu province. It is a remarkable discovery in the history of Modern China and all lovers of Eastern lore, particularly the Buddhist scholars, will be interested in it.

The caves are situated in a barren valley, some nine miles south-west of the city, at the foot of Ming-sha hills. There are a hundred cave-temples, some dating back to the 4th century A.D. honey-combing in irregular tiers the face of the cliff.

The Chinese manuscripts were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein who came to China in 1906 A.D. from India, via Hindu Kush and Kashgar. After his excavations at various places in the desert, he reached Tunhung oasis in March, 1907, and lost no time in paying a visit to the famous caves of the Thousand Buddhas. In the cave temple of the Thousand Buddhas the abbot in charge, while making repairs, had broken into a closed room, which had been hitherto unknown. There he found hidden a great collection of written scrolls. Sir Aurel, after much difficulty, secured a selection of the scrolls, and

among them were the numerous portions of Buddhist canons. Most of the canons were in Chinese and it is with them alone that we are here concerned, though there were numerous manuscripts in other languages, such as Tibetan, Sanskrit, etc.

In 1908, the Caves were visited by a younger French Sinologist Prof. Paul Pelliot, who devoted three weeks to the careful selection of MSS. on behalf of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The cream of the collection about 1,000 volumes in number, is thus divided between London and Paris. They fall into three groups: nearly 85 per cent of them are Buddhist, a little over three, Taoist, and about 12 per cent secular or non-religious.

About ten thousand volumes of the remaining manuscripts were subsequently removed to the National Peking Library by order of the Ministry of Education of the Central Government. The Buddhist scholar L. Tuan-fu, belonging to Kiangsu province, visited the Library where he sorted and examined them. They are not in the present Chinese Tripitaka. He has subsequently written a thesis entitled Record of Sorting and Examining Buddhist Manuscripts in the Tunhung Caves. Due to his short stay there, he could not examine all the manuscripts. Yet he has discovered the Commentaries of *Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra*, *Diamond Sutra* and *Vimala-kirti-nirdesa-Sutra* which differ from ordinary editions in their explanation. It is however worthwhile to study them.

It is interesting to note which of these manuscripts were in special favour at different dates: During the 6th century the Parinirvana is predominant, but soon after the rise of the Tang dynasty it seems to have lost much of its popularity, and in the second half of the 7th century its place is definitely taken by the Lotus Sutra, especially in Kumarajiva's translation. There are actually 1,046 copies of this work in various parts. The same translator's version of the Diamond Sutra was also much in demand from the beginning of the 7th century. No fewer than 533 copies of this short Sutra remain, of which 13 are dated but 21 are complete. Early in the 8th century I-tsing's new translation of the *Suvarna-prabhava Sutra* comes into prominence to the extent of 238 copies; this appears to be the latest of the Sutras to reach a circulation beyond the ordinary. Of the huge *Mahaprajna-paramita*, in 600 sections, translated by the famous pilgrim, Hsuang-tsang, there are 760 pieces, not one of which bears a date. Others which are almost too well represented in the collection are the *Prajnaparamita-hridaya-sutra*, a very brief condensation of the foregoing; the *Vimala-kirti-nirdesa-sutra*, and the *Surangama Sutra*.

During the 7th year of the Republic, the then Minister for Education the Honourable Fan Yuan-lien, at the suggestion of Upasaka Chiang Wei-chao, appointed Kiang-du who was required to sort and examine the Buddhist manuscripts at the National Peking Library where he worked for about two years. He obtained the Commentary of Salistamba Sutra and Collective Explanation of Chia-Ming-King (invocation of Buddha) commented by Tao-shen, Shen-chao, Tao-yong and Sun-chun, etc. Both

of them were recently published by the Commercial Press Limited, Shanghai, China.

It is learnt that the Mahayana Salistamba Sutra was written by Sramana Fa-chen whose biography is not in any records. We have also no information about the translator of the above-mentioned Sutra commentary, but according to the seven translations of Prajnaparamita Hridaya Sutra published by the Board of Engraving Sutras of Peking, among them there is a volume, discovered from Tunhung Caves, in which it is noted that it was translated by the Great Virtuous Scholar Tripitaka Dharma Guru Fa-chen; judging from its style of translation, which is similar to that of the famous pilgrim Hsuang-tsang, the author of the Sutra, Fa-chen might be identified with Hsuang-tsang.

HIS HOLINESS TAI-HSU AND UPASAKA O YANG CHEN WU

The persons who played the greatest role in the history of Chinese Buddhism during the Republic period were His Holiness Tai-hsu and Upasaka O Yang Chen Wu.

His Holiness Tai Hsu, acknowledged as one of the greatest Buddhist leaders of the day, and sometimes known as the "Chinese Buddhist Pope," was born in 1888 A.D. in the Tsung-te district in Chekiang province, China, where Buddhism has been deeply rooted since its introduction from India during the reign of Emperor Ming-ti of Han dynasty (56 A.D.) and has remained intact in spite of the political changes and social revolutions of the past two thousand years.

In his sixteenth year, Tai-hsu entered the Tien Tung Shan Monastery and he was initiated into the fundamentals of Buddhism by the well-known monk Pa-chih; Tai-hsu later on went to the Temple of Seven Pagodas where he devoted himself to the study of the Tri-pitaka and meditation on the most subtle points of the Truth. When he was 18, he came into contact with the most celebrated scholars like Kan Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, Carson Chang, Sun Yat-sen and others; he obtained a profound view of Buddhism from the teachings of Tien-tai and Avatamsaka Schools on the one side, and decided to reform the system of Sangha on the other.

He was 21 when, in collaboration with the monk Pa-chih, founded a centre for Buddhist education in China. In the same year, he also conducted researches in Buddhism with Yang Wen-wei, the great Chinese lay disciple of Buddha and publisher on that subject. A year later he became Chief Abbot of the Monastery of Two Streams in the hills of Pai-yun (White Clouds) not far from Canton; he also became Director of Buddhist Research Vihara there. At the time he began writing the history of Buddhist thought.

During the first year of the Chinese Republic (1911 A.D.) Tai-hsu, now 23 years old, founded the Buddhist Congress of China with its headquarters in the Temple of Vira at Nanking. During the next four years, from 1912 to 1916 A.D., he resided in the Hsi-ling temple on the summit of the Puta Hills in Chekiang province where he lived the life of a hermit; here he studied all the literatures collected in China on Buddhism and all the

ancient Chinese classics as well as most of the western works on logic, philosophy and experimental sciences which had been translated into Chinese at the time.

He thus engaged himself in a scientific study of the vast body of Buddhist canons contained in the Tripitaka, the promotion of knowledge concerning the similarity between the findings of modern science and the fundamentals of Buddhist philosophy, and the revival of the teachings upon which the Vijnanamatra-vada Sect was based. This sect which no longer exists in the sense that there are no Buddhists in China devoted exclusively to its teaching, sought to prove that nothing exists except consciousness. Its teachings have appealed to many modern scholars because of its scientific analysis of consciousness upon which they are based, and because of their similarity to some modern schools of psychology. Thus many non-Buddhist Chinese scientists, who are not interested in old schools of Buddhism, pay serious attention to the writing of Vijnanamatra-vada Sect. Tai-hsu realizing that most young men are now scientifically minded, revived these teachings in the hope of arousing the interest of the younger generation in Buddhism by presenting it to them in its most scientific form. Meanwhile, he published numerous works among which may be mentioned *Evolution Rightly Explained*, *The Absolute Meaning of Philosophy*, *New Conception about Education* which since their first appearance have aroused a great deal of interest among the intellectuals of modern China.

When Tai-hsu was 29 years old, he made an extensive trip across Formosa and Japan. He returned to China, determined to raise the spiritual level of his country through a serious study of Buddhism. He, therefore, co-operated with prominent persons including Chang Tai-yen, Wang I-tien and founded a Bodhi Society in Shanghai with a view to cultivating the faculty of perception; he also published a magazine called *The Bodhi* which has since been changed into *Hai Chao Ying Monthly*. He propagated his views through this.

During the next three years, from 1918 to 1920 A.D., he went in a lecture tour of Peking, Wuchang, Hankow, etc., explaining to numerous audience how to acquire a supreme, universal, absolute perception.

In 1921, when he was 33 years old, Tai-hsu founded the Wuchang Institute of Buddhism where students from all provinces of China gathered to learn the theory and practice of Buddhism. In 1924, he founded a Preaching Hall in the Great Grove Monastery on Lu Shan, a picturesque spot in the hills of Kiangsi province, where he called an International Buddhist Conference, which was attended by many Buddhists from India, Siam, Japan, Germany, America, Finland, etc.

In 1925, he was appointed Chief-delegate to the East Asiatic Buddhists Conference held in Japan. On his return, he was duly elected to the Executive Committee of the Institute of Chinese Culture in the Frankfurt University, Germany.

In 1928, he called an Assembly of Chinese Buddhists in Nanking, at which the organization of Buddhism and its spread throughout China was duly

discussed. On the same year he sailed for Europe in order to carry the light of Buddhism to the West and impart to all a supreme, universal and absolute perception of the cosmos. Next year, he returned to China from America and was appointed President of Buddhist Institute of South Fukien Province and his Record of Traveling on world was published.

In 1930, Tai-hsu founded the Buddhist International Institute and established the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist College at a Monastery on Mount Chin-yuan, not so far from Chungking. His disciples were encouraged to study many branches of knowledge outside the Buddhist field, and concentrate themselves on understanding the sutras rather than merely learning them by heart.



His Holiness Tai-hsu

In 1939, he formed a Buddhist Good Will Mission and sent it to Burma, India, Ceylon and Siam in order to meet the Buddhists there. The mission was a very successful one and he came back to Chungking from Indo-China in the summer of 1940. Then he sent his disciples to Ceylon and India to learn Sanskrit and Pali languages.

In 1945, Tai-hsu supervised these lay disciples of Buddha who formed a Youngmen's Buddhist Association of China in Chungking. The same year saw the victory of China over Japan; Tai-hsu then went back to Nanking from Chungking and took charge of the Buddhist Reformation Committee as its Chairman, undertaking the task of reforming Chinese Buddhism and reorganizing the Chinese Sangha. In 1947, he went to Ninpo of Chekiang pro-

since at the request of the lay Buddhists there. He began to preach the discipline of Bodhisattva at the Temple of Prolongation of Happiness and meanwhile he wrote three poems to his disciple Mr. Chou Hsiang-kuang, in which it was explained how his pure mind was free from defilement. On February 17, Tai-hsu went back to Shanghai from Ninpo and resided at the Monastery of Jade Buddha; on the same day of the following month (March) he suddenly passed away at the age of 59 leaving his important task undone. After his body was burnt in the Monastery of Ocean Tide in Shanghai in accordance with Buddhist rites, his disciples spent several days collecting *sarira* relics from the midst of the ashes.



Dr. Car-Sun Chang Founder of Democratic Socialist Party of China who, at the invitation of the Government of India, is on a lecture tour in India

More than 300 such relics were found by them. These relics were placed on eight china plates in front of his altar. The relics are of different sizes and colours. One of them is the size of a man's thumb, it is radiant and transparent as a crystal. Another is as big as a man's fist with a brilliant purple colour. It resembles somewhat a peony, the flower of glory. The smaller ones are also of five attractive crystalloid colours. It is even more remarkable to find that his holy heart is left entirely unburnt in spite of the great fire.

Now that he is dead China is in a state of sad disorder. Indeed Buddhists as a whole feel that his loss will make it extremely difficult to establish the unity between different Buddhist groups upon which the survival of an organized Buddhist community depends.

Upasaka O Yang Chen Wu, the eminent lay Buddhist in the Republic, was born in the district Yee-hwang of Kiangsi province in 1871 A.D. His father died when he was 4 years old, and after that he was educated and maintained by his mother. He studied in his younger days the Neo-Confucianism but later on he was attracted by the Mahayana Buddhism which gained ground in the period. He came into contact with the eminent Upasaka Yang Wen-hui through the introduction of Kui Po-hwang, the then Buddhist Scholar of Estorial Sect. In

his thirty-seventh year, he went to Nanking when he was admitted to the Jetavana Vihara; there he studied the Buddhist literature under the guidance of Yang Wen-hui. He won a reputation throughout the country as a learned and eloquent Upasaka as lay disciple of Buddha. Unfortunately, Yang Wen-hui died in 1910, at the age of 75, leaving his important task to the O Yang Chen Wu to be done.

Besides his work of publishing the Buddhist canons, O Yang has established the College of Inner Learning and the University of Dharma Loksana in Nanking, where he propagated the doctrine on the subject of "Mind is the centre of Life."

His disciples like Lu-chen, Cheng Ming-hsu, Thang Yong-tung, etc., are eminent Buddhist scholars of modern China. During the Sino-Japanese war, he went to Kiang-chin, near Chungking, where he established the Branch of his Inner Learning College and resided there throughout the latter part of the war. It was the tendency in many institutions to pay more attention to the scientific study of Buddhism as one of the main branches of Chinese philosophy. O Yang Chen Wu passed away at 73 on February 23, 1943, A.D. The following are ascribed to him:

- (1) Explanation of disciplines of the Inner Learning College, (2) Preface to the Mahaprajnaparamita, (3) Preface to the Mahaparinirvana, (4) Preface to the Yogacharyabhumi, (5) Miscellaneous works on the Inner Learning, (6) A programme study of Vijñānamātra Vāda, (7) A decisive commentary of Lankavatara, (8) Preface to the Abhidharma Kośa Sastra, (9) A Reader of the Four Books, (10) A Reader of Golden Mean.

To-day all movements which seek to propagate Buddhism in China are undertaken by graduates who have been associated either with Tai-hsu's institutions or with those of Upasaka O Yang Chen Wu.

RESTORATION OF SINO-INDIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

Indeed, as Pandit Nehru says:

"China and India, sister nations from the dawn of history with their long tradition of culture and peaceful development of ideas, have to play a leading part in this world drama, in which they themselves are so deeply involved."

Unfortunately, during the last few centuries, the ways of living in these two countries have been greatly affected by foreign influence, both political and economic, and we seem to have lost our centuries-old cultural relations. This has to be revived and we have to pave the way for new messengers. Rabindranath, Tagore, the great poet of Modern India, went to China accompanied by Dr. Kalidas Nag, Sri Khitimohan Sen, Sri Nandalal Bose and others in 1924. After his long journey he returned to Singapore where he found in Prof. Tan Yun-shan a classical Chinese scholar, who was deeply impressed and inspired by the Poet's vision of revived cultural contacts. Prof. Tan organized a Sino-Indian Cultural Society in China as well as in India in 1934 A.D. It was under the Poet's guidance and

direction, that the society founded a Cheena-Bhavana at Santiniketan, in 1937 with Prof. Tan as its Director from its very inception.

In 1939 Pandit Nehru paid a visit to Chungking, the war-capital of China, and President and Madame Chiang came to India in 1942. Prior to that there was a Chinese Buddhist Mission led by His Holiness Tai-hsu; and a Chinese Good Will Mission headed by late Dr. Tai Chi-tao came over to India. These have helped to revive that cultural relation.

With a view to carrying forward the great task, it has been promoting the exchange of students and scholars between China and India. In 1943 both governments of China and India exchanged ten students for higher education. In 1945, the Chinese Government instituted ten scholarships at the Calcutta University and the Visva-Bharati for studies in Sinology. In 1947, the Indian Government again selected ten students for China. They resided in the Peking National University under the guidance of Dr. P. C. Bagchi who was at that time deputed by the Government of India to organize the Department of Indian Studies in the University. This year, i.e., 1949, the Indian Government has invited Dr. Car-Sun Chang better known as the father of modern Chinese renaissance, to deliver lectures on Chinese philosophy, culture, and political thought as well as subjects bearing on Sino-Indian cultural relations in the

past and the present. Dr. Chang is expected to come over to India at the end of October, 1949.

It is also to be noted that there is an increasing interest in and desire for Chinese studies in India. Besides the Cheena-Bhavana having Chinese course and studies in Sinology, the Universities of Allahabad and Benares have opened the department of Chinese. Recently the Central Government of India with the aim of promoting understanding and cultural relations between the East and the West, has established the schools of Foreign Languages in New Delhi in January, 1949, where Chinese literature, history, geography, etc., are being taught.

It is gratifying to mention here that there are many Chinese Bhikshus and Bhikshunis in India who have built several temples in the various Buddhist monasteries in India, such as the Chinese Buddhist Temple at Sarnath, the Monastery of Mahabodhi in Gaya; the Monastery of Flowering Light at Jetavana in Sarawasti, Nalanda Chinese Buddhist Temple at Nalanda in Bihar, the Great Happiness Temple at Kusinagara. Recently the Chinese Buddhist Association of India is formed at Calcutta with the aim of helping and directing these Chinese temples in India and doing preaching work. It is to be hoped that the Association will fulfil its aims and the relationship between these two nations will be strengthened. Culturally China and India are one, the Himalayas only divide the unit.

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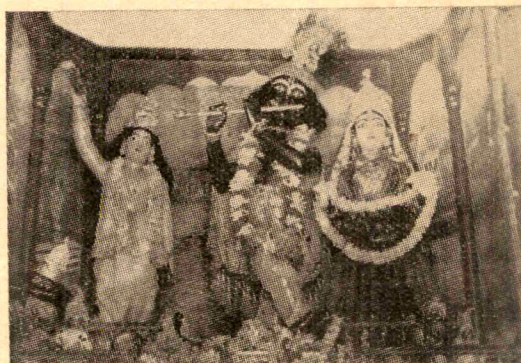
REVIVAL OF VAISHNAVISM

By JOGESH CHANDRA BOSE

SURROUNDED on all sides, by undulating green fields, the Ganges flowing hard by, far from the maddening crowds of strife and strain, Mayapur, the land of birth of Sri Chaitanya, stands in the midst of the throbbing silence of meditation, with a message of peace to the world. Four hundred and sixty three years ago, Sri Chaitanya made his historic appearance at this spot.

The cultural history of Bengal is much indebted to Vaishnavism, and Mayapur, one of the greatest centres of Vaishnavite culture and religion, with which the life and teachings of Sri Chaitanya is indissolubly connected, has got a history of its own. For a long time Mayapur, where old Nabadwip stood, was hidden from the public eye. People mistook the present town of Nabadwip, which lies on the western side of the Ganges, for its old namesake the real Nabadwip, which, as borne out, but by all historical evidences of the time, lies on the eastern side of the Ganges. There is the Ballal Dighi only a few paces to the north of Sri Chaitanya Math; the big tank, bearing the name of Ballal Sen, the great monarch of Bengal, lies dried up there as a mute witness. There is a vivid description of the Dighi in *Govinda's Karcha*, a diary kept by Govinda, who followed Sri Chaitanya, in his preaching excursion to the Deccan. This book has been given great

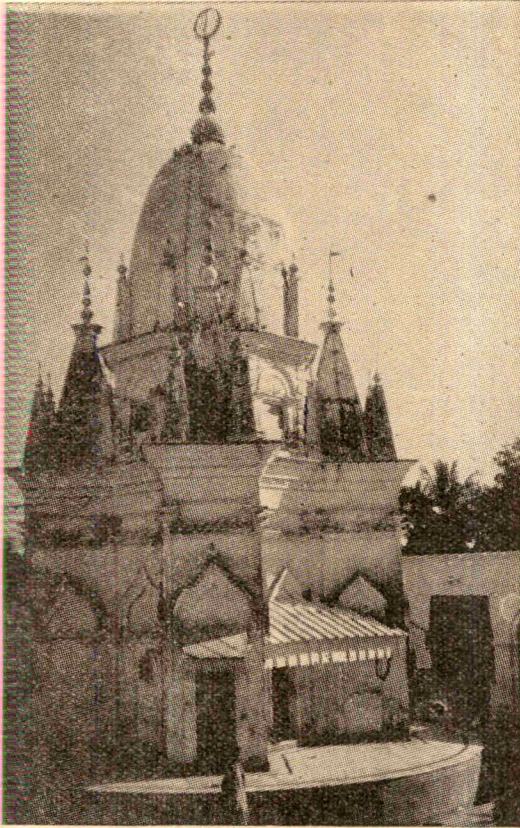
historical importance, by the late Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his *History of Bengali Literature*.



Sri Bigrhas of Sri Chaitanya in a preaching posture and Radha-Krishna in the main temple of Sri Chaitanya Math at Mayapur

There is Ballal Dhipi, where the great palace of Ballal Sen lies buried underground. This place has been demarcated by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India for future excavation. About a mile from

Sri Chaitanya Math, there is the tomb of Chand Kazi, the noted governor of (Old) Nabadwip, during Hussain Shah's reign, whom Sri Chaitanya, by his grace abundant, had turned into a devotee of Krishna. The famous Golak Champa tree, which is about 450 years old, is still partly alive and visible on the tomb.



The main temple of Sri Chaitanya Math at Mayapur

Two old maps, one of which is by an Englishman, Thorton, and the other by Mathew Vander Broucke, a Dutch, have placed Nadia, i.e., old Nabadwip, the capital town of Bijoy Sen, on the confluence of the Bhagirathi and the Jalangi. Nadia (old Nabadwip) of the said maps, is situated on the site of Sri Mayapur. Thorton's map was published in the third book of the *English Pilot*, one copy of which is now preserved in the Library of Admiralty, London. It was printed in 1675. The Dutch map is found published in Valentyne's *Oost Indien*, Volume V, Deel 1, which was printed in 1726.

Sixty-two years ago, Srila Thakur Bhakti Binode, a great Vaishnava savant of the day, brought out the real identity of Sri Mayapur before the public eye; he was acclaimed on his great discovery by many scholars of the day. He left behind an immense treasure of books, numbering more than 100, which are still preserved by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in recognition of his great contribution. The oldest religious journal *Sajjanatoshani* was

started by him in 1881 from Mayapur. Thus Thakur Bhakti Binode inaugurated the revival of Sri Chaitanya's teachings, which opened a glorious chapter in the cultural and religious history of Bengal. The work started by him, reached its highest culmination, under the inspiring guidance of Srila Bhakti Sidhwanta Saraswati Thakur, who



Sri Jogapith Mandir erected at the holy spot by the founder of Sri Chaitanya Math at Mayapur

founded Sri Chaitanya Math, at Sri Mayapur, as the main centre of preaching.

The life and teachings of Sri Chaitanya inspired the founder of Sri Chaitanya Math so profoundly that he felt an urge for preaching Real Vaishnavism in its original and intrinsic purity, as preached and practised by Sri Chaitanya, and present the same in its proper philosophical background to the world. Altogether he started 64 centres of preaching throughout India and sent disciples to England, Germany and other parts of Europe to preach the message of Sri Chaitanya. He started six journals in different languages, namely, *Gaudia* in Bengali (1922), *Harmonist* in English (1927), *Dainik Nadia Prokash* in Bengali (1928), *Bhagabat* in Hindi (1931), *Kirtan* in Assamese (1932) and *Paramartha* in Oriya (1932).

In his preaching excursions throughout India, which attracted all the great scholars of the day, he was invited to address the students of the Benares Hindu University in February 1924.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, one of the greatest exponents of Hindu culture and religion, paid high tributes, in appreciation of his great work, and came to Sri Gaudiya Math in Calcutta in April 1925 to meet him. It is indeed gratifying to note that Sri Chaitanya Math, under the able guidance of its present President—Tridandiswami Bhakti Bilas Tirtha Maharaj, stands boldly to speak the Truth.



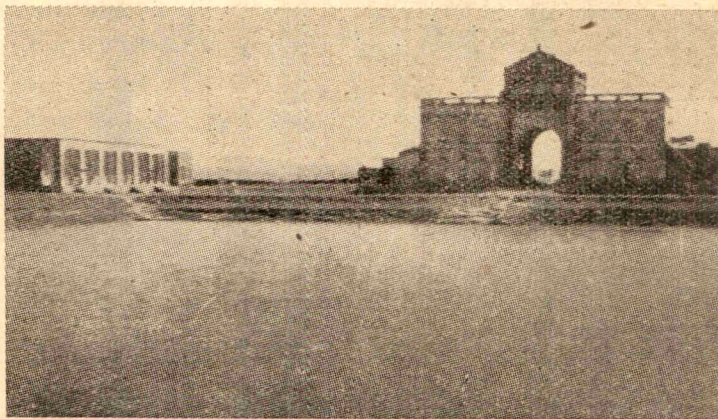
The famous "Golok Champa" tree, which is about 450 years old, under which lies the tomb of Chand Kazi, whom Sri Chaitanya converted into a devotee of Sri Krishna

Sri Chaitanya preached a religion based on *Bhakti* and *Prem*, which attracted all, educated and uneducated, alike. His system of philosophy is known as *Achintya-veda-aveda* which recognises all the four systems of theistic Philosophy, that flourished before him, namely, *Visista-Advaita* of Sri Ramanujam, *Sudhwa-dwaita* of Sri Madhwa, *Dwaita-advaita* of Sri Nimbarka and *Sudhwa-advaita* of Sri Vishnuswami. This attitude of reverence and respect towards other systems of philosophy, is rather rare in the philosophical and religious world, as every system of philosophy tries to prove other systems as fallacious, in order to prove itself correct. This is why Sri Chaitanya's teachings are above petty sectarianism and readily appeals to all. While accepting what is best in other systems of philosophy Sri Chaitanya made his own contribution, which is unparalleled in the world. His philosophy is best represented and preserved by Sri Jiva Goswami in his book entitled *Sat Sandarva*. There are numerous other writers also, who have more or less represented his teachings.

In Sri Chaitanya's teachings, we find no distinction of caste or creed or race. One of his best followers, Thakur Haridas, was born of a Mahomedan parentage. Sri Chaitanya gave him the highest place as Namacharya amongst his followers. He teaches that castes are based not upon birth but upon attributes and qualities. The Gita says that even if a Chandala behaves well, he is as good as a

Brahmin, and that if a Brahmin de-means himself, cheats others and speaks falsehood, if a Brahmin is devoid of *Bhakti*, he is worse than a Chandala. Caste or no caste, a man is above all a servitor of Krishna. That was the doctrine, which Sri Chaitanya preached, that was the great appeal that he made to all.

In Sri Chaitanya's life and his teachings we find the supreme culmination of Indian thought and culture. At the core of our social system, known as Varnasrama Dharma, lies unadulterated love of God as the guiding principle of human life. Love of Absolute Truth that is God and eagerness to serve Him alone, can bring about real synthesis in society and in an individual's life and save him from worldly perversions of time and space. Love of God is an end in itself; it is also a means to attain Truth. Jesus had asked to love God with all our body, mind and soul and from this



Thakur Bhakti-Binode Institute and the hostel attached to Sri Chaitanya Math at Mayapur

would follow our love towards our neighbours, which, if real, is nothing but love of God reflected in a different direction.

Scientists take nothing as Absolute. Yes, in the inductive process of thinking, nothing can be held absolute, every solution is nothing but a working hypothesis in the long run; it holds ground as long as it is not thrown

off by newer discoveries. But Truth revealed to us through the lives of those whom we call great men, is a revelation, which comes only through a deductive process of manifestation. We approach inductive truth by questioning and challenging our forerunners, but deductive truth should be approached through submission and this submission in its perfect form is love which synthesises the divergent trends of our lives and brings harmony in every phase of them. All gradations of life should be fixed in the light of our ultimate relation to Godhead.



Sri Bhagavats of Sri Chaitanya and his followers installed at Sri Jogapith Mandir

Thus Sri Chaitanya in all his teachings preached a complete re-orientation and revaluing of life to be obtained not through a challenging assertion of personal or human rights but through recognition of service and duty first. This truth lies at the core of our culture, upon which the vast structure of society has been reared up through ages. This is called Atma-Dharma as taught by the Gita. Life devoid of its primal eagerness to be in perpetual contact with Truth and Love is no life at all.

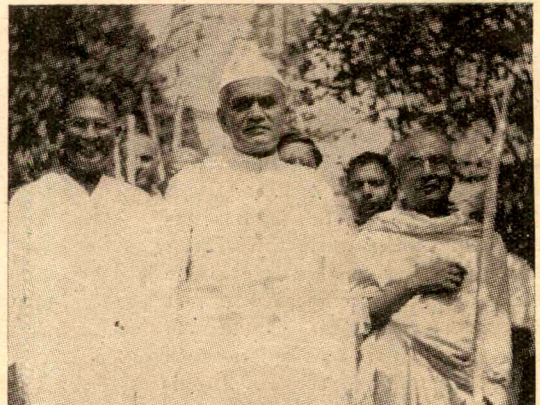
The doctrine which Sri Chaitanya preached is so universal in its appeal, that in spite of the degradation, to which the Hindu race was subjected to during the last 400 years, it has still managed to survive. This was a period of foreign rule and even then the teachings of Sri Chaitanya have persisted and comforted us. This proves that his

teachings have a value which is independent of time and space.



Paramahansa Paribrajaka Srimad Bhakti-Sidhwanta Saraswati Goswami Probhupad, Founder of Sri Chaitanya Math at Mayapur

We feel in our heart of hearts that man must not live by bread alone, yet all our struggle for existence is for material gains. This is a problem which remains to be



Dr. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, at Mayapur, (left) Dr. Sambidananda Das, Secretary, "Nabadwip-Dham-Pracharini Sabha," (right) Tridandi-Swami Bhakti-Bilas Tirtha Maharaj, President, Sri Chaitanya Math

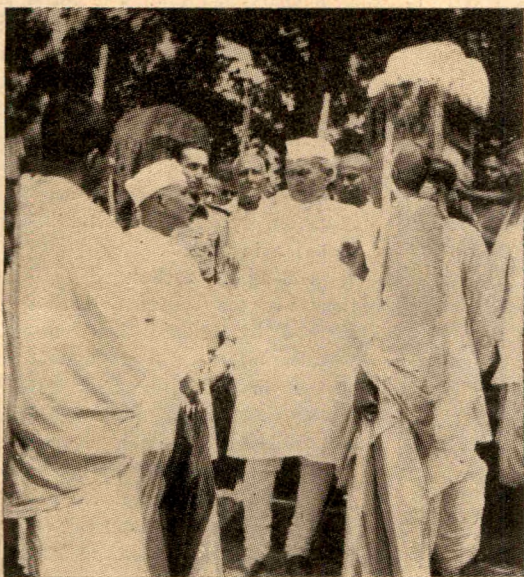
solved. This poverty in plenty is not only limited to our material comforts of life but it has also robbed us of our

inner wealth. This bankruptcy of human soul is the greatest tragedy of the modern age.

India to-day stands at the cross-roads of political ideologies. The most insistent question of the day is what is the right way. We have attained freedom and we are free to choose our own course, but the problem has become all the more complicated and difficult as along with freedom all the evil elements are set free. Everywhere there is discontent and distrust. We cannot stop this rot if we try superficially. We must go deeper to find out the real cause at the root. The approach towards the problems of the day should be made from the *fundamental view of life as a whole*. It requires deep insight and sympathetic outlook to study the situation, to understand the real cause,

thoughts should be thoroughly changed and centred round a faith in true religion, which will rationalise the human desire of its material wants. Aristotle, in his attempt to find out the real cause of human unrest, in society, said that it is better that the benefactor of the state should try to bring the reform from within, that is by rationalising the human desire. Through education people should be trained not to desire for increasing material comforts of life but to rely more on an inner richness of spiritual wealth. Sri Chaitanya taught us that in the love of God lies the *summum bonum* of human life and His name is the highest solace here below, as Gandhiji found it in the last moment of his life.

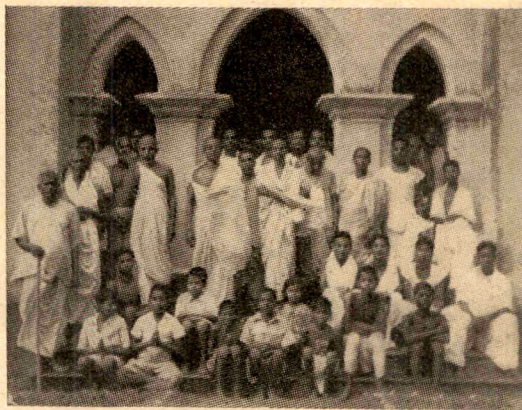
The world to-day faces another greater war. That is



Dr. Katju's visit to Sri Mayapur. He seems to be very inquisitive about details of the birth-place of Sri Chaitanya

Recently, Mahatma Gandhi has shown us the way by experiments in his own life and we have seen what price he has paid for it. All the different warring elements found a suitable place in Mahatmaji's life, though he was far from sharing their view-points. Then where was the common platform? And what was the secret that attracted all these warring elements towards Mahatma? It was the synthesis in his life that kept the door open for all and attracted everybody. This synthesis in life comes only from a deep faith in true religion, which is the end of all philosophic searches after Truth. Mahatma Gandhi, in his life of experiments in Truth at last reached the glorious end of his journey through his sublime faith in *Ram Nam*.

What we need to-day is that the whole trend of our



Tridandi-Swami Bhakti-Bilas Tirtha Maharaj with some of his disciples at Sri Chaitanya Math

why the search for peace has grown all the more acute but the way for peace is not yet known. We have good debates in the U.N.O. but at the same time the race for armament is going on in full swing. That is why, Plato, the Father of Political Science in the West, said that the "Guardians of the State" must always be philosophers, meaning thereby that the power should be vested in those persons, who, by virtue of their vision of life as a whole, can foresee the real and ultimate good of the society.

India has got the blessings of God. It has got a true religion of its own and a message of peace for the world. The day of reckoning has come and will the leaders of India's destiny be bold enough to uphold the picture of *Ram Rajya* as the political ideology for the whole world?

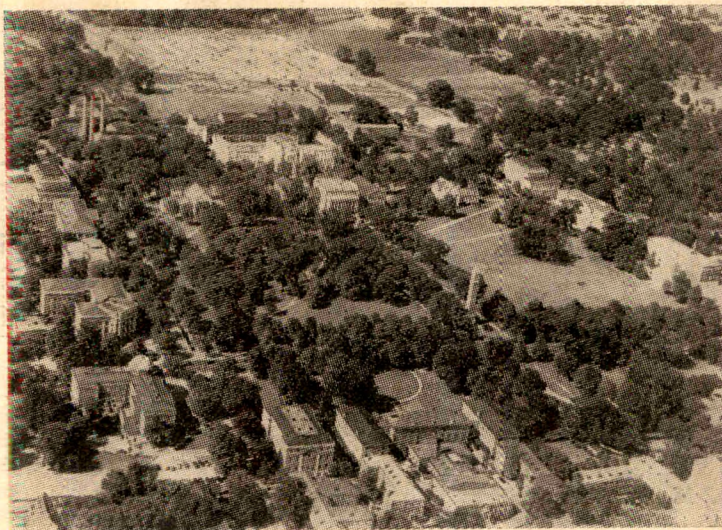
In the light of the teachings of Sri Chaitanya the world will one day find that the path of real peace lies in that universal love of which Sri Chaitanya was the living embodiment.*

*Photographs : By Prabhat Kumar Mitra.

STATE UNIVERSITIES IN AMERICA

By FRANCES FRIEDMAN

For most Europeans, higher education in the United States is likely to be symbolized by such universities as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, whose long history—beginning even before the founding of the United States—has endowed them with a special place in American life. Today, however, these colleges are providing education for only a fraction of the nearly 2,500,000 students who are now attending universities. Indeed, they form but a small segment in a widespread system of approximately 1,800 colleges, universities and professional and technical schools.



In a pattern common to many American college campuses, academic and residence halls at the University of Alabama in the South are grouped around grassy tree-shaded quadrangles

Colleges and universities flourish in all parts of the United States. Just as the responsibility of educating its children is reserved to each of the 48 States, so is the obligation of providing advanced education above and beyond compulsory elementary and secondary schooling. In the large midwestern State of Ohio, for instance, with a population of 7,000,000, there is hardly a section without its institution of higher learning. Here the State Government provides support for five universities and one teacher-training college. In addition, there are three municipally supported universities and some 38 other colleges and universities maintained by church groups and private foundations, without governmental support. In Connecticut in the east, there are not quite 2,000,000 people. State-supported higher education is provided by four teachers' colleges and the University of Connecticut. Here too, are some 10 other private institutions.

Hardly had the emigrants from Europe reached the new land than the need for colleges made itself evident. In 1636, Harvard College was established in Massachusetts; in 1693, William and Mary in Virginia; in 1701, Yale in New Haven. But the usefulness of these institutions for the mass of the people was restricted. They were privately endowed and controlled, usually by denominational religious interests, and their early curricula were limited to courses designed to train men for the learned professions of the ministry and law. The social and economic conditions of the developing country, however, were inevitably to impress themselves on educational institutions and practices. For a nation of farmers and mechanics, bent on self-government and possessed of the ballot, higher education, free and public, had to be supported by taxation and be non-sectarian in control.

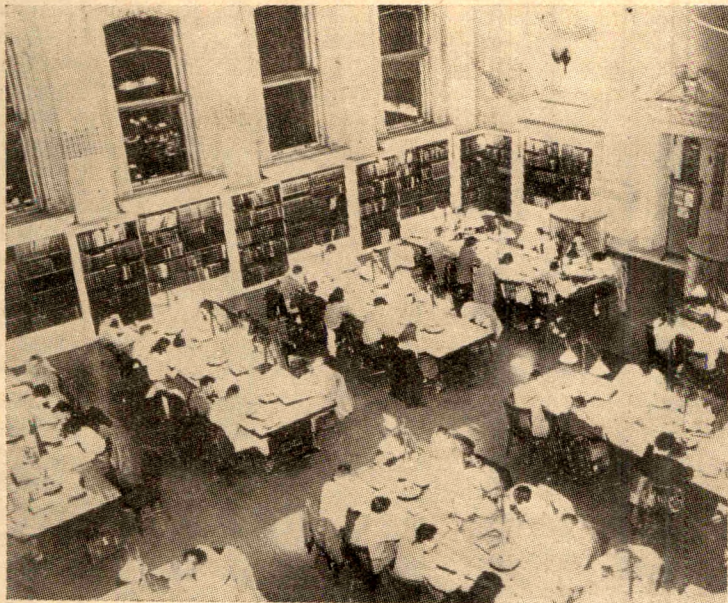
Among the earliest State institutions was the University of Virginia, inspired by Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States, and opened in 1825, the year before his death. Created by the State legislature, free from sectarian control and reflecting the spirit of its founder, it broke from the classical traditions of the original semi-theological institutions. It provided a broad curriculum that permitted students to elect their course from among eight programs: ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, chemistry, medicine, and the law.

By the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, 19 of the 33 States then in the Union, had established universities. Many of these were given new vitality and others were created as a result of the interest in public higher education of James Morrill, a Vermont farmer then serving in the Congress of the United States. In 1862 the Morrill Act was passed, giving States large grants of Federal land, the income derived from their sale to be used "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits and professions in life." In addition to this money from Federal land grants, the universities have been supported by State appropriations, gifts, and student fees, which, for residents of the State, are merely nominal.

In organization, the University of Illinois is typical of State universities. Here the board of trustees consists of 11 members, two of whom, the Governor and the

State Superintendent of public instruction, are ex-officio members. The nine others are elected by the people and serve for terms of six years each, three being elected every

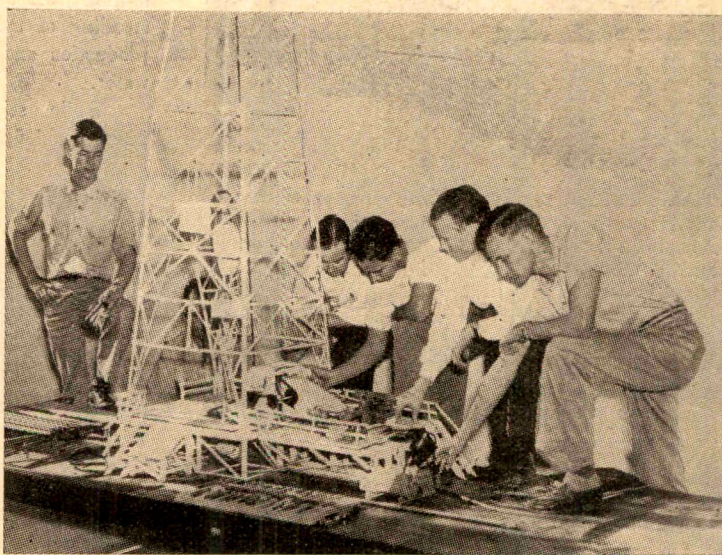
Under the enlightened guidance of such administrators, the educational program of the institutions, as well as their physical facilities, has been gradually developed in response to the needs of the groups they were endeavouring to serve. One example of this sensitivity to the needs of students is the University of Wisconsin at Madison, the State capital. Located on Lake Mendota, its campus consists of more than 1,000 acres of land on which are located some 110 buildings housing the college classrooms and laboratories. Its equipment includes an astronomical observatory, hospitals, experimental farms and stock buildings. Each year, more than 23,000 students—for Wisconsin students, graduation from a State high school is the only entrance requirement—register in one of the nine colleges or schools: Letters and Science, Agriculture, Law, Medicine, Education, Nursing, Engineering, Commerce, or the Graduate School. Students enrolling from other States as well as from other nations must pass special entrance examinations. After four years of satisfactory work, the student is awarded the Bachelor's degree in arts or science. Graduate



More than 17,000 students, enrolled at the University of Wisconsin in the American mid-west, use to capacity the facility of its library which contains 1,250,000 volumes

second year. This board appoints the president of the University. The officers of administration below the president are the provost and dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the deans of the colleges of Agriculture, Commerce and Business Administration, Dentistry, Education, Fine and Applied Arts, Journalism, Engineering, Law, Medicine, the School of Pharmacy, the Library School, the Graduate School, the School of Music, the librarian, the dean of men, the dean of women, the director of physical welfare, and various other officers such as the supervising architect, the registrar, and the university health officer.

In some States, the board of trustees is appointed by the governor and must be approved by the popularly elected senate. But almost universally the president is the real executive head of his institution, turning to his board for advice or endorsement of general plans. The very widest latitude in the internal management of the curriculum and instruction is given to the deans, the faculties of the several colleges, and the other administrative offices.



Louisiana State University, in the heart of the rich oil-fields of the American South, offers comprehensive training in petroleum engineering in the field as well as in class-rooms

work earns Masters' and Doctors' degrees. Courses range from Gaelic Literature, Labour History, Library Science and Medieval Latin Poetry to Agronomy, Steam Engineering and Fur Farming.

The limits of the University of Wisconsin are not confined to the Madison campus; in a sense they are co-terminous with the boundaries of the State. Lincoln Steffens, a famous American editor, has said: "The University of Wisconsin is as close to the intelligent farmer as his barn or his tool house. The University laboratories are part of the alert manufacturer's plant. To the worker the University is drawing nearer than the school around the corner and is as much his as his union is his. The University of Wisconsin is a highly conscious lobe of the common community mind of the State and of the people of Wisconsin."



Agricultural students leaving the experimental and demonstration farm of the State College of Iowa

The University realizes that the training for active participation in after-college life can be immeasurably enhanced by the practical experience which a student gets in sharing in the planning and administration of extra-classroom life on the campus. And therefore it encourages students to correlate the theory of the classroom with the practical experience which may be gained in wide participation in outside activities. A student of Journalism gets his first real experience when he is assigned to cover a campus event for the *Daily Cardinal*, the University's newspaper. A commerce student puts his knowledge to use as treasurer of student-sponsored entertainments. A physical education major, training for a career as director of community recreation, obtains practical experience in planning and producing the annual outdoor dance festival. Drama students manage the University theater.

In many areas, the universities, in addition to liberal arts, law and medicine, have provided special courses for the region in which they are located. Their graduates are equipped to apply to their own communities the knowledge they have gained when they leave college. At the University of Minnesota, which lies in the north central part of the United States, a farm campus, separated from the other parts of the University, is the center for students who plan to make agriculture their life-work. Here, wheat is grown, corn is harvested, barns erected, silos filled with grain, butter churned, cattle bred. The curriculum includes, among a wide variety of other subjects, courses in Dairy Engineering, Flour Laboratory Methods, Animal Nutrition, Cereal Chemistry, Farm Power and Machinery, Electricity in Agriculture, Grain and Hay Grading.

Montana State University, situated in the heart of a major forest region in the Northwest, is within 100 miles of 10 national forests, several State forests, Glacier National Park, and several Federal and State game and wild-life refuges. The school is within easy reach of extensive logging, lumbering, and forest products manufacturing operations. Mills with an average annual cut of 120,000,000 feet broad measure are located within a half hour of the campus and are available for use by the university in teaching and research. An experimental forest of 21,000 acres of variously stocked forest and range lands includes tree types well suited for experimental management. A forestry nursery of 20 acres is maintained contiguous to the campus with a capacity of a million trees annually. These facilities lead to an understanding of the management of forested lands for the production and utilization of timber, forage, wild-life and water.

While schools such as those just described are of interest chiefly to young men and women of particular States, some universities have developed superior schools and departments in specific fields which attract students from all over the United States. Among such universities are the University of Colorado for music courses; the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science; the University of California for scientific research facilities; the University of Virginia's law school; the University of Washington and the University of Iowa for drama courses; the University of Missouri's School of Journalism; and the University of Oklahoma's School of Petroleum Engineering. These colleges are supported by State Governments, but students from other States are welcome, although the tuition fees are higher than those paid by citizens of the State. Fees vary. In some States, tuition is free to State citizens. The average charge is approximately \$79 annually for residents and about \$128 for non-residents.

Other American colleges—"private" institutions—are supported in the main by endowment funds contributed by individuals; still others are financed by the tax fund of municipalities. The differences in fees charged stem from the amount of subsidy the institution has to defray its costs and what proportion must be met out of student

fees. All colleges, including the private institutions, offer free scholarships on a competitive basis and provide loans for students who need temporary financial help. For the student who must live away from home, there are the expenses of board and lodging. These amount to approximately \$350 for a 32-week school year. A large proportion of university students are supported by their families throughout their four years at college, although many work during the summer to pay some of their own bills. Students whose parents cannot afford to sponsor their advanced education may "work their way through school" by doing jobs approved by the college—tutoring, working at the school bookstore, doing clerical work in school offices, waiting on tables.

As the State colleges developed in direct response to the people's needs so have the older east-coast colleges gradually broadened their educational concepts to give more emphasis to a functional preparation of their students for life. The older colleges have thus turned

away, to a notable degree, from their original purpose of training gentlemen's sons for careers in the clergy, medicine, and law. Indeed today there is little difference in educational philosophy between the State and private colleges.

So closely have the two types of university approached one another that it is a usual thing for a Bachelor of Arts from the University of New Mexico, for example, to take his Master's degree at Columbia, for a Master of Arts from Yale to go to the University of California for advanced study. This growing trend to explore other educational institutions is not limited to students. A William and Mary catalogue may list a visiting professor of history from the University of California, University of Illinois graduate students may study with a visiting Harvard economist. This intermeshing of knowledge and skills, of opportunities and needs, is an essential factor in the ever-growing system of American higher education.

—From *Amerika*.

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BUDDHIST TEMPLE OF BELERA Archaeological Survey Report of Bankura District

By R. CHAUDHURI, M.R.A.S.

I INSPECTED the Belera "Siddhasarya Temple" (J.L. No. 299), P.S. Onda (No. 211), in the District of Bankura on October 5, 1949. The temple is about three and a half miles off from Onda, B. N. Railway Station.

I found the following relics in the Belera Temple. The relics which I have found may be divided into three groups according to their religious identities:

(a) Relics of Buddhist faith:

(i) One mutilated head of Bhagavan (Lord) Buddha

(ii) Twelve Stupas¹ (similar to Nalanda stupas).

(b) Gods and goddesses of Brahmanical faith:

(i) One Sri Durga Murti (image)

(ii) One Ganesha Murti

(iii) Three Siva-Lingas

(c) Relics of Jain Faith:

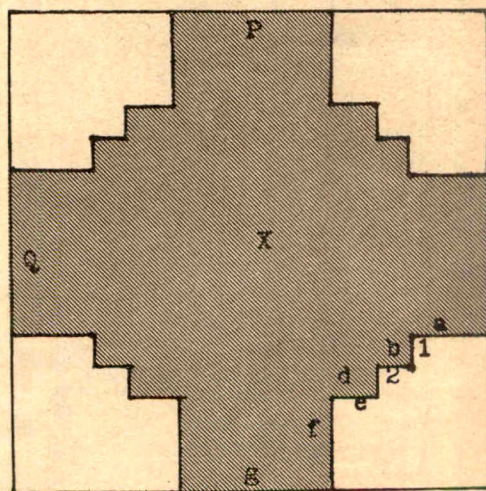
(i) One full image of Mahavira (Digambara—nude or sky-clad sect).

The above existing Archaeological and Iconographical evidence² of the Belera Temple should be kept apart and can be differentiated from the course of obscure religious life of the people of Bankura district which has taken a different tune as a result of impact of Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain religions.

1. "Stupas erected at monasteries in honour of Teachers and Texts.—We may now turn to the other features of monastic life as observed by Fa-Hien. Monasteries had tope erected in honour of the sacred characters, in the history of Buddhism....."—*Ancient Indian Education* by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., pages 498.

THE SIDDHASARYA TEMPLE

The general characteristic of this 'block temple' is of Mediaeval period. Three miniature plans of the entire



Site of the Temple (X. = area: P. x Q. 29 ft.

x 29 ft. = 841 sq. ft.)

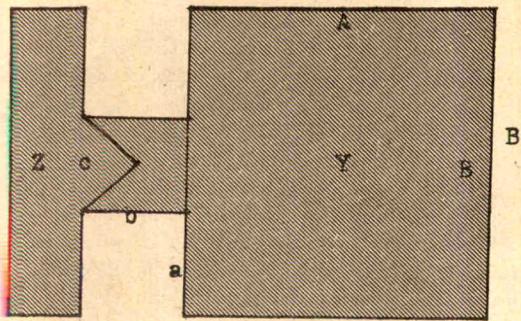
a = 5 ft. b (1, 2) = 1 ft. 8 ins.

d, e = 1 ft. 2 ins. f = 1 ft.

g = 7 ft. 1 in.

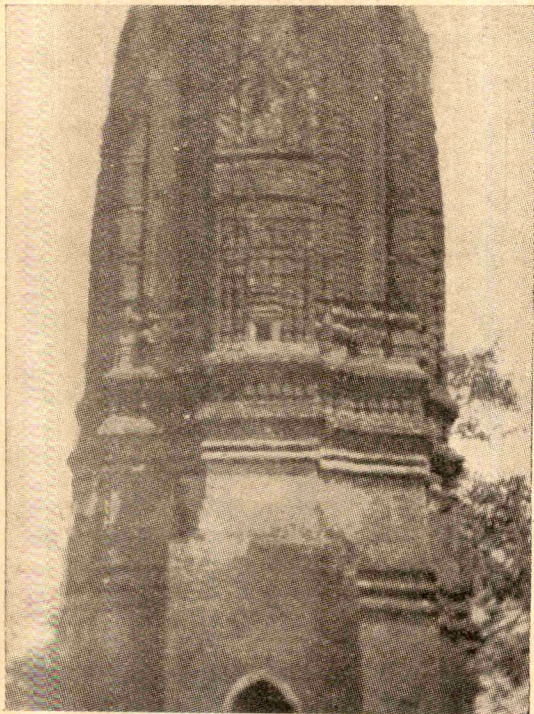
2. "Archaeology surveys a period a hundred times as long. In the enlarged field of study it does disclose general trends, cumulative changes proceeding in one main direction and towards recognizable results," says Dr. V. Gordon Childe, D. Litt., D.Sc., in his book *What Happened in History*, page 1

temple has been engraved on the body (3 feet by 2 feet in size), on three of its sides. A certain portion from the top of the temple has somehow been damaged but from the miniature specimen we can get the whole view of the temple.



Inner area (Y = A x B: 8 ft. 8 ins. x 8 ft. 8 ins. = 75 ft. 2 sq. ins.
 a = 1 ft. 11 ins. b = 6 ft. 6 ins. c = 4 ft. 10 ins.
 (Gate-way). Z = one small room for
 Darshanaparthi (visitors).

The mensuration work of the temple is really ingenious. Two-inch bricks with .05 inch of mortar and .1 to 1 inch limy plaster for decorating miscellaneous figures on the body of the temple, are the chief materials which have been used.



A view of the Siddhasarya Temple

There were a few other temples dedicated to different deities surrounded by the main temple but they are not

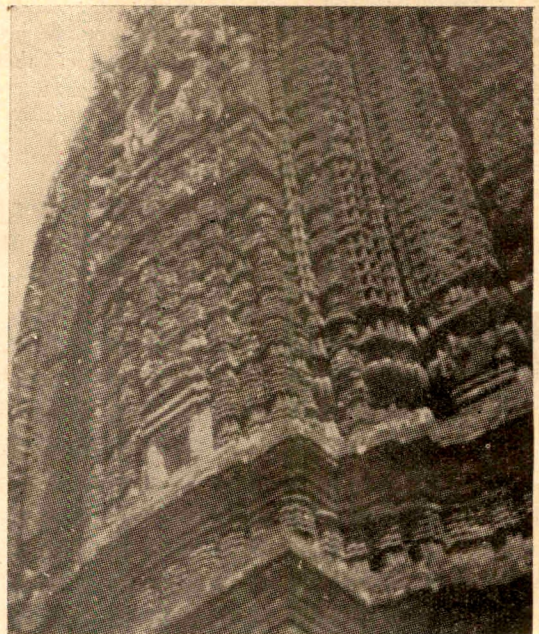
in existence except the Siddhasarya temple and all the above-mentioned images have been collected by the local people and kept in it.

In the temple of Siva, a Siva-Linga has been placed in the centre at a later date some two hundred years ago.

Following are the proofs that this was a Buddhist temple in original:

(a) One mutilated head of Avalokitesvara (8 inches long) with some other parts of his body.

(b) The altar where there is a Siva-Linga for the present seems to be new. This change was brought about by Natha-Siddhas of Siva faith after removing the original image of Buddhist faith.



Another view of the Siddhasarya Temple

(c) Twelve votive stupas (made of bricks) lying on the southern side of the temple indicate that this was originally a Buddhist temple.

(d) The name Siddhasarya has been probably derived from some Buddhist god (Avalokitesvara) to whom were devoted the Siddhasarya sects (13th to 14th Century A.D.).

(e) Some villagers of this area (Sharberia Mouza) call themselves 'Nath.' They were Buddhist by faith previously.

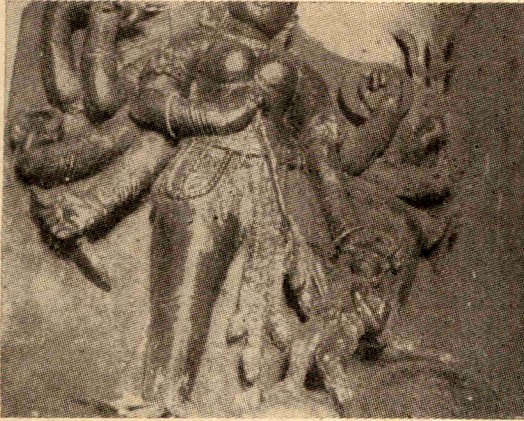
SRI DURGA (THE DIVINE MOTHER)

This is a stone figure, partly in relief, of Sri Durga standing on the lion with ten arms holding all *deva-ayudhas* (sacred weapons) while she was fighting with Mahisasura.

The whole view is engraved on a piece of granite stone slab (2 feet 2 inches by 3 feet).

A true Iconographical description of the particular image may be available in *Sri Chandi*, Chapter II, slokas 13-15, 17, 20-32.

Mediaeval period, 12th Century A.D.

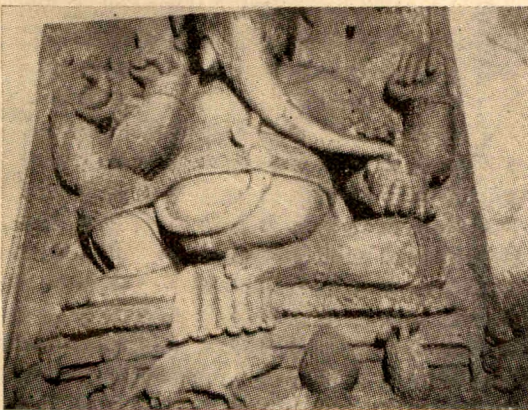


Sri Durga

THE GANESHA MURTI (GOD OF SUCCESS, SIDDHIDATA)

The whole image, elephant-headed, four-armed, mounted on a rat (*Mushikabahana*), is carved on a black, hard granite stone (2 feet 2 inches by 3 feet 8 inches). The iconography, ornaments and decoration are the special features of the image to be looked into.

Mediaeval period, 13th Century A.D.

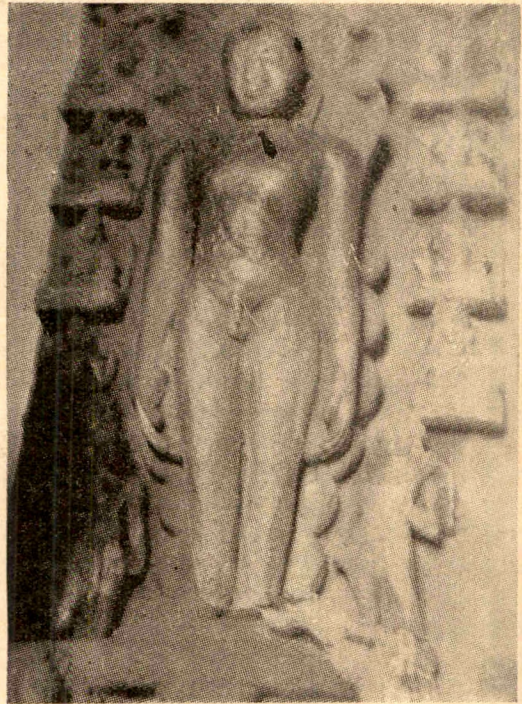


Ganesha

A DIGAMBARA (NUDE) IMAGE OF PARSVANATH

Standing on a *Mangala Kalasa* (sacred pitcher), under the cover of a *sapta-naga* (serpent of seven hoods).

Representing the attack of kamatha on Parsvanath like the attack of Mara in the case of Buddha. Surrounded by fourteen sub-images; engraved on a piece of black granite stone (1 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 8 inches). Two devotees offering their respect near the feet. Regarding the description of the body one may refer to Jain Kalpasutra. We find from Jacobi's translation that the figure should be that of 'a boy on whose body all limbs are well-formed, and are of full volume, weight and length.' (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, pages 221). Though these words have been used in the case of Mahavira, they may equally be applicable to the case of Parsvanath who belongs to the same faith.



Parsvanath

Mediaeval period, 11th Century A.D.

After going through the peculiarities of this temple it may be said that once it was an important and renowned site of Buddhist Culture (10th to 15th Century A.D.).

The temple is one of the best specimens of workmanship and architecture of the mediaeval period. It may also be said as one of the best temples of its kind in Bengal.



AIRYANA The Homeland of the Aryans

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

The picture of the pre-historic chapter of Indian civilisation as known before the epoch-making discovery of the Indus civilisation, was drawn on simple lines and had a familiar motif. From somewhere in the west beyond the Caspian there emerged a horse-riding people, white-skinned, fair-haired, blue or grey-eyed, bravely heading towards the east in pursuit of its mission of subjugating and civilising the world, specially the black-skinned, barbarous, backward races of the East. After reaching Iran it divided. One branch remained in Iran and the other, the Vedic Aryans, entered India. It conquered the dark, savage aborigines of India and gave India her civilisation.

in many respects with much later Indian cultures, prevailed in the Indus Valley. This discovery was a challenge to the old Aryan theory.

It was felt necessary to re-write the pre-historic chapter of Indian civilisation without umbrage to the current Aryan theory. Before this, uncivilised aborigines were held to be the enemies with whom the Vedic Aryans had to tackle. After the Indus discovery a new hypothesis was advanced. The enemies of the Aryan invaders were not savage aborigines but a civilised people belonging to the Mediterranean stock. These Mediterraneans are identified by several scholars with the Dravidians. These scholars have also found

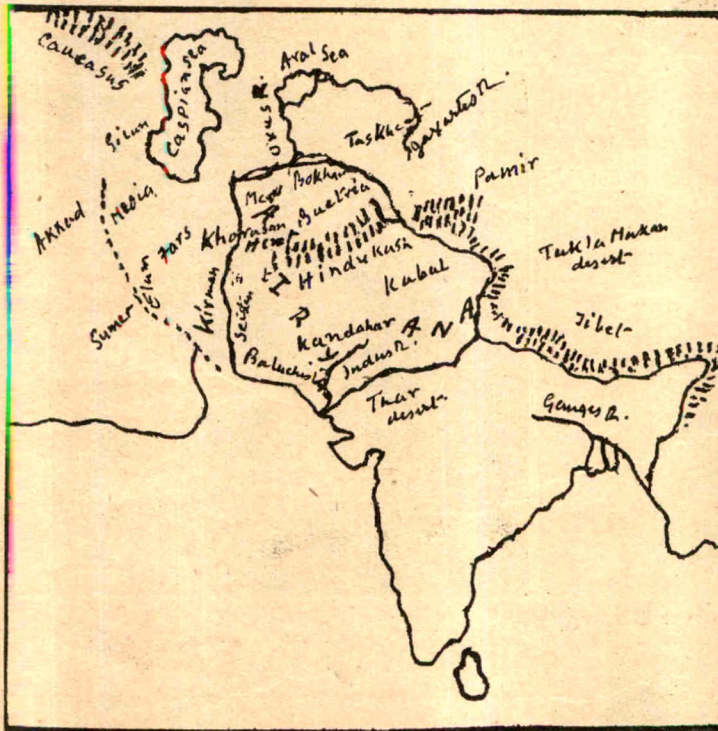
out that the civilisation of the Indus Valley was not indigenous, India could hardly be the fit soil to develop such a high degree of urban civilisation. It was borrowed at second hand from the Mesopotamians, who in their turn, borrowed it from the eastern Mediterranean countries.

The important fact that emerges from these scholarly speculations is that in the pre-historic period two outside agencies undertook to civilise India. The earlier period is the pre-Aryan period and the later the Vedic Aryan period. This is the retouched picture which holds the field.

Materials which, if properly worked out, would change the entire picture have been made available by scholars. They are waiting for a careful investigator with penetrating vision and constructive imagination. Bit by bit scraps of materials drawn from several fields of investigation will have to be pieced together patiently for rewriting the pre-historic chapter of Indian civilisation. This will take some time. In the meanwhile, the discovery of

a forgotten land may be made known to persons interested in the question of the original home of the Aryan people. One consequence of the discovery is that it dispenses with the theory of Aryan invasion of India, for the very simple reason that the Aryans were in India all along.

The name of this forgotten land is Airyana. It means *ariao dankhavo* or the land of the Aryans. The name is found in the Zend-Avesta. The Vendidad gives a description of Airyana and territories embracing it. Either the name of the country came from *ariao*, the name of the people or the people came to be called



This motif was inspired by the European Aryan theory which evolved in the late 18th and early 19th centuries out of the Vedic and Avestan researches in Europe. It was a theory well-suited to intensify the imaginative and emotional appeal of the aggressive cult of European expansion.

Having held the field for more than 150 years the picture mentioned lost much of its glamour after the discovery of the Indus civilisation of the Copper Age. It was revealed that more than a millenium before the date assigned to the invasion of India by the Vedic Aryans a highly developed culture with strong affinities

ariao from Airyana, the name of the country. In later times Airyana changed into Airan, Eran, Irun and finally Iran. This last name was adopted by the Sasanian Emperors for the whole of Persia. Airyana was lovingly called Airan vaejo, the earthly paradise of Airan.

The change of the name of the country from Persia to Iran was a political step following in the wake of the nationalist revival that swept the land after the fall of the Arsakidans. The home of the Achaemenians and Sasanians was Fars or Farsistan. As the home of the imperial dynasties the whole country came to be known as Persia which was derived from Fars. Accepting the Sasanian name for the country historians and geographers have divided the country into two parts, eastern Iran and western Iran. They have at the same time pointed out the political, cultural and ethnological differences between the Aryan eastern Iran and Semitised western Iran.

A map indicating the territories within Airyana, according to the text, is given here to show the geographical position of the country. It will be seen that the northern boundary line sprawls south of the desert extending from the east of the Caspian to the Oxus and Jaxartes, the home from time immemorial of nomadic races of Turko-Mongol extraction. To the south it is bounded by the Doab of the Jumna and the Ganges, Indian desert and Rajasthan. In the west it is bounded by Persia and in the south-west by that portion of Indian ocean known as the Arabian sea. The eastern boundary is formed by the Pamir-Hindukush mountain chains.

Fifteen different territories were included in Airyana. Of these Bakdhi, Nisai, Haroyu, Urva, Khnenta, Haraqati and Hetumat were in Afghanistan. These places with the exception of Nisai have been identified with Bactria, Herat, Kabul, Kandahar, Arachosia and Hilmand. Nisai is located between Bactria and Herat. The eighth territory is Vekeret which has been identified with Sajaasthan or Seistan including part of Baluchistan. The ninth district is described as coastal area with a large hinterland to which the people withdrew when attacked. This has been identified with the Mekran coast with Baluchistan or Greek Gedrosia. The tenth territory is Hapta Hindvo or the seven Sindhus. The Pahlavi commentator writes that the seven Sindhus included western Sindhus and eastern Sindhus. This means that the lands drained by the western and eastern tributaries of the Indus were included in the territory. He writes further that the number seven comes according to some from seven rulers of the country, according to others, from seven rivers.

It will be found that the ten territories mentioned above formed a compact geographical area, and with the exception of Bactria, were within the political boundary of India in the Maurya period. The Hindukush is regarded as the natural northern boundary of India by many geographers. Some scholars think that the Oxus was the northernmost boundary of India. This would

bring Bactria within India. Three districts north of Bactria within Airyana were Mouru, Gau-Sugdha and Varena which are identified with Merv, Bokhara and Fargana. Varena is identified with Cilan by some, with Kirman by others, according to the commentator. Chinese tradition is in favour of Fargana which appears as Great Wan in *Han Chronicles* of the 2nd century B. C. Of the three, Bokhara or Sogdiana is known to have been within the cultural orbit of India up to the time of Arab conquest in the 8th century. Of the remaining two districts the location of Chakhra is unknown. Only one territory, Ragha, is known to be outside the compact area mentioned. It is identified with Rai near Tehran.

The Achaemenian Emperor Darius I, born in Fars, took pride in calling himself an Ariaio, son of an Ariaio and the nobles of his court affected names formed with Ariaio but Airyana is not mentioned in his inscriptions and it is not known how early the name was in vogue and when it fell into desuetude. In this connection the Greek name Aria for Pahlavi Haroyu and Arabic Herat may be mentioned. It is likely that Aria was a survival of the old name Airyana. The Rigvedic hymnists generally show a stronger race and culture consciousness than the composers of the Avesta but they also show a lesser appreciation of the physical aspect of their country. To what this was due it is difficult to explain. Perception of the geographical character of their country, on the part of the composers of the Avesta, might have been quickened by early commotion in the steppes north of Airyana, always a hotbed of tumult and turmoil.

A brief reference to the ancient culture centres within the limits of Airyana will add colour to the bald geographical sketch given above and increase interest in the land.

Four well-known early cultures flourished in Airyana. Curiously, they flourished in two areas only, one in the north and the other in the south. The seat of the pre-historic culture of Central Asia placed by some scholars in 5000 B.C. was Bactria. From Bactria this early culture spread to Syria, Egypt, Western Iranian plateau and Mesopotamia. The second northern culture, the Avestan culture, also rose in Bactria. In the south the fertile cradle of two early cultures was the Indus Valley which saw first the development of the Indus civilisation and next, of the Rigvedic culture. The seat of culture during the Rigvedic period shifted a little to the south-east.

It will be noted that the seats of the four cultures were situated in the very heart of the compact geographical area which covers three-fourths of Airyana. The stronghold of culture was undoubtedly also the stronghold of the people of Airyana and the densest concentration of the race was obviously between Bactria and the southern boundary of Airyana. The period covered by the four culture ages is from 5000 B.C. to 800 B.C. From the Bactrian culture to the Indus culture, from the Indus culture to the Vedic

culture and from the Vedic culture to the Avestan culture, the chain is unbroken.

From the geography of Airyana, from the location of the culture centres and from the continuity of the chain of cultures one inference is inevitable; the inference is that the same people were responsible for the four cultures. One northern and one southern culture *i.e.*, the Avestan and the Vedic culture are known to have been developed by the same race, the Aryans or the people of Airyana. The findings of ethonologists from the human remains discovered at pre-historic sites at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, not to mention Nal and Mekran, contain nothing which would militate against the assumption of racial affinities between the Indus people and the Vedic people, no matter what be the shaky theories regarding the authorship of the Indus civilisation they subscribe to. Relationship between the Indus culture and the early Bactrian culture is strongly suggested by the finds unearthed up till now though a full picture of the latter culture is eagerly awaited for removing all doubts.

Here is a picture of four early cultures, one succeeding another, covering a period of nearly four thousand years, blossoming in a tract of land washed by the Oxus in the north and in the south-east by the Sutlej, inhabited by a people who called themselves Arya or Ariaio, as is known from the literary documents left by them and who called this land Airyana. The term Vedic Aryans and Avestan Aryans are misleading. The Vedic culture flourished at a particular period in the history of the ancient people of Airyana just as the Avestan did at another period, and much earlier than both the Indus culture and the Bactrian culture flourished at different periods at the hands of the same people.

Long before the Vedic culture arose the people of Airyana had moved out of the geographical limits of their ancient homeland and planted colonies east, west and south. The western and eastern colonies have been submerged by the Semites and by Turko-Mongol hordes and the ancient homeland has been disrupted. In the south the people have shown more grit and the colonies have flourished and spread.

—O:—

INDIA SHOULD LOOK TO ITS AGRICULTURE VIGOROUSLY

By S. N. DE, M.Sc.

I shall deal in this article with what the U. S. A. Government did in 1941-1946 and what our India Government should do in 1949-1951 and onwards to increase food and feed production and production of other crops. As my article is about the activities of the Agricultural Department of the United States Government, I shall freely quote from *Freedom from Want* (A Survey of the Possibilities of Meeting the World's Need), a symposium edited by Mr. E. E. DeTurk for the American Association for the Advancement of Science. At the outset I shall deal with the origin of Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations which was launched in the U. S. A. in 1945.

When President Roosevelt included world-wide "freedom from want" as one of the great aims of the peace following the last war, he caught men's imagination with a compelling slogan. More than half the world's people do not get enough to eat. When a man's stomach is never filled and a woman always sees her children hungry, the most inspiring promise is the promise of enough food.

President Roosevelt knew this when in 1943, in the midst of war, he called the Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture. This was to be the first step toward making freedom from want a world-wide reality. The conference itself was an inspiring thing and those who attended it were full of hope and confidence in the future. They laid good foundations too. On these foundations the first of the new United Nations agencies, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, was built late in 1945. This is the Organisation through which the member nations—more than 60 of them—are endeavouring to work out ways and means by which the amount of food produced in the world can be brought nearer than it is now to

what the human race needs, and the food can be made available to the people who need it.

For FAO it will be a long, hard, up-hill fight. The essence of it is to increase the production of food faster than world population is increasing. For millions of human beings who are on the margin and never get enough to eat, this means a race with death. These marginal millions die young, and during their short existence the fire of life burns too low in their bodies for health and full achievement.

Lord Boyd Orr, first Director-General of FAO, has said many times that unless we can gain in this race between population and food supply, we face widespread disaster. The present rapid growth in world population—there are now at least 150 million people more than there were ten years ago—and the steady loss of soil productivity through erosion and bad management means that the human race will go deeper and deeper into endless misery.

Before the inauguration of the FAO the U. S. A. Government worked out 6 years' agricultural planning from 1941-1946 to increase food and feed production. Dr. P. V. Cardon, Administrator, Agricultural Research Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, gave a vivid description of the outcome of the planning in his address on "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Agronomists; International Aspects", presented at the Annual meeting of the American Society of Agronomy in Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1946. This reads as follows:

"We can however be certain at this time of a worldwide awakening to the paramount importance of food in lives of all people, and to hope for continued peace that lies in the assurance of adequate food supplies. We have recently witnessed also the launch-

ing of Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations upon which rests the burden of providing light and guidance to a hungry world groping to achieve freedom from want."

He continued :

"For those who lived in and travelled through the food and feed-producing areas of the U.S.A. during the past 5 years, and observed record-breaking crop in the fields, bulging granaries, long lines of loaded grain trucks, corn and wheat piled on the ground, mountains of baled hay and lush pasture, it is hard to believe that many people of the world are hungry. But we know such a condition does exist."

These bountiful harvests are due to good cropping practices and use of superior varieties of wheat, corn, oat, rice, potato, etc.

In order to show what some crop production potentials may be, it will be well to point out a few examples of what has been accomplished in the U.S.A. by controlling hazards of production and increasing yields. With such a background, it will then be possible to indicate what can be done in India for its being self-supporting in food and feed in course of two years.

(1) *Wheat Improvement* : The U.S.A. now produces 42 crores and 50 lacs of more bushels of wheat than 50 years ago, an increase of 70 per cent. This increase is due to growing more acres, as well as to improved or disease-resistant varieties, one of which named Turkey was introduced from Russia.

It has been estimated that new improved varieties produced by experiment stations of the U.S.A. Government and grown by farmers are responsible for an increased production amounting to about 17 crores bushels per year above what would have been possible had farmers depended on varieties available 25 years ago.

(2) *Hybrid Corn* : This is quite distinct from wind-pollinated corn and is the result of cross-breeding with another genus of grass family. This is developed by the U. S. A. Government through several years' research. Majority of the hybrid corn have greater capacity for utilizing the plant nutrient material in soils and fertilizers for production of grain yields than wind-pollinated varieties; and they likewise have more ability to withstand insects, diseases, and adverse weather conditions. This shows that cross-breeding has defied nature.

According to Mr. M. A. McCall's estimate given in his article on "Crop Improvement, a Weapon of War, and an Instrument of Peace" published in the *Journal of American Society of Agronomy*, each year for the period 1941 to 1946, inclusive, one-third or more of the corn acreage in each of the nine states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska was planted to hybrids. During this 6-year period these states produced 1284 crores 6 lacs 45 thousand bushels of corn. The same acreage on basis of the 1923-32 average yields (before hybrids were widely known) would have produced 940 crores 98 lacs 89 thousand bushels, so there was an increase of 343 crores 7 lacs 56 thousand bushels. Attributing this increase to the use of hybrids, each of the 25 crores 53 lacs 70 thousand acres of hybrid corn grown in these nine states

during the 6 years gave an average increased annual yield of 13.4 bushels an acre.

(3) *Oat Breeding* : A significant change has been, and is taking place in the U.S.A. with the development of varieties resistant to crown and stem rust and smut. A number of new varieties have been released, such as Tama, Vivland, Cedar, Vikota, and Clinton to name only a few. All have large, heavy kernels giving high test weights per bushel and thus are better for feed and food.

In the U.S.A. in 1945 there were 4 crores 15 lacs 3 thousand acres of oats of which 25 millions were sown to improved varieties. The average yield in 1945 was 37.3 bushels as compared with 31.1 bushels per acre in 1941. This increase was due for the most part to the use of improved varieties.

(4) *Rice* : In California alone the increase from 1913-1943, just 30 years, was 42 per cent, with a state average of 67 bushels per acre in 1943. These figures are almost unbelievable yet they show what applied research might accomplish with this crop on a world basis. I should mention here that average yield in India is only 26 bushels per acre, whereas Chinese yield is 53 bushels.

(5) *Potatoes* : A well-planned, co-operative program in potato breeding has been in operation for 16 years in the U.S.A., and numerous new varieties have been released. In this country the average yield of potatoes in 1917 was 100 bushels per acre, while in 1943 it was a little more than 139 bushels per acre, and in 1946 the yield was approximately 184 bushels per acre. Mr. F. J. Stevenson in his article on "Potato Breeding, Whither Bound?" in the *American Potato Journal* writes :

"The factors contributing to this increase are new disease-resistant varieties, more efficient disease and insect controls, certified seed, and improved fertilizer and cultural practices."

(6) *Improvement of Forage or Feed Crops* : Improvement has been made with forage as well as grain crops. If large numbers of livestock are to be maintained then adequate forage must be supplied. As shown by Mr. M. A. Hein in the proceedings of the U. S. A. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Administration, captioned "Crested Wheatgrass Helps Revegetate Northern Great Plains", crested wheatgrass is an outstanding example of a plant introduction that has made history in the U. S. A. Introduced from Russia in 1898, and again in 1906, this grass proved to be well adapted to Northern Great Plains. Following the drought years of early thirties it was realized that a good grass is needed to re-establish a useful crop on the vast areas plowed up for cereal production. Crested wheatgrass proved to be the crop to use for pasture, hay, and ground cover to prevent wind erosion. It is best adapted to drier areas of northern plains of the U. S. A. and Canada. In 1944, it was established on 3 million acres of abandoned grain fields alone (due to drought as I said above) and it has spread rapidly. I suggest here that India Government should introduce and plant it in arid lands of India.

I repeat the sentence of the last para, I mean, "Crested wheatgrass is an outstanding example of a plant

introduction that has made history in the U. S. A. to show that what great stress the U. S. A. Government lay on Plant Introduction." I am sorry to remark here that Indiz Government has neglected this important task of plant introduction so long. I beg to refer you to my paper on Plant Introduction which I read in the Science Congress held in Delhi in 1946. On page 2 of the paper you will find that I have been harping on the Government of India to turn their attention to Plant Introduction for the last thirty years. But it was of no avail so long. I sent a copy of my paper to the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Food and Agriculture in the first week of January, 1947. I do not know how far they have proceeded in the matter and whether anything tangible has been done. Let me return to the forage crops.

There are other two feed crops—Alfaalfa and Red clover, which are extensively cultivated in the U. S. A. Here also cross-breeding plays an important part. Two varieties of Alfaalfa, namely, Buffalo and Ranger, are wilt-resistant and two varieties of Red clover named Midland and Cumberland are anthracone-resistant. These two feed crops should also be introduced and planted in vast Gangetic plains.

Only a few examples have been given of outstanding accomplishment of crop introduction and crop improvement in the U. S. A. I shall briefly survey which other plants have been introduced and improved by the U. S. A. Government :

(1) Soyabean from China, (2) ramijia pedunculata and cinchona pitayensis, the richest source of quinine from Columbia and Ecuador, (3) camphor-basil (*ocimum kilimandscharicum*), richest source of camphor, from South Africa, (4) fruits from different countries, (5) vegetables from different countries, (6) medicinal plants.—During the war, the U. S. A. Government introduced Belladonna, Aconite, Digitalis and other medicinal plants which grow in India. As a result of this the export business of botanical drugs of India has been totally stopped, and the exporters are hard hit.

The U. S. A. Government have several divisions under Plant Introduction Bureau such as :

(1) Division of food and feed, (2) division of fruits, (3) division of vegetables, (4) division of tobacco, medicinal plants and special crops.

Before I make my suggestions as to what our National Government should do, I like to draw your attention to crop improvement in Sweden, and Japan.

According to Ewert Aberg yields per acre of various crops in Sweden have increased since 1871-75. as follows :

Crop	Increase in bushels	Per cent increase
Winter wheat	19 to 38	100
Spring wheat	18 to 27	50
Rye	18 to 27	50
Potatoes	106 to 180	70
Barley	19 to 32	68
Oats	17 to 27	59

These increases are attributed to better drainage, use of fertilizers, and plant breeding.

A study of Japanese Agricultural statistics made by Dr. S. C. Salmon has shown that yields have increased as follows, the comparisons being based on average yields for 5-year periods ending in 1882 and 1942.

Crop	Increase in bushels	Per cent increase
Rice	43 to 73	71
Wheat	11.6 to 27.8	140
Barley	17.7 to 38.8	119

These increased yields are attributed to the use of commercial fertilizers and better varieties produced by breeding. Here are examples of sizeable increases in other countries showing clearly that the U.S.A. is not alone in crop improvement work, except India.

Now I shall suggest which plants our Government should introduce and improve:

1. Superior varieties of wheat from the U.S.A. and Russia.

2. Superior varieties of oats, rice, corn, potatoes from the U.S.A.

3. Crested wheatgrass from the U.S.A. and Russia to be planted in arid lands of India.

4. Alfaalfa, and Red clover from the U.S.A. for planting in the Gangetic plains.

5. Soyabean from China. I should give a note here about Soyabean. Soyabean is a very useful protein food which will serve as a suitable substitute for meat, egg, fish, butter, milk and cheese in these days of scarcity of these products.

6. Rice, wheat, barley from Japan.

7. *Ramijia pedunculata* and *Cinchona pitayensis* from Columbia and Ecuador. I point out here that these two plants yield 30 per cent quinine sulphate. Hence they are the richest sources of quinine.

8. Camphor basil plant from S. Africa. This herb grows in 120 days to yield 100 lbs of camphor per acre, as compared to the Asiatic camphor tree which needs years for development to yield camphor. Botanical name of this camphor plant is *Ocimum kilimandscharicum*.

9. A sugar plant botanically known as *Stevia Regaudiana* yielding sugar 2 to 3 times that of ordinary sugar-cane from Paraguay.

Preliminary measures prior to the Plant Introduction which our Government should take, should be to send agricultural explorers to the countries from which plants are to be introduced, as the U.S.A. Government has been doing for the last 40 years.

It will not be out of place to mention here that an agricultural explorer, Mr. J. F. Rock was sent in 1916 to visit India, Burma and China to find out the original and natural abode of Chalmugra and Hydnocarpus trees, seeds of which yield oils which are specific for Leprosy. At that time I was engaged in commercialisation of Hydnocarpus oil which was known to Mr. J. F. Lindsay (now Sir Lindsay), the then Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in Calcutta. Through his introduction Rock saw me to get information about the above plants. I gladly supplied various information regarding occurrence, distribution and manufacture of the two oils. On returning to the U.S.A., he wrote a monograph on these two oils and presented me with a copy of the booklet. The U.S.A. Government has now extensive plantation of the above plants in the Hawaii Island.

The duty of the explorers will be to study the local

conditions under which different plants to be introduced grow and all particulars regarding soil, manure, disease and insect control practices.

Our Government should lose no time in sending Agricultural Explorers to the following countries: (1) The U.S.A. for wheat, corn, rice, oat, potatoes and forage

crops; (2) Russia for wheat and Crested wheatgrass; (3) Columbia and Ecuador for *Ramijia pedunculata* and *Cinchona pitayensis*; (4) Paraguay for Sugar plant—*Stevia Regaudiana*; (5) South Africa for Camphor basil plant; (6) Japan for rice, wheat and barley; (7) China for soyabean.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF INDIAN ART

By O. C. GANGOLY

WHATEVER may have been the position a few years ago, during the last few years Art and the affairs of artists have received a good deal of attention both on the part of the general public and on the part of the Government. The citizens of this great city of Bombay have taken a good deal of interest in the development of Art. Apart from frequent Exhibitions of Art, held in this city, the problems of the improvement and the development of Art and the status of the artists have received a good deal of attention here, as in other parts of the Indian Union. Bombay can justly claim the credit for organizing the First Art Conference which was presided over by my friend Sri Ravi Shankar Rawal, the well-known artist of Ahmedabad. That conference, in which several artists and art-connoisseurs took part, threshed out many intricate questions relating to the development of Art, and courageously indicated the way in which Modern Art should be broad-based on the indigenous traditions of Indian Art and how such traditions could be carried on the paths of new developments to meet the demands of modern times. The next great event in Art was the appointment by the Government of Bombay, in August, 1946, of a representative committee to survey the whole field of art education and to make recommendations for the teaching of Art and the training of art teachers and to formulate syllabuses of art teaching in primary and secondary schools. Under the able direction of Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the committee circulated questionnaires, and took evidences on all relevant data bearing on the problems and after mature deliberations, made very important and far-reaching recommendations for the improvement of art education in this province, and for the development of art appreciation. One of the most important findings of the Hansa Mehta Committee was that unless art appreciation is taught as a compulsory subject it will not receive the attention it deserves. The Committee therefore recommended that the University of Bombay and any other University that may be established in the Province in future should make art appreciation a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination. I had the privilege of assisting the Calcutta University in introducing an art apprecia-

tion course in the Matriculation examination which has been conducting every year since 1940 a test of the capacity on the part of the candidates to analyse and understand works of Art, particularly the leading masterpieces of National Indian Art. In order to help the candidates to develop their usual powers and to make useful studies of masterpieces, the Calcutta University undertakes to run every year an intensive summer course of training for art teachers who are required to help students not only to execute rudimentary exercises in drawing and painting but to understand the fundamental and elementary principles of Art on which to understand, judge and appreciate the qualities of works of Art. The emphasis is more on the development of the powers of understanding and appreciation than on the practical aspects of drawing and producing pictures.

For, the fundamental problem in the sustenance and development of the visual arts in modern times is to provide a large number of connoisseurs and patrons of Art who will provide the necessary moral and physical sustenance to keep alive in any given society the current of Art through the works of a reasonable number of talented and trained artists, rather than the indefinite multiplication of a large number of artists with no work to sustain themselves or their art.

It is very well known that the various Governments and private schools of Art in various parts of India today produce and turn out every year quite a number of reasonably competent artists capable of serving the society in its needs and demands of aesthetic fulfilments, in various aspects of living. Unfortunately the extremely low tide of culture in our present-day society today has prevented any appreciable amount of demand on the part of the members composing any social units or groups on the artists to cater to the needs of our citizens in aesthetic matters. Consequently, the qualified and trained artists, who file out of the portals of our art schools with their parchment diplomas in Art, do not find sufficient works to maintain themselves or to implement the development of the ideals of Art.

We therefore require a large number of trained connoisseurs and patrons of Art who will lend dis-

criminative but enthusiastic support to our really talented artists and help them to make rich contributions to our cultural life.

Every student in our schools and colleges, the citizen of the future, is a potential patron of Art destined to provide the necessary support to our working artists and save Art and artists from starvation.

The details of the history of ancient and mediæval arts of India, as recovered by our scholars and art-historians, go to prove that in all periods of the highest developments in our art-history, there were patrons of Art who made incessant demands on the contemporary artists in all periods of history which helped to keep alive the torch of Art burning brilliantly to illuminate all aspects of our life and to inspire every citizen to lead an active spiritual life and to drive the flow of life into roaring currents of culture, fertilizing life to produce its finest fruits and flowers.

For a little over a century the current of life has been running, if at all, at a very low ebb and Art has been in a very moribund state in the stagnant stream of life.

Art lives and thrives in an atmosphere of intense spiritual living and the spontaneous demands of a dynamic spiritual life.

During the last few years, attempts are being made in various parts of the country by a few enthusiastic amateurs and a few valiant artists endowed with a large dose of optimism to awaken the citizens of India to a consciousness for Art and to help to create a sort of artificial demand for things aesthetic. These movements and these pieces of agitation, here and there, are not the products of any spontaneous happenings inside the social forces of modern life, but are external inductions for movements in the current of life.

What we want is an extensive and collective interest on the part of all our citizens in the growth and development of Art. Even individual demands on the part of persons of social and political eminence can inspire the creations of Art, but that demand must be sincere and intensive in the form of a passionate hunger, demanding a just fulfilment. Of this the most typical example is the building of a Taj to symbolize and incarnate the personal grief of Emperor Shah Jahan for his beloved wife.

Next to the Report of the Bombay Art Advisory Committee, published last year, the most important event in the happenings of Art was the comprehensive Exhibition of Indian Art, held in London from November, 1947, for three months, under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Art. In spite of the intimate political relations between India and England for nearly two centuries, the British people had never developed any real understanding of the Art of India and in spite of Havell's enthusiastic championship and courageous defence of the characteris-

tic beauties of Indian Art, the peculiar merits of the peculiar forms of the aesthetic expression of the Indian nation had failed to make any appeal to the average Britisher. Ever since Havell opened the eyes of the European connoisseurs to the Indian genius in the field of the visual arts various individuals in Great Britain and Ireland have made distinguished contributions to the understanding of the beauties of Indian Art. Of these enthusiastic amateurs the following names deserve honourable mention: Sister Nivedita, Sir John Woodroffe, Norman Blount, Dr. James Cousins, Percy Brown, J. C. French, J. V. S. Wilkinson, Basil Gray, and John Irwin. But in spite of the attention of individual connoisseurs, to a large majority of British critics Indian Art has remained an enigma, inaccessible to British understanding of Art.

In this state of things the London Exhibition of Indian Art provided a happy opportunity to gauge the capacity of the English people to respond to the qualities and merits of this great branch of Asiatic art expression. There is a popular way of judging the success of an exhibition by counting the numbers of visitors who go to see it. From this point of view the numerical index was not very happy. While the Persian Exhibition in 1931 drew in London two lacs and sixty-five thousand visitors and the Chinese Exhibition in 1936 drew four lacs and twenty-one thousand, the Indian Exhibition could draw only one lac eighteen thousand visitors. But the success of an exhibition which aims primarily at being educational is not, of course, to be judged by attendance of figures alone. To scholars and students as well as to oriental specialists, the Indian Exhibition had its own special value, and in its well-planned and comprehensive scope it was no doubt a great eye-opener both to the average man and to the specialist. Many unknown masterpieces and significant specimens of Indian Art were discovered and displayed and focussed attention to some of the great spot-lights of Indian aesthetic monuments in spite of the fact that the world-famous monumental stones of Ellora and Elephanta, and the masterly murals of the Ajanta Caves could not be carried beyond the seven seas to fill up the gaping voids of what was undoubtedly a well-organized display. That this great show failed to evoke a general popular appreciation may be ascribed to the damper that the Editorial of the *Times* provided on the opening day. The *Times* warned its readers that Indian Art, in spite of its impressive representation at Burlington House, was likely to remain for many, a 'difficult' Art:

"There is certainly something in its extraordinary blending of an un-inhibited sensuousness with the extremes of spirituality and obstruction to explain why it was so long before it won serious attention in the West."

The critic of the *Sunday Times* (Eric Newton) remarked:

"The average European will be baffled less by the complexity and size of the Exhibition than by its unfamiliarity. One can only look at it with an aesthetic eye, noting the opulence of the form, the sense of poise in the best of the carvings, the rippling, sinuous rhythms that run through most of them and the rather tasteless richness that mars most of them. But what lies behind them remains, to the normal European, a mystery."

From our point of view it is no longer of any significance to what extent European critics can respond to the beauties of the great merits of our own national Art. In the new set-up, it is of tremendous importance that Indians, laymen as well as artists, should develop an intimate familiarity and understanding of the great masterpieces of their National Art in all its branches. For, it is notorious that until lately even educated Indians had failed to develop a real understanding of the merits of their great spiritual treasures. Even most of our modern artists, who by virtue of their innate talent and intensive cultivation of their natural genius have won warm appreciation of their works at home and abroad, have failed to extend to the masterpieces of old Indian Art the attention and enthusiastic study which could have greatly enriched their own creations as also carried the earlier traditions on the path of newer developments. For some mysterious reasons modern Indian artists have been afraid of facing their great ancient heritage and of deriving the valuable lessons that they have yet to learn from the old masters, the perennial sources of aesthetic progress, the basic fundamentals of the native genius of Asiatic Art. It must be pointed out that without deprecating the many new contributions that our contemporary artists have made to the progress of Art, their best performances still fail to attain the heights of the old masters who appear to be destined to remain unapproachable in all times to come. I should, therefore like to appeal to our ambitious modern interpreters of Art to undertake an intensive study of the old masters, not necessarily for imitating their manners and mannerisms, but for finding ways and means to attain the heights they reached both in vision and execution.

The London Exhibition had a very healthy effect in bringing about a fundamental change in the attitude of our Indian archaeologists and learned antiquarians who somewhat misled by Sir John Marshall, an incorrigible Hellenist, had hitherto failed to develop any real understanding of the spiritual and plastic values and the original qualities of Indian Art. And in seeking to extract from the masterpieces of ancient Art valuable materials for reconstructing the frame-work of Indian history and the data for iconography, our talented archaeologists and antiquarians failed to respond to the intrinsic beauty of its plastic expressions. For it is notorious that spades, tapes, and such other paraphernalia fill our aesthetic judgments, and

the science of archaeology sometimes hampers the functioning of our aesthetic vision.

The London Exhibition brought about a psychological change, and helped our learned archaeologists to realise that the old masterpieces of Indian Art are in the first instance intimate documents of Art, the mirrors of Indian spiritual thoughts, and, in the second place documents of history. This change in the point of view brought about by the London Exhibition was implemented by the quick decision of the Director-General of Archaeology and his able colleagues to have this great assemblage of Indian Art reassembled at New Delhi in a memorable Exhibition which must remain an important landmark in the history of our national appreciation of Art. It was unfortunate that travelling facilities and lack of residential accommodation at Delhi prevented intending visitors from distant parts of India to come in large numbers to see and benefit by this historical display of national art-treasures. To those who could pay visits to the Exhibition, a new and a brilliant vista opened for an expansive view of the large continent, of the extensive illiterate culture of India and its dynamic spiritual values which did not and could not find expression in the masterpieces of Indian literature and philosophy. Indeed the masterpieces of Indian Art provide a great university for the illiterates and a patent instrument of knowledge and education which has not yet found its place in our recognized seats of learning and official centres of education.

The other most significant event in the world of Art was the inauguration, in August last at Calcutta, of an All-India Conference on Arts, presided over by the Hon'ble Minister of Education and held under the auspices of the Central Government. All the Principals of the Government Schools of Art as well as outstanding artists, art-critics and historians of Art, and curators of Museums from all parts of India were invited to come and participate in the deliberations of this All-India Conference.

The obvious purpose of the Conference was to invite expert opinion to help the Government of India to formulate the future policy of the Government in promoting the development of the visual arts and the culture of the Fine Arts in Independent India. The deliberations of the Conference focussed attention on the most outstanding problems connected with the visual arts and covered a multitude of topics of which the most important items discussed were : (1) The Scope of Traditional Indian Art in relation to modern developments ; (2) the role of Art in general education including (a) art teaching in general schools and (b) at the University stage ; (3) the place of Art in (a) Industry and (b) Commerce ; (4) Art schools and their syllabuses ; (5) ways and means of promoting social education through Art ; (6) the place of Museums and Art-Galleries in Education ; (7) the desirability of establishing a central

Institute of Art and (8) the formation of a central organization to co-ordinate art activities.

A number of resolutions were recorded at the Conference, many of which are of far-reaching consequences on the development of the visual arts. The most important resolution was the recommendation that the culture of the visual arts should find a place in all stages of education, beginning from the primary education stage.

This provides a very significant orientation of general educational policy in this country and if implemented within a reasonable time it is likely to promote a lively development in all branches of Fine Arts and is sure to enrich our aesthetic culture on a very extensive basis.

Whether this resolution could be expeditiously implemented and carried out in practice by reshuffling our general educational programmes and syllabuses will depend on the financial resources of all the Provincial Departments of Education and the financial help which the Central Government could provide to enable all our educational institutions to formulate schemes for opportunities for culture of the Fine Arts in all stages of education.

In matters relating to the development of education there is a perpetual plea on the part of authorities of financial stringency. But it is hoped that liberal funds will be available to introduce the visual arts in our general educational curriculum.

Apart from official initiatives and Government help there is some scope for private and un-official enterprises in this matter.

Various Art Associations and Art Societies exist in this country, some of which are very active in organizing periodical exhibitions of Art and new societies are cropping up with programmes for stimulating interest in the visual arts.

Some of these societies could initiate active programmes for popular education in Art in the shape of illustrated lectures on various phases of the Fine Arts. Our own little society in Calcutta founded a few months ago by a band of young artists under the picturesque name of *Rupa-rasika Sabha*, the 'Society for the Connoisseurs of Beauty', has arranged to deliver sixteen popular lectures on various aspects of the visual arts illustrated with lantern slides. There is room in all cities, particularly in the city of Bombay, on the part of the private citizens and the connoisseurs and lovers of Art to make a drive for Art, to awaken and stimulate art consciousness and the hunger for Beauty in every citizen and social groups.

The imminent problem which confronts all artists and art-practitioners of India is the scope of employment of their talents and the opportunity to produce works of Art for the spiritual upliftment of society. For over a century, artists have lived, for want of adequate patronage a very precarious existence. Hungry artists with families to feed could hardly be expected to produce masterpieces to enrich our artistic

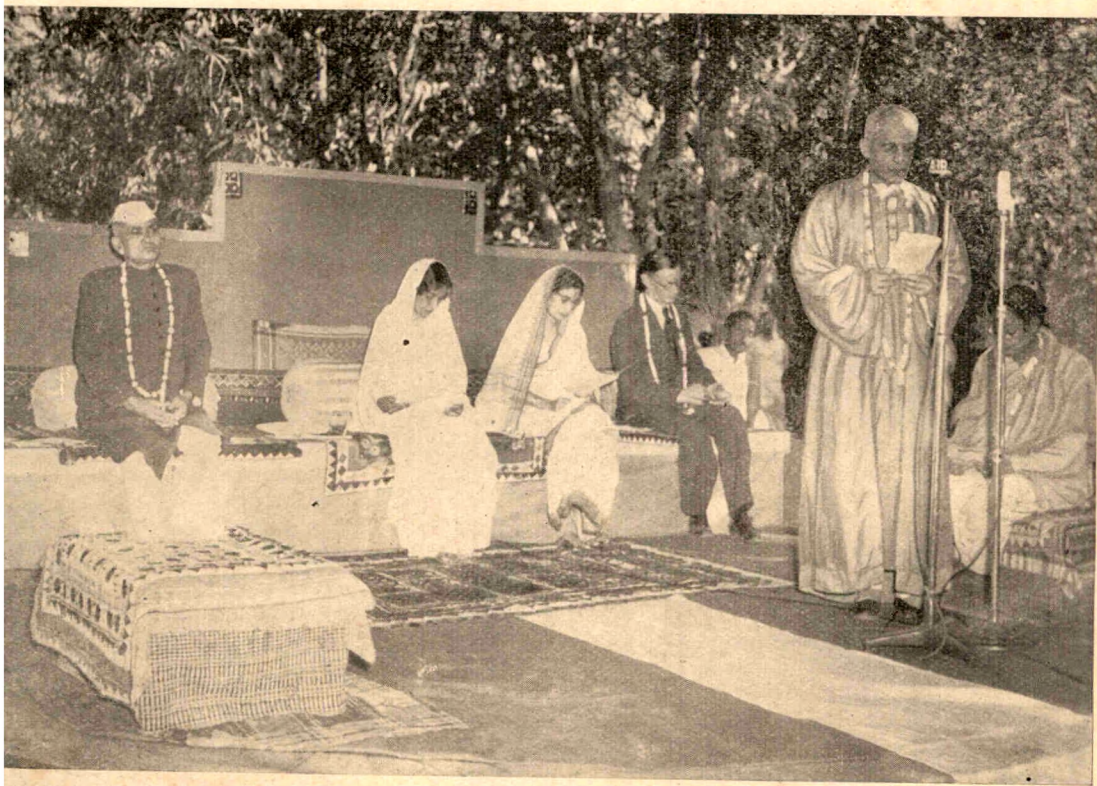
heritage. Hitherto the only patronage available was the patronage of the Indian Princes and Maharajas and other wealthy persons who have been in the habit of buying a decent number of pictures and other works of Art, exhibited at the various periodical shows held in the different cities of India. The liquidation of the various Native States and the reduction of the status of our Maharajas and Rajas to the position of humble pensioners with limited income is likely to reduce the little patronage which our contemporary artists have been receiving from the landed aristocracy of India. They must have now to seek other patrons and other supporters for their creative activity. The direct patronage of the State and of the Provincial Governments is of some questionable validity. Many people and some class of artists are suspicious of Government patronage which does not and cannot provide adequate safeguards for the freedom of artists to express their free thoughts in the creations of works of Art. Yet there is some scope for useful official patronage of the arts. The hundreds of marble statues erected by the British Government to perpetuate the effigies of strings of Viceroys and Governors in the public squares in all the Indian cities are now being removed one after another and consigned to the darkness and oblivion of godowns and store houses, but they have not been substituted by monumental portraits of our great men and women, our national heroes and spiritual leaders. Even the tragic passing away of Mahatma Gandhi has not induced the leaders of our State to call upon our best contemporary sculptors to raise monumental effigies to perpetuate the memory of the Father of the Nation, such as the Roosevelt statue in America, and the colossal statue of Lenin in Soviet Russia. Even very few of our national martyrs, our political saints and *sahids* have been perpetuated in worthy monumental effigies. There is much scope for the employment of our best artistic talents in setting up marble or bronze monuments to honour our numerous national heroes.

In the sphere of pictorial art there is a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of our civic fathers, our municipal authorities, to employ our living artists to execute mural paintings for our Town Halls and Public Halls and to set Municipal Art Galleries in every city like those of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. The citizens of New York have set up a Public Gallery, called the Museum of Modern Art to collect and exhibit the best productions of contemporary artists. There are indeed numerous opportunities on the part of our Civic and Municipal authorities in all parts of our country to play the part of patrons to employ our best artistic talents to set up and decorate our civic monuments.

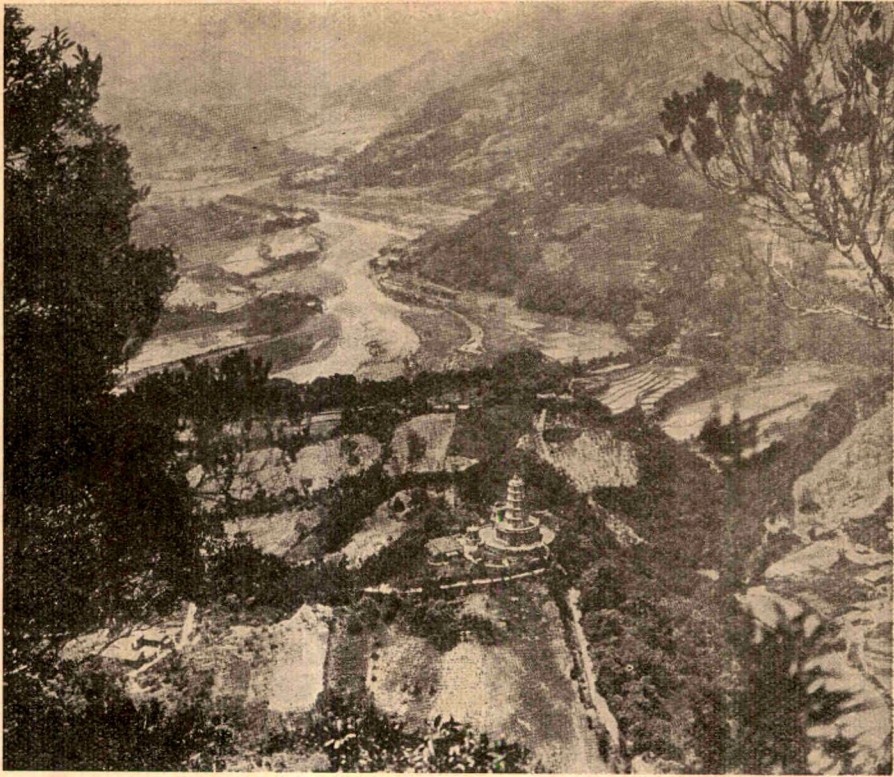
I shall cite here only three examples of civic and semi-civic patronage of Art in Bengal. A Gita Society in Calcutta, an humble little association to propagate the message of the Gita has decorated its little hall



Delegates to the World Pacifist Conference on their way in a procession to *Amrakunja*, venue of the inaugural session of the Conference



Sri Rathindranath Tagore welcoming the delegates and visitors to the World Pacifist Meeting at Santiniketan



In one of Formosa's lovely valleys, an old Chinese pagoda stands as sentinel. This island is the last resort of Chiang Kai-shek's National Government



Indian travellers leaving Indian soil for foreign countries. (Left to right) : Kalyan Sri Dipankar's Mission to Tibet ; Mahendra and Sanghamitra's Buddhist Mission to Ceylon ; Rajendra Chola at the Angkorvat Temple in Indonesia.—India's contribution to UNESCO Exhibition held in Paris

with wall-paintings executed by a well-known artist. The Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapore set up to commemorate the great Indian Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar has decorated the walls of the memorial hall and library by mural paintings executed by a local artist.

The University of Calcutta spent a few years ago a decent sum of money in employing a talented artist who executed the India Office frescoes to execute a series of large paintings on the walls of the University Library, some of which are shining frescoes of considerable merit.

There are considerable differences of opinion as to the comparative efficacy of private and public patronage of Art and artists, but there is no doubt that an extensive employment of best artistic talents is likely to keep the current of Art and creative activity of a nation in a continuous flow. It is said that a nation dies, if its art activity becomes moribund and stagnant.

It is to be hoped that the rebuilding of the Somanath Temple in Gujarat will afford opportunities not only for our sculptors and architects but also for our best pictorial artists to participate in the sacred undertaking by executing appropriate frescoes on the walls of the temples, illustrating the legends of Shiva, such as exist in the temples of Chidambaram and Tanjore.

There is another way in which citizens of Free India, our lovers and patrons of Art, can contribute

to the growth of National Art. I suggest that a fund, similar to the National Art Collections Fund, founded in England in 1904, should be immediately started in India with a membership of say, one thousand subscribers paying a subscription of Rs. 15 annually. This will help to raise immediately a fund of Rs. 15,000 every year to be devoted to the purchase of unique masterpieces of works of Art, which will go to augment and develop our National Gallery of Art and offer an opportunity for members of the public interested in Art to co-operate with the Government to develop our national collections of Art.

It should not be difficult for the three cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras to put together a membership of 150 from each city immediately to help to start a National Art Collections Fund in India. I commend this proposal to various Art Societies and Art Associations in India to take up the matter as a gesture to fulfil our responsibility to help a great educational cause and a national duty which will benefit both the literate and illiterate sections of the population and help to bridge the great gulf which separates those who can read and write and those who can not. It is said that one touch of Art makes the whole world kin. If India is still disunited by the Babel of numerous provincial languages, let the universal language of National Art provide an easy bond of unity.*

* An address delivered at the Culture Conference, Bombay, 3rd December, 1949.

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KNUT HAMSDUN—THE NOVELIST

By R. B. KOTEKAL, M.A.

THOUGH we seldom hear of the Scandinavian countries in connection with major political or economic events of international importance, they have contributed not a little to the cultural wealth of mankind. Ibsen and Hamsun of Norway, Selma Lagerlof and August Strindberg of Sweden, and Johannes V. Jensen of Denmark are not only great national figures but they are also great writers of international importance. After Ibsen, perhaps Hamsun is the most well-known Norwegian writer, outside his country. Hamsun's genius was universally recognised in 1920, when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Though Hamsun wrote a few poems and a play, his chief claim to greatness is as a novelist.

Hamsun was born in 1859. He never received any formal education. He had had a most interestingly varied life and this accounts for the extraordinary richness and variety of his novels. He was in turn a farmer, a clerk, a street-car conductor and a village school-master. He ran away from home very early in his life to America where he was forced to do all kinds of odd jobs to eke out a precarious existence. America appears in his novels as the dream-land of many a Norwegian youth. During the Second World War he became a Fascist, much to the surprise and regret of many of his admirers.

But this should not prejudice us against Hamsun, the writer.

A poet may forget or ignore this "earth, earthy life," and soar into high realms of fancy. But a novelist must have his feet firm on the solid earth. He must have a good grasp of outer as well as inner reality. Hamsun's greatness lies in the fact that he has a clear and deep understanding of the essential forces—the instincts, passions and emotions—which control and sustain human life. He can probe to the very core of a character and lay bare "the richness of a soul." He is a happy combination of a "social realist" and a visionary. He is a social realist in the sense that he is keenly interested in the "superficies" of life. He is a visionary in the sense that he can see beyond "the immediate" and go to the very heart of things. This gift of his endows his characters with a peculiar quality, that of being individuals and symbols at the same time. For example, Isaac in *Growth of the Soil* is at once Isaac, a distinct individual, and Isaac, the representative of the whole mankind. It is very difficult to say to what extent they are symbols and to what extent individuals. Precisely in this difficulty—the difficulty of separating the individual from the symbol—lies the charm of his characters. In all his

novels, Hamsun is endeavouring to fathom the mystery of life. He is puzzled at the strangeness and unexpectedness of life. He shows us the richness, the depth and infinite possibilities of human personality. To quote the Bible, he illustrates that "Soul is capable of infinite expansion." Only once has he attempted to discover the meaning of Death, for Death is a great reality. The result is a singularly powerful novel entitled *Chapter The Last*. In this great but bitter novel Hamsun shows that Death makes Life meaningless. It contains such bitterly pessimistic passages as :

"No, the whole thing (life) is death. where is it to end? What is it to end? Why doesn't this eternal destruction ever stop? For it's not getting any better. Then what's the meaning of it? Continuity of ferocity?"

Barring this novel, Hamsun has never tried to discuss the theme of Death. Death does appear in his other novels but only as an accident, not as a great force. Hence one can safely generalise that Hamsun's concern is with "life," in the widest sense of the word.

Hamsun's claim to be a great novelist rests on his power of characterization. In his novels *Hunger*, *Growth of the Soil*, *Vagabonds*, *August*, *The Ring is Closed* and *The Road Leads On*, we are introduced to a wonderful collection of characters which have depth and life. August, that great liar whose resourcefulness is inexhaustible, Paulina with her quiet dignity, Joakim who is obstinately old-fashioned, Abel who never finds the stability and balance he seeks in life, and Esther that nostalgic child who longs to go back to her village, are some of his characters who testify to the power and surge of his characterisation. Most of Hamsun's characters are simple, naive and unsophisticated. There is something grandly primitive in their faith in life, and their love of pure animal life. In the words of their creator, they are possessed of "buoyancy." Undoubtedly, August is the greatest character Hamsun has created. He is worthy to be ranked among the immortal creations of literature like Hamlet, Falstaff, etc. August first appears as an adventurous lad in the novel *Vagabonds*. Young August has come to the small village Polden from the mysterious lands "beyond the seas." He very soon becomes a close friend of Edvert, another lad of Polden. August's parentage is a mystery. Edvert and August are involved in a series of lively adventures which form the material of the novel *Vagabonds*. Sometimes a novelist may fall in love with one of his own characters and introduce her or him in as many of his works as possible. August again appears in the novel significantly entitled *August*, for August is the central character of this novel. August is a good example of that peculiar quality of Hamsun's characters, their being at once symbols of something larger than themselves and also distinct individuals. August is not just August, but he is also in Hamsun's words "symbol of the modern age, giving with one hand, stealing with the other." He is a prophet of industrialism. He wants to change the simple and traditional life of the village, Polden. He wants to bring "progress" to Polden.

But in the end, August fails in his mission. He disappears into the wide world, towards the end of this novel. He again reappears in the novel *The Road Leads On*. In this novel we meet an aged August who has disguised himself under the name of Altmulig. Though old and weak, August is still full of enthusiasm for industrialisation and "economic progress." In this novel, we are pleasantly surprised to notice August falling in love with Cornelia, a poor girl. Cornelia loves August, not with the passion of a lover but with the affection of a child. Cornelia is really in love with a young village lad. Poor old August! He is old and frail. Nothing comes out of his love. In the end, the girl is killed in an accident. We also see the last of August's mortal life in this novel. The novel ends with the tragic death of August. August is swept over by a herd of sheep which rush down-hill. A local newspaper writes about August's death, under the caption, "A Sea of Sheep—A Sailor's Grave."

August is a queer compound of a liar, an adventurer and a child. August certainly is not the marrying type. He likes women, but to be tied to a single woman till his death does not appeal to him. All the hidden love for a woman in him blooms forth with tragic beauty towards the evening of his life. Poor August! The disappointment is hard, as it comes to him in his old age. August appears to be selfish. He is really not selfish. He endeavours to turn his small village modern and "progressive" because he believes that his village will be more prosperous, if it is industrialised. August is a great liar. He does it with the naturalness and ease which are admirable. Should August be condemned, because he is a liar? Hamsun himself seems to anticipate this moral objection when he says "compared to August's magnificent untruths, mere truth was dry and tedious." Whatever the straight-laced moralists might say, August is a lively and interesting character.

Secondly, Hamsun is a great novelist, because he is deeply interested in a great problem which confronts mankind—the problem of industrialisation. The struggle between the old non-industrial, primitive way of life and the new industrial progressive way of life is the theme of more than two of his novels. *Growth of the Soil* is one whole novel written around this theme. Isaac, the hero of this novel, lives in the old way. But ere long, the breeze of modernism blows over his home and complicates the simple issues of his life. It was destined for Hamsun to watch this struggle rather intimately. The Industrial Revolution reached Norway as late as the latter half of the 19th Century. Two more of his novels, *Vagabonds* and *August* also deal with the same theme. The scene of the struggle is the small coastal village, Polden. August, the apostle of modernism, attempts to revolutionise the lives of the villagers. But he fails as we have already noticed. On the whole one feels that Hamsun is more in sympathy with the old way of living. His criticism of modernism is very interesting. According to him, Industrialization creates sexual sterility. To quote him, "His (August's) coming here in Polden has been marked by

sterility—a sexual disability.” Industrialism also creates a soulless type of man, who like August is “only a machine. A life, but not a soul.” He has also a mere serious moral criticism to offer. In the modern age, that strange phenomenon called “Conscience” is extinct. Hamsun, however, realises that the new way will conquer in the end. But he is not sure whether mankind is the wiser in abandoning the old way. So far as Polden is concerned, August’s mission completely fails. But even in his defeat, August is magnificent. He speaks prophetically :

“Life will thunder here again, You’ll see ;

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improvements and activity in every field—many factories, large places of business, weaving mills, stamping mills, work-shops, flying machines and money, money, money ! Ay, millions ! And these miserable huts, here along the road will be ten times their present value.”

Hamsun is regarded as one of the greatest novelists of our century, because he has depicted one of the profoundest events in the history of mankind—the struggle between the old and new ways of living. We take the triumph of Industrialism for granted, little realising the fact that it is the result of a deep struggle between two fundamentally different attitudes to life.

ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By SUNIL KUMAR MITRA, B.Sc., B. Met.

ALUMINIUM in the metallic state is of recent arrival in the industrial field and during the relatively short period has found remarkable application in the service of man both in peace and war. The two war years have witnessed a considerable increase in the production of aluminium to meet the demands of aero and automobile industries, which are still expanding and developing new Al-base alloys. At the end of this war it was felt in many quarters that probably the Aluminium Industry would become less active. But judging by the domestic needs, service requirements, etc., it is certain that aluminium can play an equally important part in peace as in war. In view of the rapid and phenomenal contribution aluminium has already made and is still capable of doing owing to its remarkable properties, particularly in the form of an alloy, it is thought a brief review of this metal and its alloys of engineering importance would be of general interest.

The names of Oersted, Wohler, Deville and few others would remain associated in connection with earlier attempts to obtain metallic aluminium and their work stimulated later workers not only to isolate aluminium but to devise a suitable extraction process on a commercial basis. Aluminium possesses a remarkable affinity for oxygen, and owing to this orthodox methods of reduction by say carbon or even hydrogen failed to reduce the oxide which forms a considerable part of earth’s crust. But following the work of Heroult in France and Bradley in America, Hall conceived a new approach to this difficult problem of reduction and Heroult also working independently, continued his previous work on similar lines. Their work dealing with the electrolysis of a fused double fluoride paved the way for the modern method of aluminium extraction, but even then it was not until the development of electric furnace that the production of aluminium became a practical proposition being roughly 70 lbs. in 1880, 13 tons in 1885, 200,000 tons in 1926, 500,000 tons in 1937. The price of aluminium fell from Rs. 350/- to As. -[8]- per lb.

It is used mostly for general purpose and the important industries in which it finds wide applications are, aircraft, automobile, brewery, cooking utensils,

chemical, food furniture, electrical appliances, paints, printings, rail roads, packing, insulation etc. Air, road and rail transports are using aluminium structurals very successfully. The aircraft industry is entirely dependent on the use of aluminium alloys. In electrical industry also aluminium is being substituted. Aluminium wires and cables are replacing copper conductors. Prefabricated aluminium houses have come to stay, while even in India galvanised sheets are being replaced by aluminium corrugated sheets. Aluminium foils are now extensively used in wrapping tobacco, cheese, tea, etc., while its high reflectivity makes it useful as a heat insulator. The question of weight reduction with the use of aluminium is very important in case of underground electric train services. This saves considerable current consumption and increases acceleration and speed.

The physical and mechanical properties of commercial aluminium have been determined and further research on the properties of light alloys are needed. Tensile strength of pure aluminium is low and it is mechanically weak, hence aluminium as such finds limited application for engineering purposes. It is capable of forming a series of very useful alloys with metals, such as copper, silicon, manganese, nickel and magnesium. Duralumin, Hinduminium, alloy and R.R. series of alloys are well-known. Aluminium alloys are extensively used where lightness and strength characteristics are of primary consideration. Considering strength and weight at the same time these alloys are preferable to high tensile steels. This combination of strength and lightness is of primary consideration in aircraft construction. Another property of these alloys is that with proper heat treatment they tend to grow in strength with time within a certain limit.

Actually we are entering into an aluminium age comparable to iron age of earlier days. The production and consumption of aluminium are gradually increasing in every country advanced industrially and new uses are being sought for. At present about 4000 tons of aluminium per year are produced in India. But the present consumption is estimated at about 15000 tons per year as against 3000 tons per year during the pre-war time. The Non-ferrous Industries panel of the Government of

India has estimated the annual consumption of aluminium in India during the coming years to be as follows:

Metal	Estimated annual consumption during the first 5 years period in long tons	Annual production targets to be aimed at during the first 5 years period in long tons
Aluminium	20,000 to 25,000 tons	15,000 tons (min)
Ingots		
Aluminium	10,000 to 12,000 tons	10,000 tons (specification)
Sheets		

From the import statistics we find that the metal comes into this country in the form of semi-fabricated goods, such as sheets, strips, foils and circles, which are taken for manufacturing utensils by factories situated in important localities in India, e.g., Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, Amritsar and Gujranwalla. The trade is divided among Britain, Canada, U.S.A., Germany and Japan.

The present rolling capacity of aluminium in India is about 4000 tons per year and in 1947 about 7000 tons of aluminium in the form of sheets and circles were imported. With requisite rolling capacity, the higher prices given for these imported materials abroad, can be dispensed with, if only ingots are imported and the fabrication is carried out in this country.

PRODUCTION

A. Raw Materials required for the production of aluminium:

(1) *Ores and Minerals*: Aluminium never occurs native but as fluorides and oxides. Aluminium-bearing minerals form roughly 8 per cent of the earth's crust, so the exhaustion of the aluminium ores is unlikely. Although there are several aluminium minerals, only few of these can be used industrially for the extraction of aluminium.

In the production of aluminium by the Electrolytic reduction process, the base ore is bauxite which is hydrated form of oxide of aluminium containing varying amounts of impurities chiefly iron oxide and silica. An average composition of bauxite is:

Al ₂ O ₃ (Alumina)	55 to 65 per cent
Fe ₂ O ₃ (Iron-oxide)	1 to 25 per cent
SiO ₂ (Silica)	5 to 30 per cent
Loss on ignition	12 to 40 per cent

The existence of vast deposits of bauxite is an advantage and hence rapid development of Aluminium Industry in India is essential and should be of prime consideration. Indian bauxite occurs in large quantities at Katni, Belgaum, Kolhapur, Kashmere and Ranchi. Deposits also occur at Bombay, Madras, Eastern States Agency, Bhopal, etc. Total reserves of bauxite are estimated at 250 million tons. This figure includes all grades. High grade bauxite reserves which are suitable for the manufacture of aluminium are about 35 million tons. A table showing the distribution of high grade bauxite reserves is given below:

Bombay	.. ..	1,342,000 tons
C. P.	.. ..	15,100,000 "
Madras	.. ..	2,000,000 "
Bihar	.. ..	5,230,000 "

Eastern States Agency	..	8,579,000 "
Bhopal	.. ..	250,000 "
Kolhapur	.. ..	2,000,000 "
Jammu and Kashmere	.. ..	1,000,000 "

35,501,000 tons
(Source Indian minerals) †

The analysis of the ores of Katni, Belgaum, Kolhapur, Kashmere and Ranchi are as follows:

	SiO ₂	TiO ₂	Al ₂ O ₃	Fe ₂ O ₃	H ₂ O
Katni	1.2	8.8	60.2	2.6	25.4
Belgaum	3.0	5.0	58.0	.0	.0
Kolhapur	1.4	6.3	62.3	2.6	26.2
Kashmere	5.0	—	75.0	—	—
Ranchi	0.3	7.4	66.9	5.9	21.4

(2) *Cryolite, Aluminium Fluoride and Fluorspar*: Cryolite is an aluminium-bearing mineral being a double fluoride of sodium and aluminium. It is the chief constituent of the electrolytic bath and is used to dissolve the alumina. Cryolite, aluminium fluoride and fluorspar are imported. The only commercial source of cryolite is the deposit at Ingvigtut, Arakuford, South Greenland. It can also be prepared synthetically if there is sufficient demand to install an economic unit.

(3) *Petroleum Coke*: It is used for the manufacture of electrodes and for the lining of the cell. Now coke is obtained from Digboi in uncalcined condition. Evidently, the buyer has to pay much freight charge since it loses weight on calcining. It would be economical if petroleum coke-calciners are put up near coke supplier's plants.

(4) *Pitch*: It can be obtained as a bye-product from the coke ovens. It is used as a binding material for the manufacture of electrodes and furnace lining.

(5) *Coal*: It is available in plenty from the mines of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Eastern States Agency, etc.

(6) *Fuel Oil*: It can be obtained from Digboi oil field or imported.

(7) *Electrical Energy*: For the success of the commercial electrolytic process a source of cheap electric current is essential, since an enormous current consumption is involved in the production of aluminium. Lack of cheap electric power in the vicinity of bauxite deposits has been so far the chief drawback in the commercial exploitation of the rich bauxite deposits of India. It is doubtful whether electric power will ever be available in India for aluminium reduction for less than Rs. 85/- per kilowatt year or .164 anna per KWh. Compared with Rs. 53/- per kilowatt year in Canada, the cost of Indian power is high.

For the production of 1 ton of aluminium, materials in the following proportions are required:

Bauxite 4 tons, Cryolite 0.1 ton, Carbon Electrodes (Petroleum Coke) 0.8 to 1 ton.

Fluxes: Calcium and Aluminium 0.2 tons fluorides, Caustic Soda 0.2 ton, Coal 5.0 tons.

Power-impact: Electric power 25,000 KWH., Fuel oil 0.5 ton, Pitch 0.2 ton.

The consumption of alumina per ton of aluminium produced is 2 tons.

(B) *Purification of Bauxite and Reduction*: The commercial process for aluminium extraction is the electrolytic dissociation of alumina dissolved in a liquid bath of cryolite plus other added salts (Hall and Heroult's process). It consists of two main stages which are described in brief as follows:

(1) *Purification of Bauxite*: As there is no satisfactory process for the purification of the metal once it has been produced it is absolutely necessary that only pure materials should be used in the manufacture, chief amongst which are alumina and carbon electrodes. Alumina is prepared by the purification of bauxite and there are several methods for this of which Bayers Process is the most common:

The bauxite in coarse powder is calcined in revolving cylindrical roasters at a temperature just sufficiently high to destroy the organic matter and dehydrate the ferric salt. The calcined material is ground to a fine powder and then mixed with aqueous sodium hydroxide (41 per cent) of sp.gr. 1.45 in a vessel fitted with stirrers. After intimate stirring, the mixture is transferred into steam jacketted autoclaves and digested for about 6 to 8 hours under 50 to 75 lbs. per square inch pressure at a temperature of 150°C to 160°C. The solution is then discharged, diluted, and passed through a filter press. The clear liquid is introduced into sheet iron cylinders for agitation about three to four hours. The precipitation of aluminium hydrate is brought about by the addition of aluminium hydrate previously prepared. The precipitated hydroxide settles in thick cream and then drawn off, filter pressed, washed, dried and calcined to alumina.

(2) *Reduction of Alumina to Aluminium*: Calcined alumina is then dissolved in a bath of cryolite and other salts. The melting point of cryolite is 995°C. Molten cryolite dissolves about 20–25 per cent of the oxide at 900°C, and the freezing point of the cryolite mixture is lowered progressively by oxide additions. A further lowering of the freezing point as well as a greater fluidity is obtained by adding sodium and calcium fluorides. The working temperature varies between 850°–900°C. During the reduction process only the dissolved oxide suffers decomposition, the others being unaffected. The whole secret of aluminium reduction lies in the proper concentration of the bath. A typical bath contains

Cryolite : Aluminium fluoride 59 per cent
Sodium fluoride 21 per cent
Calcium fluoride 20 per cent.

Every 2 or 3 days according to the capacity of the furnace, the aluminium is run off through a tap hole in the side. 30 to 40 furnaces are connected in series, each furnace taking about 8 volts and current density being 650 to 750 amp. sq. ft. The furnaces carry between 15,000 to 20,000 amperes. The latest development however is to use furnaces at 50,000 amperes.

The electric furnace consists of a rectangular open shell 8 to 10 ft. long and 4 to 5 ft. wide and 2½ ft. deep, made of 2½ in thick steel plate. It is lined first

with fire brick within which is the lining of petroleum coke. The working cavity is 12" to 15" deep. In the coke lining of the bottom are embedded iron bars which act as the cathode. The anodes are carbon electrodes made of petroleum coke. The tap hole is provided in the bottom of the cell at one end of the long sides.

PRESENT INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY

Although India has sufficient bauxite deposits for the production of aluminium with no immediate export problem, only two companies of capacity about 1,500 tons and 2,500 tons per year have been installed so far in India. Year 1943 saw aluminium produced for the first time in India when "Indian Aluminium Company" cast the first ingot at Alwaye in Travancore, using imported alumina. Many investigations and discussions have been carried out with a view to using Indian bauxite and these resulted in the formation of the "Aluminium Corporation of India" with a capital of a crore of rupees. The Corporation has its alumina plant and reduction works at Jaykynagar, five miles from Asansol and use steam power. Their present producing capacity is 1500 tons per year.

Indian Aluminium Company has its reduction works at Alwaye in Travancore, production capacity being at present 2,500 tons per year. It is using hydro-electric power from Palliwasal scheme. Projected capacity of the works is 5,000 tons per year and attempts are being made to increase the production as soon as power is available. Its alumina plant is under construction and nearing completion at Muree (Bihar) and is likely to start its work in 1948. Initial capacity of this plant is estimated to be 10,000 tons per year but the plant is capable of expansion up to 40,000 tons when necessary. The Company has a rolling mill at Belur, near Howrah in West Bengal. The Company has also installed an equipment for the manufacture of aluminium alloys.

NEW PROJECTS

The C. P. Government have decided to start a factory for the production of aluminium in C. P. under the name of "National Aluminium Company" using steam power in the beginning together with a complete plant near Katni. Of the raw materials the required bauxite of suitable quality is available in plenty. The province has also enough coal, and electricity can be generated at a cheap rate. The Provincial Industries Committee have recommended the installation of a 10-ton per day unit but in view of the report of the Non-ferrous Metal Industries panel of the Government of India, the C. P. Government feels that the unit can with advantage be larger than the one proposed. The establishment of this industry will result in the setting up of rolling mills and fabrication units and in the manufacture of titanium and aluminium powder pigments.

Capital issue has also been sanctioned for "Singhi Aluminium Company." They intend to utilise power from Mahatma Gandhi Hydro-electric Scheme. Initial capacity of this plant is also reported to be 5,000 tons per year.

The Aluminium Industries Limited are likely to begin manufacturing aluminium cables and conductors in Travancore within the next twelve months.

Aluminium reduction works being generally built near the sites of large hydro-electric power schemes, the following schemes may be mentioned which are under active investigation and where the feasibility of locating aluminium plants could be considered.

1. The Mahanadi at Hirakaud near Sambalpur, Orissa.
2. The Rihand Hydro electric Scheme near Pipri Village (on the Rihand river).
3. The Chambal River Hydro-electric Scheme in the Kotah State.

The following stations also may be in a position to supply power for Aluminium Industry.

1. The Koyna Hydro-electric Project in Bombay.
2. The Riasi Hydro-electric Scheme in the Kashmere State.

The Non-ferrous Industries Panel of the Government of India recommends the following regional distribution and time table for the development of Aluminium Industries in India,

- (1) Regional distribution of Plants producing the metal and semi-manufacturers :

	Location of existing plants	Location of future plants
Aluminium 15,000 tons	Bengal, Travancore	*Bihar, Orissa, C.P., Kashmir, Mysore, Bombay
Aluminium (Sheets and Circles) 10,000 tons	Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Punjab	Bombay, C.P., Punjab, Assam, Orissa, U.P.
Aluminium (Foil) 1500-2,000 tons	Bengal	Bombay
Aluminium (Cables) 5,000 tons and up.	Nil	Bombay, Punjab, South India
Aluminium (Powder) 1,000 tons	Bengal	Bombay, South India

HIGH PRODUCTION COST

The present cost of production of aluminium in India is extremely high, being about double the c.i.f. value of imported ingot. This can be attributed chiefly to the following reasons :

1. High cost of treatment of the Indian bauxite.
2. High cost of equipments and raw materials.
3. High cost of power.
4. Small size of units.
5. Use of thermal power by one of the producers.

The present cost of production can be considerably reduced by increasing the capacity of the units, the minimum capacity being at least 20,000 tons. No new plant coming into operation anywhere in the world is

likely to use less than 50,000 ampere reduction cells. Experiments are also going on to use 100,000 ampere reduction cells. It is therefore advisable in the interest of the country not to use low amperage cells for any new reduction works.

Because of the high cost of production of aluminium at present, the Government of India is running a best scheme by which exported commercial aluminium ingots, sheets and circles are pooled with aluminium produced in India and sold to the consumers at an average pool price. The indigenous producers are thus fully protected. (*I. and S. Bulletin*).

According to Dr. D. P. Antia, the largest plant that can be located in India has a maximum producing capacity of 60,000 tons per year, whereas in Canada the minimum capacity is 300,000 tons per year. It is evident that aluminium at present will continue to be produced in India at prices higher than the Canadian cost, and the condition is the same with most of the countries except U.S.A. For this reason no country can allow their industries to die and stop production.

Because of the industry's essential defence character, Government should consider the question of protection to the Indian Aluminium Industry so that new prospective entrepreneurs can go ahead with their plans and the industry can stand on its own feet and meet Indian demands.

Recently the Government of India's resolutions on the Indian Tariff Board's reports on protection for the Aluminium Industry are published in a Gazette of India (Extraordinary), in which the Board has recommended a scheme of protective duty-cum-subsidy to the industry for the period ending March 1949. The Government has considered the report and have come to the conclusion that aluminium is a key industry which should be developed in India. They feel however that the Tariff Board's report raises various issues of great importance and have therefore decided to appoint an official committee to carry out a further investigation of a technical nature. The existing pool scheme will continue in the mean time.

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I must however acknowledge special indebtedness to Dr. A. K. Mallik, Asst. Prof. of Metallurgy, B. E. College for his careful reading and valuable suggestions given for this article.

* Cheap and abundant power should be the main consideration.

HYNDMAN AND INDIA

By S. R. RANA

PROF. SACHCHIDANANDA'S article in your esteemed *Modern Review* (October) was a treat to me. Having known Mr. Hyndman personally I desire to supplement that article. It may be that the learned Professor did not have enough material at his disposal to give a more complete account of the life of Hyndman, who was one of the foremost supporters and upholders of the cause of the Indian independence in England. I regret to have to send this supplementary article on Hyndman so late. This lateness is due to my receiving *The Modern Review* five or six weeks after its publication in India.

The article of the learned professor ends just at the period when Hyndman came to know Pandit Shoyamji Krishnavarma, his collaborator. Both became friends and worked together to promote the cause of the liberation of India from the ruinous British rule. Hyndman had been first in the field for more than three decades before the appearance of Krishnavarma on the scene. Hyndman has devoted one chapter of his book *The Records of an Adventurous Life* to India, in which he relates how he began to interest himself in the Indian question, and he explains the same thing also in *Justice*, January 2, 1909. He writes :

"I began my own studies on India 40 years ago and I was at the start a thorough believer in the beneficence of our rule. I first wrote publicly on the subject in 1874 and I have continued my work ever since. In 1877, some letters of mine in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 'Our Greatest Danger in India' signed H. attracted the attention of the late Henry Fawcette, then a member of the House of Commons Committee on Indian Affairs, who wrote to my old friend Frederick Greenwood, then editor of that journal, asking that 'H' should appear before the Committee 'as he evidently knows more about the details of Indian administration than any witness who has come forward for examination.' In October, 1878, my paper on 'The Bankruptcy of India' appeared as the first article in the *Nineteenth Century*. It was translated all over Europe as well as into many Indian languages and created a stir. It was answered by Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Juland Danvers and Mr. John Morley, the latter then editor of the *Fortnightly Review* confined his energies to signing an article written by Sir John Strachy, a leading Anglo-Indian official. My reply to these critics appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1879. So complete was it considered by the Conservative Government then in power that they adopted what my friend Mr. Stanhope was keen enough to call 'My Policy' and brought in reform measures. From then till now I have never taken my eyes off India. nor ceased to write and agitate on her behalf, even through all the stress and strain and hardship of Socialist propaganda. I am at present in close touch with patriotic Indians of both sexes, of every race and creed. My 30 years' friendship with Dadabhai Naoroji and his recent action do not prevent me from being in direct relations with Mr. Shoyamji Krishnavarma. I am kept thoroughly well informed in many ways of all that is going on in India itself. When therefore our comrades read my articles on

India, they may feel quite sure that they are written by one whose knowledge of Indian affairs, as a whole, is second to that of no Englishman living."

In his book, *The Record of An Adventurous Life*, he describes how he came to know one Tom Palmer, a son of the head of the great Banking House, Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad, through his old friend Robert Dobbs. I would give his account in his own words :

"Through my old friend Robert Dobbs, I made the acquaintance of one of the most remarkable men I have encountered, though few appreciated the great faculties which I believe were latent in him, and with the exception of Sir John Gorst none, I think, remain in active life who were intimate with Tom Palmer of Hyderabad. He was the son of the head of the great banking house of Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad ruined by Sir Charles Metcalfe. His mother was one of the princesses or Begums of the Moguls of Delhi. He looked it—tall, powerful and dark complexioned, with keen eyes, a strong nose, magnificent teeth and a firm mouth and chin, his whole appearance was that of one who, in a stirring time, would be a capable and ruthless leader of men. He was far more proud of his Indian than his English blood, though this was apparent rather from what he did not, than what he did, say.

"Strange stories were told of him, which though I never accepted them as true could scarcely be regarded as impossible when studying his face in repose. . . . One was that the incident related by Sir William Russell of a man of his blood, on the British side, left in charge of Allahabad during the Mutiny, applied to him. He had, so it was said, many creditors in that city when he entered upon his duties. There were none left when he gave up control. It had been necessary to hang them all for nefarious dealing with the enemy. I have never myself believed this of Palmer at all. When some one in London recounted it to him as laid to his charge, all he said was, 'I heard that tale myself as I went up from Allahabad to Delhi.' But apocryphal as the tale undoubtedly was, what Palmer actually did on one occasion here in London gives some idea of his determined character. He used to have chambers on the very top floor at 5 Paper Buildings, Temple. A certain Colonel of his acquaintance had contrived by misrepresentation and a long skilfully laid plot to cozen Palmer out of £800. Palmer later learnt that the Colonel had come into possession of a considerable sum in ready money, which was lying at his bank. Palmer somehow contrived to inveigle this gentleman to his chambers. Once there the astonished Colonel found himself looking into the muzzle of a .45 Colt revolver with Palmer's relentless eyes taking careful aim at the other end of the weapon "Now," quoth Palmer, "It took you, Colonel, eighteen months to rob me of that £800, it won't take you five minutes to pay me back." A cheque on the Colonel's bank was readily drawn, and within five minutes, after some bootless expostulation, the Colonel duly signed it. A few seconds thereafter he was comfortably disposed of in the chambers, incapable temporarily of utterance or motion and carefully locked in, while Palmer went out and cashed the cheque. Primitive in method, but effective in result."

Palmer was acting as a confidential agent in London for the Nizam and the matter in which he was interested was to obtain the restoration of the provinces known as the Berars to the ruler of Hyderabad. Palmer asked first Mr. Seymour Keay to prepare a case. Keay wrote a long report after looking into and marshalling all facts and correspondence, but it was exceedingly voluminous and practically unreadable, so Palmer requested Hyndman to make a short summary of the enormous report. Hyndman had patience and went through it carefully and prepared a pamphlet and entitled it *Indian Policy and English Justice* which made a great stir. Palmer approached a leading Q. C. of the period named Karskae who gave his opinion but wounded it up with the phrase, "But in State's affairs of this kind the ultimate appeal, when all is said, must lie with the *God of Battles*". Palmer who chanced to be a little deaf, did not hear this last sentence; so, putting his hand to his ear, he leant forward and gravely asked, "To whom, Sir, did you say the ultimate appeal in this important cause would lie?" Karskae seemed a little annoyed, but the others present all laughed. On this subject, Hyndman adds that Salar Jung, the Darwan of Hyderabad, came over to England, but that unfortunately he met with an accident in his hotel in Paris and his ill health prevented him from contacting the India Office. When he was presented to Queen Victoria, he was overwhelmed by the condescension on the part of the great Queen and forgot entirely to ask for the Berars and he went back empty-handed. One has not forgotten how Lord Reading treated the Nizam when he once more raised the question of the restoration of the Berars, and the matter was settled by the fear of the *God of Battles*. The contentions of the official apologists in favour of retaining possession of the Nizam's provinces in contravention of treaty rights and common honesty were based upon the assumption that the people under British rule were much better off in every way than under Indian rule. Hyndman spared neither time, trouble, nor expenses to inquire whether that was the case, and discovered to his astonishment and regret that Report after Report and commissions after commissions proved the existence of such terrible and ever-increasing poverty among the agricultural population of India. He began to doubt whether the British rule could possibly be as good as it was stated to be. He accidentally found a book *The Poverty of India* by Dadabhai Naoroji, in which complete statistics about India were exposed. The book was of great help to him. He got published many letters in the press on the subject, and he published *The Bankruptcy of India*, which was immediately translated into nearly every European language, as well as into more than one Indian language. Thus he began a sort of crusade with the enthusiasm of a missionary against "this criminal and ruthless plunder" and desired to put an end to such "cold-blooded economic exploitation."

In regard to India and Asia, Hyndman had formulated a definite policy of re-establishment of genuine Indian rule throughout India under the light of English leadership. At this period Hyndman thought that in

future China could be a formidable power using European weapons and that in case China attacked India, a self-governing powerful empire of India with her population of 300 000 000 supported by Great Britain, would present a formidable barrier to any hostile Chinese Government.

In 1897, there was raging a terrible famine in India, and a meeting was to be held in the Mansion House under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor to raise a sum of £5,000,000 to help the suffering inhabitants of India. Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, and the Duke of Connaught had promised their presence. This idea enraged Hyndman and he wished to be present to propose an amendment. This upset the convenors of the meeting, who declared that the meeting was not a public one and so Hyndman was not welcome. Hyndman knew that he would not be allowed to move his amendment. He went to the meeting all the same, but when he got up, two or more stalwart constables appeared and after a nominal resistance on his part, he was escorted out. Hyndman wanted to protest against the terrible system of draining out of India upwards of £30,000,000 every year. He thought it was a piece of grotesque hypocrisy to send £5,000,000 to those who were starving and dying, when all the time six times that amount was being taken away.

Though the views of Hyndman and of Dadabhai were the same, they differed in employing means to put an end to the nefarious system. Hyndman did not hesitate to recommend violent agitation for the achievement of Home Rule. There appeared on the scene Pandit Shoyamji Krishnavarma. Hyndman found his man.

The funeral of Herbert Spencer towards the end of 1904 gave an occasion to Krishnavarma for making a short feeling speech on how the great philosopher had denounced the English conquest of India. At the same time he offered £1,000 to the Oxford University to found a Herbert Spencer Lectureship. This offer was appreciated by the press immensely, and it created a stir, because Krishnavarma was living as a private individual in London almost unknown to the public. He started publishing a monthly paper and named it *The Indian Sociologist*, an organ of freedom and of political, social and religious reform. He adopted as devise of the paper two quotations from Herbert Spencer :

"Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man".—*Principles of Ethics*.

"Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism".—*Study of Sociology*.

In the first number of *The Indian Sociologist* Krishnavarma wrote about Hyndman as follows :

"Among the friends of India in England must be gratefully remembered the name of Mr. H. M. Hyndman, founder of the Social Democratic Federation, who ever since 1873, has persistently pleaded the cause of that unfortunate country both privately and on public platforms. . . . He does not believe in half measures and maintains that Indians must learn to rely upon themselves. One cannot forget the remarkable incident at the Mansion House meeting for the

Indian famine fund some years ago when Hyndman had the courage to defy the resentment of those assembled on the occasion and to publicly denounce the financial drain to which India is perpetually and remorselessly subjected by its British rulers."

Thus a close collaboration for the liberation of India was formed between Krishnavarma and Hyndman, who was aspiring to be a member of the House of Commons where he could denounce the misdeeds of the Indian Government. Krishnavarma appealed all true Indian patriots to show their grateful appreciation of Hyndman's services to their country by actively interesting themselves in his successful return to Parliament at the next general election. One can notice that Krishnavarma never missed the occasion of mentioning Hyndman in his *Indian Sociologist*. Both Hyndman and Krishnavarma denounced the pernicious propaganda of the Indian Association, of which Dadabhai was president and Sir Henry Cotton and Sir W. Wedderburn were active members. Yet Dadabhai continued to be on friendly relations with Hyndman and Krishnavarma. He was present at the dinner which was organized to celebrate the 21st anniversary of *Justice*. He thanked the leaders of the "Social Democratic Federation" and added that their organ *Justice* had done justice to India.

At the suggestion of Hyndman, Krishnavarma founded the "Indian Home Rule Society" in March, 1905. The object of the Society was to secure Home Rule for India and to carry on a genuine Indian propaganda in England by all practical means. Till then the organizations in the United Kingdom connected with India were practically all at the disposal of the bureaucrats, so an independent organization was necessary. The members of the executive committee had organized a banquet in honour of the founder and president of the Society. Hyndman was not present, but sent a letter of best wishes for the success of the Home Rule Society. A few extracts from this letter are worth quoting:

"Indians must look for their emancipation and their relief from this endless blood-sucking to themselves, with such little help as a small minority of Englishmen and women can give them."

"If I were an Indian, as I am an Englishman the storming of Nan Shan, the capture of Port Arthur, the overwhelming victory of Mukden would make me five times the man I was before and I should feel that what Japanese had done, I and my fellow Asiatics could do quite as well as they, when once we bestirred ourselves to make an end of the White Peril."

"It is injurious to England as well as fatal to India that our tyranny should continue in Hindustan and that 22,000,000 of people should be bled and crushed and wellnigh 80,000,000 more deprived of all natural initiative for the sake of a mere handful of greedy and often ignorant foreigners."

"Over in Paris, where I have done my share to convince Frenchmen of the untold mischief we are doing in the East—mischief, which alas they are striving to emulate...."

"I shall drink to the toast of 'India', of India free and self-governing from Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Burma to Bombay."

One can imagine what effect the letter produced when read by the president of the meeting.

Krishnavarma purchased a free-hold estate in Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, for establishing a house or hostel for Indian students, and he named it "India House." Hyndman was requested to perform the opening ceremony. Amongst the guests present were many distinguished people like Dadabhai Naoroji, Lala Lajpatrai, etc. After the speech of Krishnavarma explaining the object of establishing the India House, Mr. Hyndman delivered a speech. Here are some extracts from it:

"As things stand, loyalty to Britain means treachery to India. I am not speaking of England as a country or as a people, but of the system of rule we impose upon Hindustan. So long as Indians regard British rule as permanent and act as if it were permanent, so long will it be permanent. It is therefore a fine conception that those who take advantage of the privileges open to them in the "India House" should bind themselves never to serve the foreign government.....I have met many Indians, and the loyalty to British rule which majority even have professed has been disgusting. Either they were insincere or they were ignorant."

In conclusion he said:

"Patriotism is no mean sinecure but in the widest acceptance of the word, will raise India to her rightful position among the great Powers of Civilisation and England will, I hope, yet recognize that her interest, as it is her duty to help instead of to crush down a glorious development. The institution of this India House means a great step in that direction of Indian growth and Indian emancipation and some of those who are here this afternoon may live to witness the first fruits of its triumphant success."

Hyndman had a mortal hatred of men whose God is Mammon and whose conscience is carefully buttoned up in their breeches pocket. During the general election campaign in 1906, Hyndman always referred to India; some of his speeches were wholly devoted to the graphic description of the state of affairs in India. *Justice* filled columns after columns on the subject of India and week after week pleaded the cause of Indian emancipation. Articles were entitled "Czardom in British India."

Hyndman was watching the growth of the nationalist movement in India and he welcomed the disturbance at the Congress at Surat. He wrote immediately an article in *Justice*, entitled "Asia against Europe."

"The growth of the extremist party, the party which recognizes that British rule in India is a curse to the entire Peninsula and ought to be got rid of as soon as possible is nothing short of phenomenal. The moderate men themselves are amazed and alarmed at the progress which was being made. Those who show subservience to the foreign rule and support the infamous system, which is draining away the very life blood of India, are regarded by the Indian patriots as despicable traitors not to one race or to one creed only but to all Indian races and creeds. That is what is meant by the disturbance at Surat. It meant that the day is gone by when Indians could all be bought with their own money to sell their own countrymen to the foreign tyrant by moderation and double dealing."

In anticipation of the meeting of the International Congress of Socialists on 18th August, 1908 at Stuttgart, the Indians residing in Paris held a meeting and passed the following resolution:

"That the continuance of British Rule in India is positively disastrous and extremely injurious to the best interests of Indians, and lovers of freedom all over the world ought to co-operate in freeing from slavery one-fifth of the whole human race, inhabiting that oppressed country, since the perfect social state demands that no people should be subject to any despotic or tyrannical form of Government."

The resolution was forwarded to the president of the Congress through the Social Democratic Federation of London. Madame Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama and Mr. S. R. Rana were elected as delegates and sent to the Congress. Mr. Hyndman had prepared a pamphlet and called it *The Ruin of India by British Rule* to be distributed to all international delegates. When the Congress met, there was some controversy whether the resolution regarding India should be discussed by the Congress. Hyndman had great influence and insisted that it should be submitted to the Congress. The Resolution was proposed by Madame Cama in a short speech and before concluding, she unfurled the Indian national flag. The whole audience stood up to salute the flag. After the delegates of the Labour Party of England put an amendment that India should have a colonial form of Government under the British Government, Hyndman rose to support the original resolution with stirring eloquence, and the resolution was passed.

The Government of India prohibited the importation and sale of the *Justice*, *Indian Sociologist* and *The Gaelic American* into India, by a notification of September 1907 issued by the Governor-General in Council under Section 19 of the Customs Act of 1878, but Hyndman was more than a match for the Indian Government and the notification in regard to *Justice* was soon cancelled.

Hyndman continued his attacks. He wrote an article in *Justice* on May 9, 1907, entitled "Despotism and Terrorism in British India." A short extract from this article is as follows:

"The bomb throwing in Bengal is only an incident in this general ferment of discontent. Its significance is chiefly due to the fact that the meek and mild Bengalis, who have been sneered at and derided and held up to general ridicule by the entire Capitalist Press of the Empire, as the most servile and degraded of lick-spittles on the surface of the earth, have been goaded into risking their lives in order to avenge their countrymen and comrades. That we British have done for the Babus. The responsibility for deaths of those innocent women in Bengal, which we all deplore, lies therefore at the door of the British Government in India and Lord Morley's much applauded Radical support of that despotism at home."

Then followed another article "Indian Tools of British Tyranny," in which he mentions how Indian Moderates

play right into the hands of British despotism. He specially declared that

"In private conversation both Mr. Gokhale and Romesh Dutt held the same opinion, but in their official capacity are extremely anxious to prove to the British public that organized sedition does not exist in India. How does it come about then that when I opened the India House at Hampstead founded by Krishnavarma and said in the course of my address that under the existing condition 'loyalty to England means treachery to India,' the whole of the Indians present to the number of a hundred or more of every race from all parts of the country, 'moderates' as well as 'extremists,' joined heartily in the cheering with which that statement was greeted."

Justice, July 1908, contains a fervent appeal and a message of sympathy from which following extracts are taken:

"The demand of 'India for the Indians' is the natural and legitimate result of the awakening of your countrymen to what British domination really means. From its first entrance into India, until this hour British rule has swept away Indian wealth, has manufactured Indian poverty, has destroyed Indian culture, has smothered Indian initiative, and has ruined Indian civilisation" . . . "We treat you as mere helots in the land of your birth. Enlightened patriotism calls for organised protest against this misrule on the part of every Indian, for loyalty to England means treachery to India. Enlightened patriotism calls for deep sympathy with such a movement on the part of every Englishman, for despotism and tyranny in India check progress and democracy at home."

"After mentioning the achievements of India in the past in every department of human life, namely, architecture—splendours of Oodepure, Umritsar and Madura, of Bijapur and Futahpur Sikro, unparalleled beauty of Taj Mahal—so long as you remember what you have been, you can never be less."

"Patriots of India, Comrades of Hindustan, it is the remembrance of your past that gives you courage in the present. It is the conception of what shall be that breathes life into what is. . . . We tell you on behalf of tens of thousands of our countrymen who crowd our meetings and unanimously condemn the injustice and oppression you suffer under, that the mass of Englishmen are with you in your struggle for your rights. . . . The day is not far distant, however, when their misdeeds will be rendered impossible and India will be free and will once more take her place in the great work of uplifting and enlightening humanity. Meanwhile, we convey to you the assurance of our heartfelt sympathy and our sincere good wishes."

"May we live to see the great realm of Hindostan finally freed from the White Terror, and powerful groups of independent peoples settling their own differences and working out their own social salvation from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Burma to Baloochistan."

"Bande Mataram!—India for Indians and the welfare of all mankind."

Does not Hyndman deserve a memorial in India, worthy of his services to India?



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BUDDHISM AND ASOKA : By B. G. Gokhale. With Foreword by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Bibliography, Index, 7 illustrations. 296 pages. Published by Padmaja Publications, Baroda. 1948. Price Rs. 13-8.

This work, which won for its author the coveted Doctorate degree of the University of Bombay, consists of four parts entitled Religion, Political Conditions, Social and Economic Conditions and Buddhist Art. In the first and central part, "the early Buddhist monastic movement is taken as the starting-point and the (subsequent) development of Buddhism as a religion of the masses is traced through various stages." The second part deals with "the history of India after Asoka and up to the Christian era" as "the political background to the spread of Buddhism as a religion." The third part is concerned with the influences of the Buddhist movement in the social sphere. The fourth part, (which, oddly enough, includes a chapter on Education) deals with "the interpretation of Buddhist art in terms of lay life." The work, as a whole, testifies to the author's wide reading and capacity for assimilation of the results thereof. Further, though it covers familiar ground, it is informing and suggestive on a number of points. Among these last may be mentioned the causes of downfall of the Maurya Empire, the date of the Hathigumpha inscription, the identity of the Greek invader in Pushyamitra's time and the influence of Buddhism upon caste development. On the other hand, the impartial critic cannot but refer to some of its serious shortcomings. To begin with the title of the work is somewhat of a misnomer, as it deals with much extraneous matter, and while tracing the history of Buddhism to its source (if not its antecedents), carries it far down into the first century of the Christian era and still later times. In his chapter on Education, the author goes so far as to quote the late authorities of Fa-hien and I-tsing. The author accepts, without discussion, the orthodox tradition that Chanakya was the Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, or "the Indian Bismark" (*sic*) (p. 131) and that the *Arthashastra* was his handiwork (p. 228 n). Some of his statements, e.g., the reference to "the Sakya girl Devi (p. 133) and the alleged want of information concerning vocational training in ancient India (p. 264) are inaccurate. Lapses of composition are illustrated by such examples as "between . . . to" (pp. 84-5), "lower to (p. 43), "superseded over" (p. 90), "predominated all" (*ibid.*) and "comparatively easier" (p. 156). The reference to "the Asokan chapel at Gaya" (p. 129) cannot but be regarded as a very loose statement of the actual fact. Misprints of which even the long list of errata gives but an imperfect account, are irritatingly common on almost every page. The proper name K. P. Jayaswal has been printed in at least three different ways while

the repeated reference to "Ramprasad Chanda" cannot be due to the printer's devil. The total want of diacritical marks in a work claiming the title to scholarship cannot but be regarded as highly unfortunate.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CENT PER CENT SWADESHI (or The Economics of Village Industries) : By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2.

Gandhiji always maintained that independence minus 'Swadeshi' would be for India the substitution of white slavery by black slavery. The import of this is yet to be fully appreciated by us. The loose thinking and phantastic ideas that are associated in the mind of the intelligentsia of our country with Gandhian economics can only be dispelled by reading first hand of what Gandhiji himself has written and said. *Cent per cent Swadeshi* is one such fundamental book embodying his writings on his conception of Swadeshi, Village Industries, Patriotism, Industrialism, Machinery, Why Khadi and other relevant topics. There is a second part to the book in which amplification of Gandhiji's ideas has been provided from the writings of his closest disciples such as Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal and Sushila Nayyar.

While speaking of the place which small-scale industries occupy in our national economy, Gandhiji observes, "I have no doubt in my mind that we add to the national wealth if we help the small-scale industries. I have no doubt also that true Swadeshi consists in encouraging and reviving these home industries. That alone can help the dumb millions. It also provides an outlet for the creative faculties and resourcefulness of the people. It can also usefully employ hundreds of youths in the country who are in need of employment. It may harness all the energy that at present runs to waste. I do not want any one of those who are engaged in more remunerative occupations to leave them and take to the minor industries. Just as I did with regard to the spinning wheel, I would ask only those who suffer from unemployment and penury to take to some of these industries and add a little to their slender resources."

Further he continues, "It will thus be seen that the change in activity that I have suggested to you does in no way conflict with the interests of the major industries. I want to say only this much that you, national servants, (that you) will restrict your activities to the minor industries and let the major ones help themselves as they are doing today. The minor industries I conceive will not replace the major ones, but will, supplement them."

This has added meaning today when the specially unemployed section of the refugees have to be attended to over and above the under-employed

millions of India. In fact, the book which first appeared in 1938 would be more in need today, when it has already gone into its third edition (1948).

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI.

GANDHI—THE MASTER : By K. M. Munshi. Rajkamal Publications Ltd. 1 Faiz Bazar, Delhi. 1948. Pp. vi+96. Price Rs. 4-8.

A collection of articles written at different times by one who looked upon Gandhiji as his Master. The articles suffer from their strong subjective tone. In one matter, at least, this preoccupation of the author has led him astray. In the chapter on 'Mahayana Gandhism,' Satyagraha has been practically described as a dignified form of Passive Resistance. Although the struggle in South Africa was originally called Passive Resistance, yet, latterly, Gandhiji himself drew a clear distinction between the two. The object of the one was *conversion*, while that of the latter was *coercion*. One was the instrument of the strong, while the other was the instrument of the weak. These distinctions have been blurred by the author of the present book. In various other matters, however, Sri Munshi has rightly emphasized the greatness of Gandhiji's contributions to modern life.

The price charged by the publishers for 96 pages is however inordinately high.

THE UNTOUCHABLES : By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus, New Delhi. October, 1948. Pp. viii+158. Price Rs. 8-8.

There are many things in common between India's social organization and that of other countries. Yet, it is in India alone that we find the vile custom of untouchability; while elsewhere, similar circumstances do not seem to have given rise to the same social result. What is the cause of this tragic, or perhaps criminal, uniqueness of India? This is the central problem which the author deals with in the present book.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis is that racially the so-called untouchables are not different from the rest of their neighbours. Neither race, nor occupation can account for untouchability, which was not present in India in about 200 A.D. but must have come into being by about 600 A.D. His idea is that the majority of Indians were once Buddhists. It was during the post-Buddhist Brahmanical revival that the custom first arose. The Brahmins were given to sacrificing animals, and beef-eating was common among them. When they tried to regain their lost ground after the Buddhist social revolution, they gave up eating beef, and even some of them went so far as to become completely vegetarian. It was all designed to retrieve a lost position.

It was during this period that there remained over some sections of the population who did not give up eating beef. The Brahmins now turned them into untouchables. The Brahminical socio-political conspiracy was thus the prime cause of the particular custom of untouchability.

It is difficult to agree with Dr. Ambedkar in his thesis, on merits. In order to prove his case, he has had to disregard, or perhaps underestimate, a large number of facts. Perhaps the sacredness of the cow began much earlier than the rise of Buddhism. Secondly, beef-eating is not the crucial test of untouchability; and there is hardly sufficient proof to show that it was so in the past, even if it is not so in the present.

The Buddhists might have been hated by the Brahmins, and treated as untouchables. But, instead

of that being the beginning of untouchability, it is not unlikely that a way of socially treating 'aliens' was transferred to the Buddhists during the post-Buddhist Brahmanical revival.

We have then to search for the causes which led to the peculiar custom of untouchability, during the cultural conflicts which ensued between the Vedic-Brahmanical culture and the previous cultures of India.

In order to prove his own case, Dr. Ambedkar has not gone in for the alternate possibilities also and disposed of them in a sufficiently satisfactory manner. Not that he has not at all tried to do so; but he has confused Race, Language and Culture in a fashion which has seriously weakened the reader's faith in his thesis.

Considered from the point of view of the social scientist, Dr. Ambedkar's thesis has thus been weakened by special pleading.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE WISDOM OF JOHN WOOLMAN : By Reginald Reynolds. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1948. Price 10s. 6d. net.

John Woolman (1720-72), an important name in Quaker history, born almost 80 years after William Penn (1644-1718)—one of the chief pillars of early Quakerism—is here introduced by Reginald Reynolds, associated in the Indian mind with the Gandhi movement of 1930-32. Woolman was a baker by trade, he learnt tailoring later, and it seems his services were also requisitioned as a surgeon and a lawyer at times. Early in his life he dedicated himself to the good of humanity, he began a lifelong crusade against slavery and developed an affection for all living things. But the spring of all his action is the pure 'wisdom,' an illumination from the inner life which is revealed in his writings. He wore undyed homespun, and would take no sugar in his meals, because sugar as well as dyes used in colouring cloth were produced through the sweat of the slave's labour. He lived as he preached, and his sympathy for the Indian cause transcended the limitations of the times.

A classified selection of Woolman's writings follows, divided in three sections—the seed, the flower and the fruit. The selection has been carefully pruned, the reviewer would say, too carefully. The purpose of the book, as hinted above, is to induce the reader to read Woolman's writings, which will be served even by the scanty fare supplied. It is indeed an appetiser, but then one must take it up for continued reading. Mr. Reynolds is right in holding that Woolman is not yet dated. His *Journal* has been praised by discerning critics like Charles Lamb and John Stuart Mill, not only for its content but also for its pure and simple diction, the diction of a seeker after truth. The quiet dignity of his style is matched with observations which have a bearing on modern times—and John Woolman and Mahatma Gandhi will reveal many points of similarity.

P. R. SEN

HOW OUR MINDS WORK : By Dr. C. E. M. Joad. Published by Philosophical Library, New York. Price \$2-75.

The little volume is an extremely interesting account of how our minds work. Dr. Joad has considered some fundamental problems of psychology, e.g., the existence of mind, the relation of mind and body, the functions of mind, the concept of consciousness and of the unconscious, etc. Like all Dr. Joad's books the present treatise is pleasant to read and as it is completely devoid of all pedantry, quite easy to follow

and understand. Students when they get confused by the mass of conflicting 'principles' advanced by the authorities of the different 'schools' of psychology will do well to go through the pages of this volume. They will find their bearing again and will be reassured. The author's presentation of the different standpoints and his criticisms are very fair indeed and there is a total absence of that spirit of irony or acrimony which is an almost regular feature of all evaluations of psychoanalysis by academic psychologists. It is intelligible however that one convinced of the 'free-will' of man would find it difficult to accept McDougall's concept of instinct or the vigorous determinism which is one of the basic concepts of the Freudian system.

S. C. MITRA

THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM: By Sister Nivedita. Udbodhan Office, 1, Udbodhan Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. Pp. 409+xxi. Price Rs. 5.

This is the sixth reprint of the famous book under review. In twenty-seven Chapters with four Appendices we find a connected account of the inner workings of the Swami Vivekananda's mind from 1895 till his death in July, 1902. As the caption of the book indicates, it delineates the life of Vivekananda as the latter was revealed to his disciple Sister Nivedita. The book is not only a classic, which deserves all the respect due to one of this nature and also requires to be read and re-read, but its importance lies elsewhere. Swami Vivekananda was an out-and-out Indian and all that the term connotes. Our religion and philosophy, literature and culture—everything received his attention equally. His love of the down-trodden whom he called *Nara-Narayan* was the keynote of all his humanitarian works. He believed that the *Mukti* of his people lies in Education in its truest sense. The study of this book will reveal to the reader of the present generation, the main springs of the life of Vivekananda in their proper perspective. The new type of Indian nationalism in the early years of this century owes not a little to the inspiring speeches and writings of the Swami. His life has found an earnest and sincere interpreter in Sister Nivedita who also dedicated her life to the services of Mother India.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BENGALI

BANGLAR JANA-SIKSHA (History of Popular Education in Bengal): By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. *Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta* Pp. 76. Price eight annas.

This booklet forms part of the famous Visva-Vidya Sangraha series published by the Visva-Bharati, the International University founded by Rabindranath Tagore. During the last seven years there have been published more than 72 booklets touching on every department of human knowledge. Scholars who are regarded as experts on particular subjects have co-operated in writing these books: written in Bengali they have come to be regarded as invariable companions of every educated Bengali.

The writer of the booklet under review, Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, has made a name for himself as a student of affairs in Bengal, painstaking and devoted to truth brought out of records. Belonging to that school of historians whose guide and philosopher has been the savant Jadunath Sarkar, the writer has in the present booklet brought to us the fruits of his researches into the history of popular education in Bengal, of its progressive decline under British regime caught in the meshes of the "filtration theory," the theory of enlightenment filtering down from the higher classes to the lower. The attempt was bound

to fail. For, the higher classes were trained in thoughts and habits not racy of the soil. William Adam who was specially appointed Education Commissioner to enquire into educational practice in the then British India showed (1835) that education prevalent in those days had been attuned to native thought and responsive to native needs.

The British disrupted this whole arrangement and the author has brought out the various processes of this operation. His story ends in 1854, the year in which the Woods Despatch tinkered with the new education in India. To have compressed all this information within 76 pages is no small credit.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

GITAMRIT: By Krishnadatt Paliwal. *Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore.* Pp. 308. Price Rs. 3-8.

The sub-title of the book ("Nectar of Gita") betrays the author's approach to the scripture in question to the study of which in modern times Gandhiji's own shining example gave a great fillip. For, Shri Paliwal discusses the thought, embodied in the Gita, in the light of twentieth-century modes and mores of thought. Man, world, progress, action, testimony of science, such are the subjects he has dealt with. At the end of the book there is the text in Sanskrit, together with a translation in Hindi. Shri Paliwal's range of reading is wide, of thinking deep, while his style is without the proverbial "heaviness" of philosophy, and his vision "circular". *Gitamrit* is a welcome addition to the extant commentaries on the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

G. M.

GUJARATI

AN ENGLISH-GUJARATI GLOSSARY OF SCIENTIFIC TERMS IN NAGRI SCRIPT: By Popatlal G. Shah, M.A., B.Sc., C.I.E., I.A.A.S., (Retired). Printed at the Navajivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad and published by Gujarat Research Society, Bombay 1. Thick cardboard. Second edition. 1549. Pages 149. Price Rs. 6.

The first edition of this Glossary was published in 1937, under the auspices of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Mr. Shah before he became the Accountant-General of Bombay, was a College Professor of Science. His interest in it has continued throughout his life, and besides publishing the Glossary under Notice, he has published two other popular books on the same subject, "Vijnan Vichar" and "Vijnan Vinod." This second edition is a great advance on the first edition and more comprehensive. Following the present trend of Indian literature, he has published it in Nagari script, and also included in it several Hindi words, which happen to be common to both languages. He has made the Glossary comprehensive enough by including in it almost every branch of Science, Zoology, Meteorology, Botany, Weights and Measures, Astronomy, Geology, Fossils, Plants, Chemistry, Physics, etc. International terms which have taken root in all languages of the world like X-ray, are given, as they are in addition to those English words, like Hospitals, Mills, and Railway Stations, which are now a part of the Gujarati language and understood by even illiterate people. The present tendency in this respect is "Back to Sanskrit." It has its uses, but if you want to make Science popular, if you desire to make the masses acquainted with Science and its uses, you have to begin with your mother tongue, at the primary stage at least. It is with this view that the compiler has prepared this Glossary. And hence it is in every way likely to prove of great use to those who have to teach Science in schools and even colleges, where education has to be imparted in one's mother tongue.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Goethe, The Scholar

A great Western thinker whose sympathetic interest in Oriental culture invested his works with that mark of universality was Goethe—poet, dramatist, scientist and internationalist—whose Bicentenary fell in August 1949. The lecture published in *The Indian Institute of Culture, Transaction No. 3*, on Goethe, was delivered at the Institute's "Goethe Day" celebration on August 30th, by Dr. Walter Graefe :

Today, we are celebrating the Bicentenary of Wolfgang von Goethe's birth. Not only in India, also in the U.S.A. and other countries, this anniversary will be observed by festival gatherings and many new publications in various languages will be added to the already numerous books on the great poet-scholar in order to commemorate the birth of this unique genius. All the world over, people interested in true culture will in these days think of the greatest poet laureate of Germany, because Goethe belongs to the whole world. Although he held the post of Minister of State of the small Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, he never associated himself with the narrow patriotism of a particular group of country. In vain shall we look for any patriotic song amongst his numerous poems. When on the occasion of the Congress of Erfurt in 1808 he was presented to the victorious Emperor Napoleon I, no word about political affairs obscured this memorable interview. The subject which these two great men discussed was the book that established Goethe's world fame : *Werther's Sorrows*. When later the Germans united to free their country from French tyranny, Goethe stood almost aloof. To him these political changes did not mean anything positive because he saw in them only destructive powers at work and a spirit which alienated peoples from each other, whereas he was striving for human culture which was set at naught by the poison of nationalism. Goethe was too great a genius to confine his interests and work only to his nation. The tremendous struggle of the Germans against the genial war-hero Napoleon I does not find any mention in Goethe's works.

During those years of political turmoil in Europe, he withdrew from the public and the circles of his friends as far as possible, to take refuge in the study of the history and poetry of the East. He even learned Persian and Arabic to be able to read the Eastern poets in the original. The outcome of this preoccupation, especially with Persian poetry, is the *West-Eastern Divan*, a collection of poems in Persian garb. But the Eastern ideology is blended with Western feeling which betrays the German poet, in spite of the foreign disguise of the verses. In contradiction to the often quoted saying of a later imperialistic author, Goethe confesses in his *West-Eastern Divan* :

God is of the East possessed,
God is ruler of the West ;
North and South alike, each land
Rests within His gentle hand.

And a little poem, entitled "On the Divan," tells us :

He who knows himself and others
Here will also see,
That the East and West, like brothers,
Parted ne'er shall be:
Thoughtfully to float for ever
'Tween two worlds, be man's endeavour !
So between the East and West
To revolve, be my behest !

A man with such cosmopolitan views can rightly be claimed by any people as their own.

I hope you will forgive me a certain digression for which the last lines of the just read poem will serve as apology.

It might be tempting to deliver a lecture on "Goethe and India," yet the material is too meagre for such an enterprise. Goethe had not had the opportunity to study Sanskrit in his youth. The knowledge about India in his time was rather limited.

When in 1789 William Jones published his English translation of *Shakuntala*, Goethe's enthusiasm for this drama was boundless. His admiration found expression in the following poem :

Would'st thou the blossoms of spring, as well as
the fruits of the autumn,
Would'st thou what charms and delights, would'st
thou what plenteously feeds,
Would'st thou include both heaven and earth
in one designation,
All that is needed is done, when I Sakuntala
name.

Occasionally, we come across also some other poems the themes of which are taken from Indian sources, e.g., "The God and the Dancing-Girl (Baya-dere)" and "The Pariah." But, whereas the German philosophers Schelling and Schopenhauer were quite enraptured with Indian philosophic speculation, Goethe keeps in this respect silent. His whole thinking was opposed to abstract philosophizing. Also the works of the contemporaneous and famous Immanuel Kant could not draw any expression of admiration from Goethe's lips. He plainly confesses, "I never have thought about thought." As Goethe was opposed to any kind of metaphysics, his poems should not be interpreted in a spirit foreign to their author. When his "Song of the Spirits on the Waters" is quoted in order to demonstrate Goethe's belief in reincarnation, we are certainly misled. Although the poem begins with,

The soul of man is like water :
From heaven it cometh,
To heaven it riseth,
And then returneth to earth,
Forever changing . . .

yet the following lines make it clear enough that with death man is again absorbed by Nature. There is no room left for reflections on an individual existence beyond death. The following discussions will shed

light also on this point, when we now come to our proper theme, "Goethe, The Scholar."

Goethe's philosophy or, if you prefer to call it so, his "religion," was eminently concrete. "He believed in fact, he thought reality in itself holier than any fiction could make it. . . . He strove above all things to understand fact, because fact was divine manifestation. . . . His worship was Nature worship.—G. H. Luoes: *The Life of Goethe*.

Already in the note-book of the student of law, we read the following entry:

"To discuss God apart from Nature is both difficult and perilous; it is as if we separated the soul from the body. We know the soul only through the medium of the body, and God only through Nature. Hence the absurdity, as it appears to me, of accusing those of absurdity who philosophically have united God with the world."

To Goethe, Life and its realities were so majestic and sublime that he brushed aside all theories about them.

A theology which by all sorts of speculations tried to define the essence of God and to analyse His Being, met only with the poet's sarcastic ridicule. When Margaret asks Faust, "Thou dost not believe (in God)?" she is given the following answer which we can take as Goethe's personal confession of faith:

Who knows his name?
Who dares proclaim:
Him I believe?
Who so can feel
His heart to steel
To say: I believe him not?
The All-Embracer,
The All-Sustainer,
Holds and sustains He not
Thee, me, Himself?
Hang not the heavens their arch o'erhead?
Lies not the earth beneath us firm?
Gleam not with kindly glances
Eternal stars on high?
Looks not mine eye deep into thine?
And do not all things
Crowd on thy head and heart,
And around thee twine, in mystery eterne,
Invisible, yet visible?
Fill, then, thy heart, however vast, with this,
And when the feeling perfecteth thy bliss,
Oh, call it what thou wilt,
Call it joy! heart! love! God!
No name for it I know!
'Tis feeling all—nought else;
Name is but sound and smoke,
Obscuring heaven's bright glow.

This deep sense of reverence and awe of the mysteries of Nature was typical of Goethe. The following aphorisms will give us a glimpse of his worshipful view of Nature:

"Nature! She surrounds us and locks us in her clasp; powerless to leave her and powerless to come closer to her: Unasked and unwarned she takes us up into the whirl of her dance, and hurries on with us until we are weary and fall from her arms.

She creates new forms without end; what exists now, never was before; what was, comes not again, all is new and yet always the old.

There is constant life in her, motion and development; and yet she remains where she was. She is eternally changing, nor for a moment does she stand still. Of rest she knows nothing, and to all stagnation she has affixed her curse. She is steadfast; her step is measured, her exceptions are rare, her laws immutable."

"She has thought, and she ponders unceasingly; not as a man, but as Nature. The meaning of the whole she keeps to herself, and no one can learn it of her.

The drama she plays is always new, because she is always bringing new spectators. Life is her fairest invention, and Death is her device for having life in abundance.

Man obeys her laws even in opposing them: he works with her even when he wants to work against her.

Speech or language she has none; but she creates tongues and hearts through which she feels and speaks.

Her crown is Love. Through Love alone we can come near her. She puts gulfs between all things, and all things strive to be interfused. She isolates everything, that she may draw everything together. With a draught from her cup of Love she repays for a life full of trouble.

In her everything is always present. Past or Future she knows not. The Present is her Eternity.

She is whole and yet never finished. As she works now, so can she work for ever.

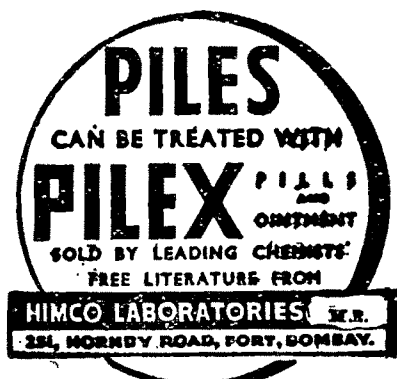
To everyone she appears in a form of his own. She hides herself in a thousand names and titles, and is always the same.

She has placed me in this world; she will also lead me out of it. I trust myself to her. She may do with me as she pleases. She will not hate her work. It was not I that spoke of her. No! what is true and what is false, she has spoken it all herself. Everything is her fault, everything is her merit."

Goethe was all his lifetime fascinated by the mysteries of Nature.

There are many riddles and unanswered questions which Nature alone could answer. We cannot force Nature to answer, but we must wait until she willingly answers our questions. To watch and to observe, that is our task, and gratefully to receive her revelations as children accept a present from their mother. Goethe's investigations of science problems and his strenuous observations of the phenomena of Nature constituted, so to say, his practical worship of Nature. He always warned against hasty conclusions which are apt only to obscure further insight into the true nature of reality.

"What wonderful eyes the Greeks had for many things! Only they committed the mistake of being overhasty, of passing straightway from the phenomenon to the explanation of it, and thereby produced certain theories that are quite inadequate. Hypotheses are cradle-songs by which the teacher lulls his scholars



to sleep. The thoughtful and honest observer is always learning more and more of his limitations ; he sees that the further knowledge spreads, the more numerous are the problems that make their appearance."

Already as a student of law, Goethe devoted considerable time to diverse studies. He attended lectures on anatomy, chemistry, electricity, midwifery. Also chromatic subjects attracted him. There was hardly anything connected with Nature and Life which did not arouse Goethe's interest. He strove to acquire a scientifically based total view of the world in which he lived. But at the same time he was alive to the fact that there is no end of research, and that new observations will be made which compel us to revise and correct our previous views. Until the end of his life, he was the student-scholar, always learning and making new findings in most various fields of activity. He never flattered himself that he had learnt and seen enough to pause and rest, although he was quite conscious of the fact that he had in many a direction seen and discovered more than his contemporaneous specialists of their respective areas of research.

In 1784, his studies in anatomy brought Goethe the discovery of an intermaxillary bone in man as well as in animals. Until Goethe's time, the belief was prevalent that man held an exceptional position in the evolution of the animal kingdom so that his origin could not be interlinked with that of other vertebrates. It looked as if there were structural differences. The formation of the human skull seemed to support this belief. But the discovery of the so-called intermaxillary bone in the human upper jaw proved the unity of Nature. Remarkable is the method which led to this discovery. Goethe was studying the various modifications of this bone, which contains the incisor teeth in animals. By this method of comparison, he found out that this bone underwent many modifications in the animal series, as a result of different nutrition. On the 27th March, 1784, Goethe writes to his friend Herder : "I hasten to tell you of the fortune that has befallen me. I have found neither gold nor silver, but that which gives me inexpressible joy, the intermaxillary bone in Man ! . . ."

In order fully to appreciate the discoverer's great joy, we must remember our scholar's particular view of the world, i.e., his *Weltanschauung*, as ye say in German, because this discovery supplied one of the missing links to see the harmony of Nature. Goethe says :

"Indeed man is most intimately allied to animals. The co-ordination of the Whole makes every creature that which it is, and man is as much man through the form of his upper jaw, as through the form and nature of the last joint in his little toe. And thus is every creature but a note of the great harmony which must be studied in the whole, or else it is nothing but a dead letter."

In his anatomical studies, Goethe conceived the idea of a general Type (*allgemeines Bild*) according to which the whole animal kingdom was constructed.

This was a kind of working hypothesis which assumed every bone of the skeleton to be either a vertebra, or the appendage to a vertebra. The application of this heuristic idea led to the discovery of the vertebral structure of the skull, i.e., the fact that the skull is composed of variously modified vertebrae. This new discovery was announced only after several years of strenuous studies in order to supply the necessary scientific foundation.

At the same time, Goethe was working out his "Metamorphoses of Plants." Here again, Goethe tries to bring unity into the earlier scattered observations. His leading idea is that there are only two typical forms of a plant, namely, stem and leaf.

"From the seed there is an ascending and a descending axis, formed of a succession of stems : the ascending axis is called the aerial stem ; the descending axis is the root. From both of these stems lateral stems or branches are given off ; and from these again others. The leaf is the second type : it forms all the other organs by various modifications. Widely as a pistil differs from a petal, and both from an ordinary leaf, they are disclosed as identical by the history of their development."

It took a long time for Goethe's novel way of studying botany, and his findings, to be accepted by the competent scholars of his day, because the majority, could not imagine that a poet should be an authority on this matter too.

Nowadays, nobody contends Goethe's right to the claim of having founded the science of Morphology of Plants.

Helmholtz, the famous German scientist, made the following comment on Goethe's scientific studies :

"The labours of botanists and zoologists did little more than collect materials, until they learned to dispose them in such a series that the laws of dependence and a generalized type could be elicited. Here the great mind of our poet found a field suited to it ; and the time was favourable. Enough material had been collected in botany and comparative anatomy for a clear survey to be taken ; and although his contemporaries all wandered without a compass, or contented themselves with a dry registration of facts, he was able to introduce into science two leading ideas of infinite fruitfulness."

There is yet another sphere of research to be mentioned where Goethe endeavoured to advance a new theory, namely, that of colour. In his *Farbenlehre*, a work on colours, he opposes the Newtonian theory that white light is composed of the seven prismatic colours. Goethe thought it absurd to conceive light as composed of colours, for every light which has taken a colour is darker than colourless light. His opinion was that colours originate in the modification of light by outward circumstances. Colours are, according to Goethe, not developed out of light but by it. His book brings numerous illustrations and experiments to make his theory plausible. But it seems that this time Goethe was going on a wrong track. The contemporaneous scientists refuted his theory. It looks, however, as if even in our days the discussion on the problem of colour is not yet finally closed and that there is yet something to be said in favour of Goethe's view. Whereas scientists opposed the new theory, an artist like Riedel was quite enthusiastic about Goethe's work on colours, because it taught him more than any other teacher or books had been able to do.

In his home Goethe had a well-equipped laboratory where he spent considerable time in the passionate study of science.

When he got a microscope, he started to investigate the world of infusoria. Also geology attracted him. He wrote an essay on "Granite." His friend Herder could not understand why Goethe was "bothering about stones and cabbages." It seems that Herder was not able to realize the immense joy which such research was giving Goethe. In the just mentioned essay, he writes :

"No one acquainted with the charm which the secrets of Nature have for man, will wonder that I have quitted the circle of observations in which I have hitherto been confined, and have thrown myself with passionate delight into this new circle. I stand in no fear of the reproach that it must be a spirit of contradiction which has drawn me from the contemplation and the portraiture of the human heart to that of Nature. For it will be admitted that all things are intimately connected, and that the enquiring mind is unwilling to be excluded from anything obtainable. And I who have known and suffered from the perpetual agitations and opinions in myself and others, delight in the sublime repose which is produced by contact with the great and eloquent silence of Nature."

During his Italian journey, Goethe spent some time at Naples. Yet the grand spectacle of the active Vesuvius did not induce the poet to write any lines, giving his impression about this wonderful sight. It was Goethe, the scholar, who climbed up to the narrow ridge of the crater-cone and exposed himself to serious danger in order to study the phenomenon of the volcano. Even the ruins of Pompeii and Heraculanum did not interest Goethe so much as his nature-studies which were continued during the whole journey in Italy. "The book of Nature is, after all, the only one," says he, "which has on every page important meanings." And on the 13th March, 1787, he writes from Italy: "The Vesuvius productions I have now pretty well studied: things, however, assume a different signification when one sees them in relation. Properly, I ought to devote the rest of my life to observation: I should discover much that would enlarge man's knowledge. Pray tell Herder that my botanical discoveries are continually advancing: it is still the same principle, but it requires a whole lifetime to work it out . . ."

And, as a matter of fact, we find Goethe working hard also in the evening of his life, striving continually to dive deeper and deeper into the mysteries of Nature.

Although his remarkable results were not always acknowledged in his time, he never got embittered when he saw that his generation could not keep pace with him, or when they pretended that his discoveries were nothing especially new. He writes:

"If a man devotes himself to the promotion of science, he is at first opposed, and then he is informed that his ground is already occupied. At first men will allow no value to what we tell them, and then they behave as if they knew it all themselves."

And in another place he tells us:

"The history of philosophy, of science, of religion, all shows that opinions spread in masses, but that *that* always comes to the front which is more easily grasped, that is to say, is most suited and agreeable to the human mind in its ordinary condition. Nay, he who has practised self-culture in the higher sense may always reckon upon meeting an adverse majority."

Although Goethe was eminently tolerant, as a natural outcome of his broad-minded views, yet he himself did not always meet with the same attitude towards his own opinions. Once he makes the following, sarcastic remark on the would-be tolerance of certain people: "What is the meaning of everyone speaking of tolerance and trying to prevent others from thinking and expressing themselves after their own fashion?"

Goethe gladly acknowledged where he was helped by his friends to arrive at his findings and was always willing to appreciate the contributions of others to the progress of knowledge and culture. His maxim was: "Love of truth shows itself in this, that a man knows how to find and value the good in everything."

As Goethe was true and honest, he was also quite aware of how intimately honesty and progress in science are related to each other.


"In the sphere of natural science, let us remember that we have always to deal with an insoluble problem. Let us prove keen and honest in attending to anything which is in any way brought to our notice, most of all when it does not fit in with our previous ideas. For it is only thereby that we perceive the problem, which does indeed lie in nature, but still more in man."

These last words show us clearly what Goethe conceived as one of the greatest obstacles on the road towards progress, i.e., man himself with all his limitations.

It is not Goethe, the brilliantly gifted poet of world fame, who stands tonight before our spiritual eye, it is Goethe, the unique genius, the leading scholar of his day, who also has left behind a rich inheritance to the present generation. He stands before us as the inspiring giant worker who combined rare gentility and strenuous labour in the passionate study of Nature.

Rightly Carlyle admonishes us: "Minds like Goethe's are the common property of all nations; and, for many reasons, all should have correct impressions of them."

I should be only too happy if this lecture would serve as a kind of stimulus to induce one or another to make his own independent acquaintance with Goethe and his work, by a thorough study of his writings.



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Let me conclude with reading a poem entitled "Evening." Goethe had written it on the wall of a forest cottage in the mountains near Ilmenau where he often retired with dear friends and where he went once more, quite alone, shortly before his death. In reading these lines on the wall, he remembered the happy days of his youth and the dear ones who were no more. Tears were filling his eyes when he read :

Ueber allen Gipfeln

Ist Ruh,

In allen Wipfeln

Spurest du

Kaum einen Hauch ;

Die Vögelin schweigen im Walde :

Warte nur, balde

Ruhest du auch.

O'er all the hilltops

Is quiet now,

In all the tree-tops

Hearest thou

Hardly a breath ;

The birds are asleep in the trees :

Wait ; soon like these

Thou, too, shalt rest.

Peace and Pacifism

The New Review observes :

Greater publicity was given to the World Pacifist Meeting, though its efficacy against war and violence may be doubted. The invitations were limited ; none was sent to the *Pax Romana* which is an international body with a clear doctrine and a strong discipline. The meeting appears to have been confined to a particular school of thought, and that was its weakness. The philosophy of condemning any and every use of force is irrational and indefensible, and though it

claims Gandhiji's patronage, it ignores his views on legitimate self-defence. When applied to war, outright pacifism is oblivious of the claims of the common good, and of some sore realities of life, human passion and sin. It can hardly dream of changing the mood of mankind as long as it cannot penetrate behind the Iron Curtain.

The Pacifist Meeting spoke of peace through peaceful methods ; the Peace Conference wanted peace through violence, any violence or at any rate what is called successful violence. It reminded one of the Trojan horse. Everybody remembers the South-East Asia Youth Conference at Calcutta during which the Reds prepared their war-offensive in Burma, Indo-China and Malaya. There is ground to surmise that a like offensive is planned, this time for India. Leaflets, bomb-attacks on the police, meetings and strikes organised by the 500 Communist cells of Calcutta are intended to create agitation in crowds and uncertainty in government, and develop an atmosphere suitable to revolution. Economic distress, sugar scandal, middle-class unemployment, wranglings in Congress circles, etc., are so much grist to the Red mills.

In East-Bengal a series of disturbances under communist inspiration, crimes designed to overawe law-abiding citizens, anti-Pakistan demonstrations on Independence day, repeated defiance of the government all tell the same tale.

On this background of turmoil, the Peace Conference may well mark the beginning of a renewed offensive on the part of the Red stalwarts and their Pink allies. The governments are on the *qui-vive* ; the labour world has largely rallied to the Trade-Unions under Congress or socialist leadership ; the will to resist the ubiquitous hooligans has grown in the civic body. The Reds will not find a free field as they did in 1946.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India Educates for Democracy

America's international relations and economic future are vitally concerned with the trends of Free India's education. If a nation of 350 millions can shift in the next decade from its present 15 per cent literacy to, say, 50 per cent literacy, its standards of living and its production will inevitably increase, adding to its demand for American goods. If India, today the bulwark of democracy in Asia, can indoctrinate its people with a keen sense of democratic citizenship, and with a sympathetic attitude toward other nationalities, it will be a friend of peaceful democracy and a natural opponent of totalitarianism.

We in the U. S. have been so impressed with the backwardness of education in India, with its 85 per cent illiteracy, that we have failed to recognize that India even now is in many ways a highly educated nation. Even 15 per cent of 350 millions amounts to 52 millions—more than the literate populations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, S. Africa and Ireland—only U. S. and England have more. Too, while among us the word "literate" represents on the average a very low quality of literacy, in India a literate person is automatically a leader, a person of social responsibility, precisely because those around him do not have the power for good and evil that one gets by being able to read and write. There is also to be remembered the high quality of India's ancient traditional wisdom preserved by the masses, which Mahatma Gandhi often praised as a more valuable background for citizenship than mere literacy.

The reform and spread of education are subjects of enthusiastic planning and experimentation in India today. Students, and even the illiterates themselves take an active part. They do not docilely await the decisions of the numerous expert commissions that seek to improve the curriculum and management of universities and schools, to speed up basic teaching of children and citizenship-literacy courses for adults.

The Draft Constitution of India evidences this wide interest by referring directly to education in 6 articles. One article says that "every citizen is entitled to free primary education" and adds that the government hopes to provide free and compulsory education for all up to the age of 14, within the coming decade. The number of children involved is far beyond twice the U.S.A. school population.

India's press shows much interest in education. One recent daily chosen at random was found to run six columns on training of future scientists; it praises a college of 1,500 students because 1,000 of them have taken up science courses—a striking change from youth's preoccupations in the past. Another daily selected at random carried one editorial and 22 news stories about education. These items included references to a Basic Education Conference, the inauguration of some high schools, investigation of inefficiency in handling an examination, the convention of a students' federation, the laying of the foundation stone of an institute for research in electronics.

ANCIENT AND BRITISH INFLUENCES

Free India is building its future educational system on a curious historical foundation. In ancient times, Hindu and Buddhist teaching included a number of attitudes and methods which exert an influence today.

Among these was the emphasis on ethics, human relations, social service, character-development. Learning was considered a joyful privilege, not a routine chore. The student in antiquity often worked at such tasks as gardening; thus a center of studies either supported itself or else was maintained by nearby village contributions in kind. Mohammedan conquests did not destroy the old so much as they added to the subject's studied and increased awareness of far-off lands. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were unifying agents like Latin in old Europe and like English later on in India.

The British influences of enduring sort included the expansion of mental horizons to include the European sciences, the English concepts of parliamentary government, world-wide awareness, and appreciation of a commercial, materialistic approach to the country's problems.

On the debit side, educational traditions have on the whole tended to segregate the learned from the ignorant, scholar from laborer. From the viewpoint of modern India, the British system was to blame for a number of other present handicaps. Under Britain only 3 per cent of the national budget went for education. The British aimed to develop docile bureaucrats and clerks for the subaltern posts in an expanding political and economic control of India. By neglect, or, as many Indians think by design, the indigenous culture was held down—the Indian with English training was inclined to scorn his own background and people. The creative energies of the intelligentsia and the natural tendency of a people to develop leaders, were discouraged. The burden of learning all subjects by way of a foreign language made education expensive and imitative.

Yet, all in all, the India of today has a strong cultural and pedagogic tradition and a burning desire for wisdom, now extended from the scholarly class to the entire people.

ADULTS LEARN CITIZENSHIP

Of perhaps most urgent significance is India's effort to spread literacy among adults. The central and provincial governments aim to achieve the enormous task of teaching literacy to the bulk of the adult population in the next 5 to 10 years. The literacy aimed at includes the fundamentals of citizenship, hygiene, tolerance of other castes and religions as well as reading and writing. Certain things help gain quick results: India's enthusiasm for knowledge, shared by the most ignorant; the quick willingness to examine and apply American and other foreign techniques; the tradition revived by Gandhi of students and educated classes considering it a patriotic duty to teach what they themselves know; the traditional concept of the school house as a community center; devices to simplify learning such as reduction of Devanagiri alphabet to 20 from 52 letters. That those in power are more secure if they increase the understanding and number of their voters no doubt stimulates the movement for adult education.

In United Provinces, a thousand students banded together this summer to spread literacy. The All-India Students Association has 5,000 literacy centers where its members devote their vacations to adult education work. Delhi province is among the most progressive since its officials are also in charge of national affairs

and see in the half million inhabitants of the 300 villages within easy reach of the national capital a convenient field for demonstration.

BASIC SCHOOLING

One of Mahatma Gandhi's great legacies is the 1938 Wardha Plan of basic education for children 6 to 14 years of age. According to Gandhi, children's learning should be integrated with training in some occupation of immediate economic value to their community. This would rapidly improve the skills of the masses in daily tasks and would tend to develop small towns so that they can compete with the ever huger cities. The Gandhi method would be a constant reminder that scholarship and work useful to the nation can and should go hand in hand. Recognizing that India's poverty would be a major handicap in the spread of schooling, Gandhi urged that crafts and occupational training should be self-supporting, that objects produced be saleable and usable on a demand basis. Planners like Nehru have been exploring this project ever since 1938. It is incorporated in the thorough-going Sargent Plan of 1944 which envisages step by step expansion until after 40 years the entire population of school age, under 14, will be cared for. In the past two years of freedom, India has felt that 40 years is much too long and has been attempting to speed up the process so as to get universal compulsory basic schooling functioning by 1960 at latest.

Handicaps faced are immense and very unevenly distributed. Some areas like the provinces of Delhi, Bombay, West Bengal, United Provinces and Central Provinces, Madras, seem likely to achieve the desired result, while others seem too burdened with problems to do so in the time set. Some handicaps are the same as in the U.S.: two million extra teachers are needed; with rising standards of living among the educated, it is expensive to obtain them, and hard to persuade them to serve in backward villages. Appropriate books are scarce and costly. Madras and Bombay provinces have set up camps for rapid teacher training, and there is a model central teachers' college in Delhi. But means and personnel cannot keep up with current needs—and the birth rate is rising. Distribution of available teachers is handicapped also by linguistic difficulties; thus a culturally progressive area may have a surplus of persons capable of teaching but they cannot be of service in other regions whose language of instruction is different.

One of India's greatest hopes of solving this vast problem is in the country's long tradition, revived by Gandhi, of public service and of participation by students in this service. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Minister of Education, has said, "I would urge every educated man and woman to regard it as a sacred national service to serve as teacher at least two years." In the Bombay provincial assembly, it has been suggested that educated people be conscripted for the purpose. In United Provinces, no graduate can expect governmental employment who has not taken a course in social service. This fits in with the concept of spurring on the mass educational program, although the U.P. course also includes citizenship, driving a car, basic military drill.

SCIENCE STUDY EXPANDS

While beset by the immense quantitative problems of educating the masses of present and future voters in fundamentals of modern citizenship, India puts much effort into training scientists, on whom it depends for so many aspects of future national well-being. Of nearly a thousand students in U.S.A. at present, a great majority are busy becoming leaders able to take charge of the agricultural reforms, irriga-

tion and power water works, factories, that India needs so urgently. The Indian Medical Association is sending post-graduate students abroad. The U.S. and Britain as well as India are being combed for professors for the new institutions of technological study being opened in India. These include four higher technical institutions in the north, south, east and west, on the M.I.T. model, a high voltage laboratory at the Institute of Science in Bangalore, the Delhi Polytechnic, the Central College of Agriculture, two social work schools.

REVIVING THE ANCIENT CULTURE

The ancient national heritage of culture is being promoted at the same time as this stimulated investigation of and application of the country's resources by way of science. An organization is working to gather into one fold the medical lore of old India, mainly involving use of indigenous herbs and methods of influencing the mind of the patient, with Occidental schools of medicine. Special schools are spreading the study of India's ancient arts, music, physical training, philosophy. A boy scout movement emphasizes group folk dancing. Children at Balkan ki Bari centers in Bombay Province are taught to entertain themselves with instructive games many of which derive from traditional India. At Portanbar a school is teaching children yoga exercises and claims that the old Indian physical exercises are more useful than Occidental methods. A Boys' Town along George Jr. Republic line includes much that stems from India's past.

ONE-WORLD PLUS NATIONALISM

In her educational planning, India is attempting the superhuman task of developing intense nationalistic enthusiasm while indoctrinating its people with love of all other nations and appreciation of all other cultures. The generation of Founding Fathers of Free India which at present dominates the scene is a group with the capacity to live and speak in marvelous balance between nationalism and the one-world ideal. If these leaders are given a few years in which to express themselves, it is possible that their dream will be realized. In that case the increasingly literate masses of India will affect world affairs by a fusing of the near and the far, of resourcefulness in solving India's internal problems combined with efforts toward world oneness.

Language is one of the more specific problems of this dual aspect of India's planning. At present English is the great lingua franca of the nation. Giving it up because of rising nationalistic enthusiasm seems inevitable and Hindi, spoken by a larger number than

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any other single Indian tongue, is slated to take its place as the official language within five to ten years. Meanwhile some twelve regional languages are so deeply rooted that primary education is to be carried on in them, with Hindi as a secondary tongue to be studied after a child reaches the equivalent of the U. S. first year high school. English has been fixed as the language of examinations and instruction in universities for the next five years. But the desire of India to continue to have close ties with the English-speaking world will be kept up after that only by exceptional efforts, since there will be no immediate functional need of it once official business shifts to Hindi. It has been suggested that for the sake of their own future commerce and prestige, U. S. and England should stimulate the declining use of English in India by generously encouraging Indians to study the sciences in English-speaking countries.

In the course of India's present intense educational activity, a remarkable treasure-trove of human experimentation and reflection is being amassed not only through official channels but among private individuals concerned with their country's welfare. An American student of educational problems will find surprisingly stimulating ideas among the innumerable articles on education in the Indian magazines available in American libraries.—*India Today*.

Decisions of The Hague Conference

A Sovereign Republik Indonesia Serikat (United States of Indonesia) is to be established before December 30th. The plan to this effect was accepted by final plenary session of The Hague Round Table Conference on the 2nd inst.

The acceptance ceremony was held in the historic "Ridder Zeal" where the Conference began on August 24th. Many diplomats, political leaders and public figures were present.

The main feature of the ceremony was the passing of a long resolution summarising the results of the Conference, contained in a bulky document of the following agreements:—

1. The Charter of transfer of sovereignty.
2. The Union Statute including appendices and special agreements on the principal subjects of future co-operation between the Republik Indonesia Serikat and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and
3. The agreement on the transition period including special agreements on the settlement of those subjects, which require provision as a result of the transfer of sovereignty.

The documents are drawn up in the Netherlands and in the Indonesian languages. Both texts have equal value. The official English text will prevail in case of divergent interpretation of the Netherlands and Indonesian texts.

The agreement will come into force at the moment of the transfer of sovereignty which will take place at a formal ceremony at Amsterdam, to be held not later than 30th December, 1949.

CHARTER OF THE TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY

The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and thereby recognises said Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent and sovereign state.


The Republic of the United States of Indonesia accepts said sovereignty on the basis of the provision of its constitution which has been brought to the knowledge of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.



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The transfer of sovereignty shall take place at the latest on December 30, 1949.

That the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the R. I. S. the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the R. I. S. and the Netherlands.

REPUBLIK INDONESIA SERIKAT

The Republik Indonesia Serikat will be an independent, sovereign and legal democratic federal state. This federal state of the Republik Indonesia Serikat will be composed of member states and of autonomous units of *negaras* as follows:—

A. (1) The state of the Republic of Indonesia, with its territory in accordance with the *status quo* prescribed in the Renville Agreement signed on the 17th January, 1948; (2) the state of East Indonesia; (3) the state of Pasundan (West Java), including the Federal District of Jakarta; (4) the state of East Java; (5) the state of Madura; (6) the State of East Sumatra, under the understanding that the present *status quo* of *Asahan Selatan* and *Labuhan Batu* in their relations with the East Sumatra state will be maintained; (7) the state of South Sumatra;

B. The autonomous units of *negaras* consist of:—(1) Middle Java; (2) Bangka; (3) Belitung (Billiton); (4) Riau; (5) West Borneo (special territory); (6) Greater Dayak; (7) Bandjar territory; (8) South East Borneo, and (9) East Borneo.

The Republik Indonesia Serikat will have the following structure:—(a) President, (b) Ministers, (c) Senate, (d) House of Representatives, (e) Supreme Court, and (f) Auditing Council.

The President along with ministers will constitute a government. He will be elected by those who have been authorised by governments of member states. In electing the president the authorised persons will try to take a decision. He must be an Indonesian of the age not below 30 years and his residence will be in the seat of the Government.

Those who can be appointed as a minister shall be of the age not below 25 years. The President in agreement with those who have been authorised by member states will appoint a Commission of Three which will form a Cabinet of the Republik Indonesia Serikat. On the recommendation of the Commission of Three, the President will appoint one of them Prime Minister, and others, ministers. Also on the recommendation of the Commission of Three, the President will allot a portfolio to each minister. A minister or ministers without portfolio will also be appointed.

The ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, Finance and Economy and also the Prime Minister, even if he is not asked to head one of these departments, will have a special status. Each of the ministers in the Commission of Three will usually lead one of these departments. In case of an immediate urgency for taking a decision and in case of emergency, all ministers of the

special status will have the right to take decisions, which will have an equal power with those of the whole cabinet. In taking a decision the ministers will try to reach an agreement.

In discussing matters and taking any decision on matters directly concerned with fundamental things included in the subjects of a department other than that of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, Finance and Economy, the head of the department will be present.

To discuss together general interests of the Republik Indonesia Serikat, ministers will meet in the whole Cabinet, headed by the Premier or in case of his inability to be present, by one of the ministers of the special status. The Cabinet will always inform the President of all important matters.

The Senate will represent member states of the Republik Indonesia Serikat. Each member state will have two representatives in the Senate. Every member of the Senate will have one vote.

Members of the Senate will be appointed by member states, from a list submitted by their respective 'People' Assemblies which will consist of three candidates for each seat. Every member state will frame the necessary regulations to appoint the members of the Senate. Those who are to be members of the Senate must be citizens of the age of 30 years.

The House of Representatives will represent the whole of Indonesia and will have 150 members, one third of them will come from the Republic of Indonesia.

The Chinese, European and Arab minorities will have 9, 6, and 3 members respectively in the House of Representatives.

Members of the House of Representatives must be from citizens who are not below the age of 25 years. At the same time the member of the House of Representatives cannot be a member of the Senate. The membership of the House of Representatives can not be carried out along with the membership of the Senate and also along with federal posts of Presidentship, Ministership, Chief of Justice (*djaksa agung*), Chairman, Vice-Chairman or members of the Supreme Court, Chairman, Vice-Chairman or members of the Auditing Council and along with the post of *Wali Negara* (head of member states), Minister or Head of a department of member states.

There will be a Supreme Court of Justice and its powers will be regulated by federal law. For the first time and before it is decided by federal law, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and members of the Supreme Court of Justice will be appointed by the President after hearing the Senate. This appointment will be for life. Federal law can decide that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and members of the Supreme Court of Justice will be honourably relieved from their respective posts, when they reach a certain age. They can be discharged or honourably relinquished from their respective posts in accordance with the manner and conditions ascertained by the federal law. They can be relieved of their office by the President at their own request.



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The structure and power of the Auditing Council will be regulated by the federal law. For the first time and so long as the law has not decided to the contrary, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and members of the Financial Auditing Council will be appointed by the President after hearing the Senate. This appointment will be for life and this will not prejudice the right of the federal law to decide that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and members of the Council can be relieved of their respective offices, when they have reached a certain age; they can be discharged and relieved of their respective posts in accordance with manners and provisions prescribed in the federal law and they can be relieved from their respective posts by the President at their own requests.

The official flag of the Republik Indonesia Serikat will be the "Sang Merah Putih" (Red and White) and the "Indonesia Raya" will be its national anthem and the Government of the Republik Indonesia Serikat will decide its own official emblem. Jakarta (Batavia) will be the capital of the Republik Indonesia Serikat.

NETHERLANDS-INDONESIAN UNION

There will be a Union between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republik Indonesia Serikat. This Union will effectuate the organised co-operation between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Republik Indonesia Serikat on the basis of voluntariness and equal status with equal rights. The Union does not prejudice the status of each of the two partners as an independent and sovereign state.

The Union aims at co-operation of the partners for the promotion of their common interests. This co-operation shall take place with respect to matters lying primarily in the fields of foreign relations and defence and as far as necessary finance and also as regards matters of an economic and a cultural nature.

At the head of the Union, there, shall be Her Majesty Queen Juliana, Princess of Orange Nassau, and in case of succession Her lawful successors to the Crown of the Netherlands. This head of the Union embodies the concept of voluntary and lasting co-operation between the partners.—*Merdeka*, 25 November, 1949.

New Delhi Conference to Publish Data on Indo-U.S. Affairs

New York, December 13.—Economic, political and other material not now readily available to either Indian or American general readers is to be published during and after the New Delhi Conference on Indian-American Relations, according to the New York headquarters of the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

The institute and the Indian Council of World Affairs are co-sponsors of the ten-day conference, which opened yesterday.

The American participants, numbering almost 30, include leading educators, social and labor relations experts, students, newspaper men and industrial executives. They will meet a similar cross-section of influential Indian figures during the New Delhi Conference.—*USIS*.

U. N. Leaders Hail Human Rights Declaration

New York, December 13.—Although only a year has passed since the U.N. General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the declaration has already taken effect in the thinking of men and women throughout the world, according to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt, who, as Chairman of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, was instrumental in securing adoption of the declaration, expressed this belief in an address at Carnegie Hall on December 10, the anniversary of its adoption.

"Forty-eight nations voted to accept the universal declaration and to try to acquaint their people with its contents and to live up to the standards contained therein as nearly as possible," Mrs. Roosevelt said. "That means that all over the world people are now becoming acquainted with that document." Acceptance of the declaration, she said, is "one of the things most important to democracy everywhere."

"Democracy must prove," she continued, "that it has due consideration for the rights and freedoms of the individual. A charter of human rights can only be written in a land where democracy reigns, because government cannot impose such a charter. The people must accept and respect these rights and freedoms in their own communities and in their own lives and thereby create countries, and in time a world, where such freedoms are a reality."

ROMULO TERMS DECLARATION A "TREMENDOUS FORCE"

Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, President of the General Assembly, described the declaration as "a tremendous and active force" which had brought hope to people throughout the world. He said it represents two things—a common agreement as to "what rights everyone everywhere must have" and also "a standard by which we can judge ourselves as nations."

"Already this declaration is a tremendous and active force," Romulo said. "It has renewed and revitalized the hope of millions and assured them that the U.N. does mean something to them. It is now being quoted and will continue to be quoted by men and women who cry out against intolerance and injustice. In a short time, it will become part of the common heritage of all peoples."

Trygve Lie, U.N. Secretary-General, also hailed the declaration as bringing hope to a war-weary world, but warned that action to implement it was needed. "It remains for all nations to work towards the fulfilment of the hopes of the declaration," he asserted. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is as public and alive as the eternal desire of the people of the world for peace and freedom. May it also be as valid in the years to come."

The anniversary program, attended by over 3,000 people, included a concert in which internationally-known artists took part. Among these was Sir Laurence Olivier, the noted English actor, who served as narrator in the premiere of Aaron Copland's "Preamble," a musical work based on the opening words of the U.N. Charter.—*USIS*.

World's Highest Groundnut Production Predicted This Year

Washington, December 14.—World groundnut production this year will probably break all records, according to the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the U.S. Agriculture Department.

The department, releasing preliminary results of a worldwide survey, said the total world production is expected to be 11,460,000 short tons of unshelled nuts, an increase of four per cent over the 1948 production of 11,000,000 short tons, and 20 per cent over the prewar average of 9,550,000 short tons.

The principal cause of the 1949 increase is the sharply higher production in India, the world's leading producing country, the department said.—*USIS*.



Lord Krishna giving admonitions to Arjuna emphasising the importance of giving equal treatment to all living beings on earth

—India's contribution to UNESCO Exhibition held in Paris on September 19, 1949



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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 2

WHOLE No. 518

NOTES

India Becomes A Republic

The Union of India has become a Sovereign Republic. Republic Day has been celebrated all over the country by pomp and pageant and by speech and acclamation. Brave words have been uttered and noble resolves made and thus a new chapter in the history of India has been opened. The question now remains—before us and likewise before the world—as to how that chapter will read as the days pass in the nation's life.

The newly elected President, to whom we extend our felicitations exhorted the nation thus to rededicate itself to strive along the path traced by the Father of the Nation :

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President-elect, in a message to the nation said: "We must rededicate ourselves on this day to the peaceful but sure realization of the dream that had inspired the Father of our Nation and the other captains and soldiers of our freedom struggle, the dream of establishing a classless, co-operative, free and happy society in this country. *We must remember that this is more a day of dedication than of rejoicing, dedication to the glorious task of making the peasants and workers, the toilers and the thinkers fully free, happy and cultured.*

"We must not forget even for a moment, that ours is a tremendous responsibility, the responsibility of carrying into each cottage and home of this country, the message of cheer and culture, of freedom and prosperity, of life and light.

"We must remember that our ancestors are wishfully looking to us for the completion of the mission which history and Providence are placing on our shoulders on this historic day. With firm resolve, with clear vision, with steady steps, we must march forward to the fulfilment of this glorious mission.

"*We must remember that our future is in our hands and it shall be what we make of it.* We must all throw ourselves into unceasing and incessant creative activity on the farms and the factories, in

the school rooms and the laboratories, in the council chambers and the administrative offices. Let not a minute, nay, even a second, be wasted in idle patter or destructive action, and, God willing, ours shall be a country full of milk and honey in the near future."

The Prime Minister's message was characteristic :

"Undoubtedly, January 26, 1950, is a day of high significance for India and the Indian people," declared Pandit Nehru.

Calling upon them "to found our republican freedom on the basic factors on which Gandhiji laid stress throughout his career—high character, integrity of mind and purpose, a spirit of tolerance and co-operation and hard work"—Pandit Nehru asked them to "shed fear and hatred and think always of the betterment of the millions of our people."

Pandit Nehru said: "Events crowd in upon us and because of this quick succession we are apt to miss their significance. *Some of us give messages on each occasion exhorting people to great endeavour and even these messages become stale from repetition.*

"Yet, undoubtedly, January 26, 1950, is a day of high significance for India and the Indian people. It does mean the consummation of one important phase of our national struggle. That journey is over, to give place to another and perhaps more arduous journey. A pledge is fulfilled and every fulfilment of a pledge gives satisfaction and strength for future endeavour.

"There is a peculiar appropriateness about this January 26, for this day links up the past with the present, and this present is seen to grow out of that past. Twenty years ago we took the first pledge of independence. During these 20 years we have known struggle and conflict and failure and achievement. The man who led us through apparent failure to achievement is no more with us, but the fruit of his labours is ours. What we do with this fruit depends upon ourselves. The progress of a nation is dependent upon many factors, the basic factors are those

on which Gandhiji laid stress throughout his career—high character, integrity of mind and purpose, a spirit of tolerance and co-operation and hard work. I can only suggest to our people that we should found our republican freedom on these basic characteristics and shed fear and hatred from our minds and think always of the betterment of the millions of our people.

"We are fortunate to witness this emergence of the Republic of India and our successors may well envy us this day, but fortune is a hostage which has to be jealously guarded by our own good works and which has a tendency to slip away if we slacken in our efforts or if we look in wrong directions. Jai Hind."

Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a message to the nation said: "We worked hard to achieve our freedom. We shall have to strive harder to justify it. Let us resolve to play our true and active role of responsible citizens of a free country which has yet to stand on its feet and to attain its full stature."

"Exactly twenty years ago today, the people of India took a solemn pledge of complete independence. Behind that pledge was the determination of a whole people and the strength which comes of faith in one's destiny. Although we obtained independence on August 15, 1947, it was not complete in the sense of the pledge that we took. Today, by the grace of God, that pledge has been completely fulfilled."

"On this auspicious occasion, it is quite natural that our thoughts should turn to the Father of the Nation under whose inspiration and guidance we took that pledge and due to whose leadership we achieved success in our mission. Unhappily, he is not amongst us, but he is watching us from above, and I have no doubt his blessings and good wishes are with us on this supreme occasion in our national history."

"The day on which India attains republican status will be written in letters of gold in its history. With the disappearance of all traces of foreign rule, we become in law and in fact our own masters, and it will be now for us to make or mar our future. It will, however, take time for us to recover from centuries of exploitation and bondage; considerable sacrifices will yet be necessary before sufficient quantity of fresh blood can flow in India's veins."

"We worked hard to achieve our freedom. We shall have to strive harder to justify it. Let us not, therefore, celebrate this occasion with any light heart. On the other hand, let us resolve to play our true and active role of responsible citizens of a free country which has yet to stand on its feet and to attain its full stature. May Divine guidance and bounty be with us all."

But the question remains, "How stands the Union?" Does the State still remain firm and foursquare on the solid foundation of the sanction of its

nationals? We attained Freedom on August 15th, 1947, and today:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a *Sovereign Democratic Republic* and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;
Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

What of the Future?

The Day has passed and we have to ask, "What of the prospects of the morrow?"

The tasks ahead of the nation and its guides and leaders are more formidable than ever. In all truth there is no occasion for exuberance or lightheartedness. Let us adduce foreign opinion, from no less an authority than Walter Lippmann, who recently surveyed the position in India and Pakistan in person. We give extracts—not in chronological order—from his columns in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

If they can settle down together and can govern themselves, there is no evident reason for fearing that they will be invaded or infiltrated and overcome from within. Communism, as such, is not now an important positive force in India and Pakistan. The threat which must be feared and constructively forestalled is not a Communist dictatorship but disintegration descending into anarchy.

The task of the Pakistani and Indian leaders is to establish governments which are benevolent and democratic in purpose among the profoundly undemocratic masses. Were they to fail—and the margin of safety is thin—the immediate outcome is not likely to be a powerful totalitarian Communist state but the break-up of both India and Pakistan into provincial and tribal principalities. Some perhaps may be animated by a primitive Communism. Many more would probably be animated by various kinds of bossism, warlordism, and by weird brews of superstitious and depraved and fanatical native Fascism.

It would be folly to underestimate the difficulty of establishing strong and effective governments over such masses of people in so vast a region, and to do it on the basis of the adult suffrages of over 100,000,000 illiterates, who have no common language in which any of their leaders can address them all.

The overriding question is whether the unifying and centralizing forces can overcome the disruptive and the separatist. On that the future depends. Whether India can conquer anarchy will determine whether India can exercise influence in Asia, whether India can begin to solve for herself,

and to use successfully foreign capital and aid, the monstrous condition of poverty, ignorance, superstition and human injustice which comes down from time immemorial.

No words can put adequately the immensity of the task or the grandeur of the goal which the India leaders have set themselves. If they are to succeed, they must be able to count upon the patient and persistent will of their distant friends to learn to understand them candidly and then to help them wisely.

With regard to India's foreign policy and the conditions precedent for its success he says:

For despite all the obvious and enormous differences in position, history and outlook between the Americans then and the Indians today the fundamental pattern of Indian foreign policy is extraordinarily like the original American foreign policy. There are no end of things in the Indian way of life which may be, perhaps always, mysterious to all but a few Western minds. But the present foreign policy of the Indian Government is not one of the mysteries. Like our own during the epoch of the founding fathers it is in all its essentials—in its aspirations, limitations, and reserves—the natural expression of the vital interests of a new state.

India must struggle to survive before it can take the risks of wider and more adventurous commitments.

Before we ask ourselves whether we wish this policy to succeed, we might ask ourselves what are the conditions under which it could succeed. In summary form I think they are these:

One, that India is able to establish with the consent of a population that is nine-tenths illiterate a sufficiently strong central government over her vast territory—despite the separatist tendencies of her religious communities, her dozen principal languages, her ancient castes, and her provincial ambitions and vested interests.

This but one side of the picture. It is time that we all realized the grimness of the future, taken all-over. Truly the Republic day should have been a day of meditation, in silence and in prayer.

The Festive Wine has been poured and drunk, but to-day, in the uneasy aftermath, there is a lurking suspicion as to whether the Day did mean the dawn of a new era. The speeches ring hollow and the resolutions sound weak because in the light of the day—after, they all seem to be mere echoes from the past, lacking in substance and wanting in strength. As if, to put it in the words of the Immortal Poet,

"Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air;
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on—"

Congress Divided

The most ominous portent of the future lies in the schisms within the Congress. After the passing

of the Father of the Nation, to whom all our leaders to-day are paying lip-homage, there seem to be no power that can control the forces that are splitting its ranks. It is useless to deny that the "Haves" and "Have-nots"—and mock "Haves" as well—between them are out to destroy each other in their tussle for power and control over the State.

One such incident, in which the main actors were Shri J. C. Kumarappa and Dr. Prafulla Ghosh, was commented upon by Shri K. G. Mashruwala, in the *Harijan* of 1st January in an article titled "Unfortunate". We would state here that we fully endorse what Shri Mashruwala wrote on that occasion. The rejoinder from Shri Kumarappa and Shri Mashruwala's dignified comments are reproduced hereunder from the *Harijan* of January 22. It appears under the caption "A Brother's Indictment":

"Shri J. C. Kumarappa indicts me as follows:

"I have seen your article *Unfortunate* in *Harijan* of the 1st instant. It was good of you to have 'accepted' my version of the story! For a reader who has not the background of what had happened, it will not be so easy to understand. I am sorry, therefore, that some of the crucial facts did not find expression in the article. Neither Dr. Ghosh nor I had any cause for anger whatsoever; if there was any feeling at all, it must have been a reflection of the exasperation prevalent throughout the country; nor was there any idea of *Satyagraha* involved, hence your surmises are wrong as I pointed out when I saw you.

"What happened had been stated by Dr. Ghosh to you in his letter of the 11th December, 1949. The West Bengal Government procures rice at Rs. 12/12/- per maund and sells at Rs. 17/8/- per maund. I added that the right of the Government can arise only if it had already done its duty in the production of grain by help tendered in various ways. If not the Government has no right to claim any part of the production. If under such circumstances, Government with its backing of the police, comes to take away part of the production, the Government would play the role of a robber. When a robber comes to take away the valuables there is no duty laid on us to disclose where the jewellery has been kept. Hence, I said, 'I can well understand the people doing away with their grain.' When a highwayman appears is it wrong to throw away one's gold watch in a bush by the side? The Government does not appear as a 'hungry enemy' to be fed. We should never object to such a course. But the Government appears, under the present circumstances, as a profiteer and a looter who is well fattened already. If you had half the concern you had shown towards the Government for the sufferings of the peasants you would have fully endorsed my statement. People do not work so that the Government should make money out of them. On the other hand Government exists so that the people may prosper."

"I hold no brief for Government. I do not mind severest criticism of Government policy and administration, specially where it is against the interest of the poor. I do not see eye to eye with so many things which the Government has been doing, and in my own way protest against them. I could not refer

to the criticism against procurement rates and Government help to cultivators for I had in my hand at the time the correspondence between the West Bengal Government and Shri J. C. Kumarappa, and a press statement of that Government, which showed different approaches to the question. It required a more careful study of the whole problem and I had no means of doing so. Shri J. C. Kumarappa and Dr. Ghosh, who had evoked the Government statement, could have met the Government defence of their policy by a studied reply; but Shri Kumarappa simply replied that his criticism did not refer to West Bengal, but the All-India Procurement Plan, as he had no detailed information regarding West Bengal; and Dr. Ghosh, I understand, made no reply at all. Under the circumstances, I had to keep clear of that subject altogether, and examine only the remarks pertaining to sabotage. And, on that point, the above letter does not seem to call for any modification of any remarks."

We have perused with great care both the articles, and we are fully cognisant of the repercussions of the incident, living as we do in Calcutta in these troublous times. We would content ourselves by saying that the least that we can say about Shri J. C. Kumarappa, is that he has been "played for a fool"—as the Americans say—by Dr. Ghosh and his party.

Sardar Patel in Calcutta

Speaking of Calcutta and Bengal, we have to comment on Sardar Patel's visit to Calcutta and his speech on the Maidan on the 15th of January. We reproduce the speech in full at the end of the editorials in this issue, because it will put on record that even by a personal visit Sardar Patel was unable to obtain a correct or comprehensive picture of the situation. The fault lies with those who were asked to supply him with the requisite information. We mean that the information given was inadequate and grossly incorrect in many particulars. But then this is the result of the "Ivory Tower" seclusion into which our leaders have gone.

Within ten days of the speech, lawlessness started again all over the area. South Calcutta, which has been virtually a territory ceded to the lawless elements since over a year, led in the disturbances that totally marred the Republic Day celebrations. We have to consider the reasons therefor soon. It is not possible, within the limits of these notes, to treat with the matter in detail, so we would just indicate a few salient factors.

Sardar Patel paid eloquent tribute to Bengal when he said that if Calcutta or Bengal dies, none in India can live. But in practice a studied neglect of the vital problems of Bengal has continued to make matters worse. Behind a cry of "problem province," problems, not totally impossible of solution, are left unsolved. Bengal's primary problems are want of

living space, *refugee rehabilitation and regulation* as also unemployment. None of these can be solved without active co-operation of the Central Government. Cooch Behar has come to Bengal but Manbhum, Dhalbhum and the Bengali-speaking areas of Santal Parganas and Purnea still remain outside. In the matter of refugee rehabilitation, Bengal has received, compared to the Punjab, a step-motherly treatment from the Centre. An aimless and aggrieved floating population is bound to create mischief. *To-day this capacity for mischief is being regimented by a whole host of utterly unscrupulous scoundrels, who are out for illicit gain. And the West Bengal Government's knock-kneed policy with regard to mock-refugees has thrown the Government into disrepute.* The third factor, of frustration, arises mainly out of food shortage, unemployment and lack of proper shelter. A planned dispersal of industries in rural areas can provide more employment but that can be done only with the assistance of the Centre. As things stand today, there is a marked tendency to reduce employment of Bengali people in Bengal. A glance at the service lists for Income-tax, Railway, Customs and such other departments of the Central Government that function in Bengal will show that the wholesome convention of employing more people of the province in which these departments are situated is not being followed here.

Sardarji has dwelt on the immediate problems of this province, but there as well he has approached them from an oblique angle. Persons running the present Government had been sent to the Bengal Legislature not with a view to take up the administration but only to function as a party-controlled opposition to the Muslim League. When entrusted with the administration they have miserably failed as they were bound to do. At the first opportunity, in the South Calcutta election, the people expressed their desire in unmistakable terms. As regards the police, the less said the better. It suffices to mention that even on the historic day of January 26, no Government existed in a large portion of Calcutta for several hours. The Calcutta Police Chiefs have failed in all three essential functions of police—namely, detection, prevention and investigation of crimes both ordinary and political. The London Metropolitan Police has attained its present efficiency through reorganisations involving dismissal of thousands of officers and laying the greatest emphasis on the character and quality of personnel. Here in Calcutta our Administrators seem to believe that efficiency has nothing to do with the character and integrity of personnel, it lies solely in increasing expenditure on guns, tear-gas shells and radio-fitted vans. And finally we are constrained to say that West Bengal's problems would never be solved, if it has to depend either on King Log or on King Stork for administration. A Government has to command the respect of the people if it wants co-operation.

Nehru's Non-Aggression Pact Offer

The Government of India has received Pakistan's reply to their formal proposal for joint declaration to be made by the two countries ruling out war as a means of settling any of their inter-State disputes. The offer was publicly announced by Pandit Nehru and was followed by a formal note to Pakistan. The reply of Pakistan is understood to have been receiving urgent consideration of the Government of India but the result of this consideration is not yet known.

On January 17, at Karachi, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, replying to a short notice question in the Pakistan Parliament said that Indo-Pak joint declaration that "two governments will not go to war" as suggested by the India Government will carry conviction to no one unless it is supported by some concrete action. The Prime Minister was replying to a question whether in view of the present tension in India and Pakistan the Government proposed to refer all disputes such as canal water supply, evacuee property, trade agreement, etc., to the United Nations or International Arbitration Court.

The Pak Prime Minister said that he made it clear in his public utterances that "conflict between India and Pakistan will be ruinous for both." Pakistan, therefore, had always worked for peaceful settlement. Towards the end of November last the India Government made proposal to Pakistan that a joint declaration be made by India and Pakistan that they will not go to war and suggested that all disputes be settled by private negotiations and in case of failure the disputes be referred to a third party. It had always been the stand of Pakistan that the peaceful settlement of outstanding questions will remove the cause and fear of war. Main disputes were Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh, canal waters, evacuee property, assets of Pakistan held by India.

It was suggested as regards Kashmir both Governments should reaffirm the desire to implement U.N.C.I.P.'s resolution by having a free plebiscite, Government should abide by arbitration for Junagadh, canal waters be referred to International Court of Justice, assets, State Bank and sterling due to Pakistan under payments agreements be referred to arbitration. As regards the evacuee property it was suggested that as canal waters had great bearing on the question it should be decided first. The evacuee property dispute then could be referred to mediation and if that failed the dispute could be settled by arbitration.

The Pak Government further suggested that arbitration in each case should cover the difference over procedure and provision that both Governments should abide by arbitration. Subject to acceptances of these suggestions the Pak Government agreed to negotiate details and on reaching an agreement make joint declaration of "no war."

The Pak Prime Minister further disclosed that

India Government made a counter proposal that both the Governments should first 'condemn resort to war' and 'set up agency by mutual agreement for the purpose or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both for the settlement of disputes.'

The Pak Government's reply stated that the "only way to promote peace" is to resolve major disputes and mere declaration will not carry conviction to any one for which the Government had put up precise suggestions. Liaquat Ali Khan regretted that India Government had not accepted these suggestions and reconsidered agreeing to a binding formula instead of any declaration on general terms which was of doubtful value. He said Pak Government was awaiting India's reply and Pakistan was ready to examine any precise methods for settling the disputes. Pakistan felt, though disputes could not be settled the procedure could be laid down for both parties entering into firm commitments which would in course of time lead to solution.

Pakistan Prime Minister reiterated that his Government was not only willing but anxious to have just and speedy solution for they believe that it is the only way to lasting peace.

Meanwhile, India continues to follow her soft-heart policy to the sister Dominion and the sister on the other side of the frontier is busy in making war-like preparations. Almost simultaneously with the publication of India's offer and closely following it, the undermentioned incidents of significance have taken place :

(1) *Massing of troops on Assam Frontier.*—January 17.—Considerable surprise is expressed by observers here at the reported concentration of Pakistani troops along the entire border opposite to Assam. Heavy movement of troops, which was noticed throughout the last fortnight, has now assumed an unusual proportion. Many villages in the border areas of Sylhet District, mainly inhabited by Hindus, have been requisitioned on a mass scale by the Pakistan Government for what is described as emergency purposes and are declared to be prohibited areas.

Pakistani convoys, which is generally mobile, moves to border areas during night.

In many villages inside Pakistan opposite to Assam, villagers are being given military training and have been armed. Regular members of the Pakistani armed forces including border militia and Ansars, while moving in formation on their route march, usually raise slogans, viz., "Chalo Chalo Shilling Chalo."

It is reported that when responsible Pakistani officers both civil and military, visit border areas, they are generally greeted by their men with anti-Indian slogans which are responded to by their superiors.

Recently a few Pakistani officers in uniform entered the Indian Union territory near Dawki in disguise but as soon as they were challenged by the Assam Home Guards they fled towards Pakistan.

Another Pakistani army officer, holding a high rank, was arrested and kept under custody pending further investigation. He came to Shillong and was found engaged in prejudicial activities.—(*Hindusthan Standard*).

(2) *Stoppage of Goods and Passenger traffic to and through Pakistan*.—January 18.—The Government of Pakistan have asked the Government of India that no passengers or their luggage should be booked to any station in East Pakistan or across East Pakistan. The East Pakistan authorities have also banned the transit of goods from India via East Bengal Railway. This will be effective from the night of January 19-20, 1950.

It is also learnt that a very large number of wagons, more than a thousand, destined for stations in India are now held up in East Pakistan. The Government of India have taken up the matter with the Pakistan authorities for the release of these wagons.

The Government of India have sent a note to the Pakistan authorities for the early release of these wagons carrying valuable goods to India. No information is yet available here as to the actual contents of these wagons.

The Pakistan Government's decision not to issue through tickets to railway passengers from their Dominion to stations in India and not to honour tickets issued by the Indian railways to Pakistan is in contravention of the Inter-Dominion agreement on the subject reached in May last and amounts to a virtual embargo on passenger and goods traffic, it is stated.

On an average, eight passenger trains run each way from Calcutta to Pakistan daily and approximately a total of some 80,000 passengers travel between the two Dominions. There is a large population of Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta whose homes are in Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government's action which is said to be unilateral will cause considerable hardships to the Pakistani working population in Calcutta and elsewhere. It means that those wanting to go from Calcutta to stations in East Pakistan must buy fresh tickets at the Pakistan border to resume their travel by Pakistan railways.

The Pakistan Government have also informed the Government of India that no goods traffic will be accepted from Assam to Calcutta unless the Government of India are prepared to deposit rupees ten lakhs with the State Bank of Pakistan. They made a similar demand some months ago, but India contended that these accounts could be settled in the ordinary course.

The Pakistan Government's latest order, it is stated, is designed to "blockade" Assam and indirectly force the Government of India to recognise the superficial value of the Pakistan currency. The early completion of the Assam-Calcutta rail link by India, however, in record time has saved what might otherwise have been a serious problem.

(3) *Ban on Afghan Goods Traffic to India*. Amritsar, January 19.—The Pakistan Government has banned the booking of Afghan goods from all stations of North-Western Railway. Pakistan papers arriving here are conspicuous with extensive propaganda against Afghanistan and West Bengal. The *Pakistan Times* alleges that India is carrying undeclared war against Pakistan.

(4) *Armed Raid on Kashmir*.—Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, acting Prime Minister of Kashmir, told a Press Conference at Srinagar on January 23 that on the night of January 17 last, 30 to 40 Pakistanis armed with sten guns made a 17-mile incursion into Kashmir territory and ransacked the village of Kazinizam, 16 miles from Jammu. Four persons were killed, one seriously wounded, one kidnapped and some property looted.

Synchronised with these incidents, well-planned pressure tactics on East Bengal Hindus also continues with the same vigour and deep-laid plan. Only two of the typical processes of terrorisation are given below (both reported by the *Hindusthan Standard*, dated January 10):

[1. *Attack on Women in Barisal Village*.—It is reported from Bhandaria in Barisal (East Bengal) that the villagers, both Hindus and Muslims, in a joint memorandum to Mr. Nurul Amin, Premier, East Pakistan, urged his Government to remove the present District Magistrate of Barisal immediately. They held him (D.M.) responsible for the police excesses upon the women-folk in connection with the dacoity in a Hindu house at Bhandaria on November 25 last.

It is also learnt that a deputation on behalf of the villagers will proceed to Dacca shortly and wait upon His Excellency, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General of Pakistan, and apprise him of the situation arising out of the police excesses. The deputationists, it is understood, will request the Governor-General to pay a visit to Bhandaria to have a true picture of the police excesses there.

It may be mentioned here that some top-ranking police officials went to Bhandaria recently and investigated the reported incident. The Officers-in-Charge of Bhandaria P.S. and Katalia P.S. have already been suspended from service. The leading Hindus and Muslims of that locality made similar statements before the investigating officers who came from Dacca.

Sj. Satin Sen, M.L.A., Congress leader, also visited the place on December 23 last. The alleged communal policy of the present D.M. has created discontent amongst the Hindus.

(2) *Mass Arrest of Hindus*.—It is reported from Barisal that the Superintendent of Police with about 100 armed constables raided Kalaskati, a well-known village of Barisal District, on January 4, on receipt of a mischievous telegram from the Muslim Leaguers of that locality against the Hindus over the beef-cooking ceremony. The S. P. arrested Sj. Binode Lal Kanjilal and Sj. Narendra Nath Chatterjee, Headmaster, Kalaskati H. E. School under Section 7(3) of Ordinance VI of 1946. They were brought to Barisal at night and produced before the Court of S.D.O. (S) next day. Petitions for bail and classification were moved by

Mr. Abani Ghosh, Advocate. But the S.D.O. (S) refused their bail and remanded them to jail hazat till January 19, as Division III prisoners.

The news of the arrest was received by the Hindus in general with dismay and it has created discontent among Congress workers. Binode Babu is a veteran Congressman and a close associate of S. J. Satin Sen. S. J. Sen is not at Barisal now.

According to the latest information received from Kalaskati, it is learnt that two more batches of armed police consisting of about 200 constables with some officers of Barisal headquarters reached Kalaskati on January 7 and joined the waiting force there.

Searches and arrests of Hindu villagers are being made indiscriminately. More than 200 Hindus between 15 and 60 years of age have already been arrested. Earlier, S. J. Rajeswar Roy Chowdhury, premier Zamindar of Barisal and others were arrested.

As a result the Hindus of Kalaskati and its neighbouring villages are leaving their hearths and homes. Due to the communal policy of the district authorities great panic is prevailing in all parts of the district and large-scale exodus, it is feared, is to follow soon if all such police excesses upon the villagers are not stopped immediately.

The same method is followed in other districts as well. Incidents in East Bengal districts have perturbed the West Bengal Governments, because if they are allowed to continue, large-scale exodus from East Pakistan may not be impossible. West Bengal Government in a communication to East Bengal Government, have drawn their attention to the recent incidents reported to have taken place in Khulna and Barisal districts, a spokesman of West Bengal Government told pressmen at the Secretariat on January 21.

The spokesman added that West Bengal Government have in the communication requested East Bengal Government to take necessary steps so that there may not be any renewed influx of refugees into West Bengal from the affected areas. West Bengal Government have also requested East Bengal Government to inform them about the present situation in those places.

The spokesman said that no reply had yet been received from East Bengal Government to the suggestion made by West Bengal Government that the monthly conference of Chief Secretaries of the two provinces which was not held for the last two months, should be held in February next.

The Conference was not held in December, the spokesman added, on account of the sittings of Bagge Tribunal and the conference had also not been held in January.

The Pakistan Government seems to be much more alert about publicity in both the Dominions. It permits circulation of utterly fantastic stories of oppression on Muslims in Indian Union including hopping off the noses and ears and burning of the hair and beards of Muslim Railway passengers in India (published in *Azad*, January 9), and burning

of mosques under orders of and in the presence of government officials in Indian Union (*Azad*, Jan. 9). At the same time it has started protesting against editorial articles written with utmost restraint in Indian Union newspapers, notably the *Jugantar* (Bengali daily) and the *Hindusthan Standard* in Calcutta. We do not yet know whether the Government of India or the Government of West Bengal have set up any machinery to scan Pakistan papers and keep a record of false propaganda in that Dominion.

Time has now come for the Government of India to put an end to the present soft-hearted policy towards Pakistan and start speaking and acting in the way that Pakistan understands.

Asia's Bastion against Communism

We have reasons to believe that the policy-makers of the West have started to develop "second thoughts" on the wisdom of the partition of India forced by Britain and approved of by the United States. For, it is hard to believe that the former could contemplate the ending of her authority over India without the consent of the latter. Britain had been maintaining a balance of power in Asia for about a century and a half. This has been disturbed now creating some sort of a vacuum.

Even the new policy-makers of Britain, the leaders of the Labour Government, understood the significance of the change forced on them by losses incurred during two World Wars. We find Mr. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary, giving expression to his anxieties on February 15, 1947 when he and his Government had almost decided to draw out of India. The years since then have not minimized those anxieties. Therefore, the words in which these were framed are worth recalling, as these would help us to understand the growing complexities of the present tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"Often in the Foreign Office, I stand and look at the map of the world. I see the *Indian Ocean and the great contour of the sub-continent of India* and ask myself: Will India be a stabilising place for peace in the world?....I see the threat of Russian imperialism and the financial imperialism of the United States and see ourselves in the middle, establishing liberty wherever we can. I say to myself: Will there be conflict? Will there be war? Will those great countries clash and bring us into a war more terrible than anything we have ever known?"

"And then I say: 'India is the key to the situation.' If that key can be held in security and peace, then the peace of the world can be held for hundreds of years"

Evacuee Property Problem

The Government of India has recently had published a brochure on this problem the solution of which appears to defy the collective skill of representatives of the two Governments—Indian and Pakistani. Even a cursory glance at it will force the conclusion on the mind that the latter has no wish to solve it. And with a cleverness that deserved a better cause to be served, they have been

practising deceptions that can be prolonged at peril to their own interests.

We are given in this brochure the many instances of deception in the practical execution of solutions solemnly agreed to. It appears that there had been a Ministerial Conference held at Lahore on July 22, 1948 to consider a scheme submitted by a Joint Official Committee in March previous. Shree Gopalaswamy Ayyanger, Minister without portfolio, represented India; Janab Ghaznafar Ali, Minister for Refugees, Pakistan. This particular committee had recommended "a Government-to-Government" exchange of agricultural property, the debtor Government paying to creditor Government the difference in value in the shape of Bearer Bonds of "a general issue current at the time."

Pakistani representatives pressed a contention that in the absence of more and complete data on the subject, they could not come to any definite conclusion. So, it was unanimously resolved that "special Revenue Officers" be appointed in this behalf; copying of revenue records be started forthwith "and a special Judicial Committee" be set up to "supervise and expedite the whole work." When it came to giving shape to this recommendation, to complete the exchange of agricultural records, delaying tactics started. While the Indian Government supplied the records of East Punjab, of Delhi, of the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jhinda, Kapurtola and Faridkot, the Pakistan Government contented themselves with supplying the records of West Punjab only; those of Sind, N.W.F. Province, Baluchistan, and of the States of Bhawalpur, Khairpur and other States have not been received yet.

No agreement could be reached with regard to urban immovable property, and finally it was decided that "the Joint Urban Assessment Board recommended by the Joint Official Committee for preparing a list of all urban estate immovable, locality-wise" in both the States be set up, and "its function enlarged to include assessment of the value of the property." The scheme suggested by the Joint Official Committee in regard to movable property was accepted. And how were these recommendations implemented? The Joint Urban Assessment Board which was to have prepared lists of urban property-owners, the rents due for their property, and the assessed value thereof, was never allowed to be set up. The agreement on "movable property" was broken from the start; the Pakistani Government started "taking over" the properties, no compensation was paid; a hunt after these was undertaken, and these were seized on one excuse or other. To take one of the many instances, recorded in the brochure; the Kashmir Express Company's Godowns at Rawalpindi where many other than Muslims had stocked their belongings were seized in spite of the protest of the European Manager; when the Government of India lodged a protest they got the reply that goods had got mixed up with others in the common dump and could not be identified.

The last plea urged on behalf of this Government was that as the Pakistan Cabinet had not ratified the agreement of July 22, 1948, there could be no going forward.

But this did not stand in the way of their using evacuee property for the benefit of Muslim refugees or otherwise allowing their proteges to profit. The West Punjab Evacuee Property Ordinance, the West Punjab Ordinance (extended to the whole of West Pakistan), Ordinance No. XVIII of October 18, 1948 and Ordinance XIX of the same date dealing with "restoration of the economic life of Pakistan" came in handy to deprive Indian evacuees of the value of their properties, of rents and income derived therefrom.

The Government of India could only lodge protests when they came to realise the full import of these confiscatory measures. They kept their own people in the dark about these, evidently with the doubtful object of keeping their minds unruffled by resentment against Pakistan. Even their patience appears to be exhausted. Hence this brochure which is not generally available. We have a certain feeling that this secrecy is part of the policy of appeasement to which the Nehru Government appear to have surrendered themselves.

Jute and its Problems

The trickeries of the East Bengal Government with what they fondly hope to be a monopoly product of theirs cannot be ultimately successful. For, if these continue longer, other countries will strive to break this monopoly. Meanwhile, Pakistan's Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture announced sometime back that the area under their jute crop for 1949-50 was 15,59,000 acres as against the 18,77,000 acres as announced in the final report of the previous year, a drop of 17 per cent; the crop also had a drop of 32.9 per cent. Heavy rains are said to be responsible for it.

Since then, there has started an "undeclared war" between Bharat and Pakistan over this "golden fibre," and the former has decided to go in for more acreage under it. And every country appears to be busy finding substitutes for it. A News Agency wired from Havana in Cuba such a find. The writer has attempted to dramatize the advent of this new fibre. And we share it with our readers.

"I may be changing history," exclaimed a Cuban workman with a grin as, having seen a 325-lb. sack of sugar fall 12 feet to the floor, he found it unbroken. The sack was made of a fibre called kenaf, which Cubans hope will be a competitor to jute.

India and Pakistan produce about 98 per cent of the world's jute—a product used in tremendous quantities, particularly in the U.S.A., the U.K. and Latin America.

The U.S.A. alone buys some 2,50,000 maunds of jute fibre a year as the basic material for rugs, matting, sacks and many other products. Latin America uses 30,00,00,000 jute sacks a year. Cuba required almost 4,00,00,000 sacks each year for its sugar industry. Britain also is a heavy consumer.

Cuba sees the growth and manufacture of kenaf products as a new crop, a new industry and a source of money in world markets. Brazil, Peru, El Salvador, the Dominion Republic and Haiti are among other countries with an eye on developments.

A distant cousin of the cotton plant, kenaf, technically known as *hibiscus cannabinus*, grows in many parts of the world. It is related also to jute and another fibre called roselle. Shortly after World War II American plant specialists began a frantic search for a fibre and El Salvador was busy even earlier.

The Cuban Government, which started its experiments in 1942, has just renewed an annual appropriation of Rs. 2,28,000 to carry on the work, in which experts of the U.S. Department of Agriculture are co-operating as part of President Truman's "Point Four Programme" of aiding under-developed countries.

Production of kenaf is high, some experimental tracts having brought a yield of 3,500 lbs. of fibre on one acre.

Colombo Conference

This Conference of the "British" Commonwealth's Foreign Ministers, held on January 9 last and the six days succeeding, has re-emphasized again the dependence of this group of States on the help of the United States of America, the holder of the purse-strings of world-wealth in the midst of universal poverty. The Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. Spender, confessed as much when he said that "no aid programme (aid to under-developed countries in Asia and Africa) could be successful or effective without American assistance." We have had an experience of the availability of this assistance by the haggling over a loan of a million tons of wheat begged by the Prime Minister of India when he toured the States and was being lionized there. And we have often wondered how the aims of the Commonwealth Plan and President Truman's "Four Point" Plan could be reconciled when the great Republic could do it alone and win credit and prestige thereby. This dilemma is reflected in the comments of the London *Times* on its appraisal of the results of the Colombo Conference.

"It may be found that it is only possible to stop Communism in Asia by encouraging political and technical revolutions hardly less thorough in character. Before the full value of the work can be gained two things must be done: the wasteful and dangerous quarrel between India and Pakistan must be ended and the British Government must find a way to work as closely with the U.S.A. in Asia and the Pacific as it does in Europe and the Atlantic."

The London paper has for a century and half been known as the voice of the ruling classes of Britain. The coming into power of the Labour Party has not made any change in its status.

Colombo Conference

"Few meetings in Commonwealth history have been more important than the Colombo Conference," declared Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, just before his departure from London.

"Not the least important thing about it," he added, "is that it will be held in Ceylon. In going there the Ministers from the other Commonwealth countries want to do honour to Ceylon for whose Government and people they have high regard.

"But that is not their only reason for meeting there. They want to get nearer to some of the problems which they must discuss; to talk about them in the atmosphere of Asia; to look at them through the eyes of Asia. And they want to show the world how the Commonwealth binds East and West together, how its partnership links free nations in all the continents in perfect equality and friendship for their common good.

"We shall talk, of course, about many different subjects. But all the time, whatever the item on the agenda, we shall really be dealing with the fundamental questions of peace and human welfare; how to prevent a third World War, how to strengthen Democracy, how to secure co-operation between Asia and the West by which a new hope can be brought to the toiling masses of the East.

"Mr. Spender said, on January 5, that the destiny of Australia is irrevocably conditioned by what takes place in Asia, and Mr. Menzies said the day before *that the happiness of Australia will, in the long run, depend upon the well-being of the simplest citizen of India or China. That is true not only of Australia, it is true of us all.* Only if we believe it, only if we are resolved to end the hunger and grinding poverty of a thousand million people in the East have we the moral right to resist the spread of authoritarian rule.

"We do believe it; we are resolved to end poverty in all the continents; we believe it can and should be done by the generation now alive. The nations of the Commonwealth have struggled for centuries for personal freedom, democratic institutions, and the rule of law in national and international affairs. Without these things there can be no true progress, material or moral. The meeting in Colombo is a symbol of our conviction that these things are as vital to Asia as to us. In all our work there we shall never forget the immense difficulties which the World War has left behind; but we shall have also a constructive faith in the dynamic forces which it has released.

"The High Commissioner for Ceylon said at his farewell party to the British delegation the other day that the Commonwealth today is greater than it ever was in its history. I believe it will be still further strengthened by meetings of which, I hope, Colombo will only be the first."

Observing that the Colombo Commonwealth Conference has been initiated by the Asian members of this "family of nations," the London *Star* writes:

"New stars—not all of them red—have risen in the East. The sweep of Communism through China and into the lands lying between China and India is perhaps the biggest change in world political affairs since the Russian Revolution.

"But it is not the whole story. The Eastern peoples would have become nations with a new part to play in world affairs whether Communism came

along or not. There will be no Communism at Colombo. Rather, the statesmen gathered there—especially from India and Pakistan—will be concerned with measures to show the hundreds of millions of Oriental people that the democratic way to the new world is the best.

"A host of complex problems are involved. While the Colombo gathering must be limited in its scope and powers—it cannot, for example, settle the overdue matter of a peace treaty with Japan—it can go a long way towards closing the old breaches between East and West.

"No more striking evidence could be found of a new spirit and a wider horizon among peoples long distrustful of the West than the decision of Tibet to send Ministers to represent her in India, China, Britain and the United States.

"Hitherto Tibet has been a land cut off altogether from contact with the modern world. This lowering of ancient barriers is remarkable evidence of a new outlook.

"The achievement of independence by Burma, Indonesia and Viet-Nam after India and Pakistan, has come just in time if Democracy is to hold off Communism in South-East Asia."

The Conference of Foreign Ministers at Colombo considered two subjects of major international importance—a peace treaty for Japan and the political and economic conditions prevailing in the countries of South-East Asia.

The full text of the communique issued at the end of the two sessions reads: "In the morning the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers discussed the subject of a Japanese peace treaty and there was a free exchange of views of their respective governments.

"There was general agreement that a peace treaty should be concluded at an early date.

"In the afternoon meeting, the Ministers took up the study of political and economic conditions prevailing in the countries of South-East Asia.

"The official economic meeting continued its examination of developments arising out of the Washington discussions of September, 1949, and of the short-term dollar position of the sterling area."

No decisions were taken on the matter of a Japanese peace treaty—nor was it expected that they would be. The vital interests of other nations—especially the U.S.A.—would preclude such action. The basis for the discussion was a memorandum prepared by the British delegation and circulated on January 10. It is possible that a working party will be set up to continue the consideration of this problem. All delegation leaders took part in this round-table discussion which is, of course, of special interest to Australia and New Zealand in view of their geographical proximity.

The very far-reaching decision as to whether democratic nations should attempt to make a peace settlement with Japan without the co-operation of

Russia and China—if that is still not forthcoming—is obviously a matter which will require further consideration.

Interest centred mainly on the report of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner General for South-East Asia, when the delegates turned to the subject of political and economic conditions in that part of the world. Mr. MacDonald gave a first hand account of conditions in those countries, having recently visited Siam and Indo-China, in addition, of course, having unrivalled knowledge of Malaya and Singapore.

The Conference benefited, too, by personal accounts given by two other Ministers—Pandit Nehru, who last November received the then Foreign Minister of Burma, U. E. Maung, in New Delhi, and Mr. P. C. Spender, Australian Minister for External Affairs, who had talks with President Achmed Soekarno in Indonesia on his way to Ceylon.

Of Emperor Bao Dai's regime in Indo-China, reliable sources report, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald said that although the Government had started with many handicaps, it had made much firm and commendable progress. The French had made substantial concessions to the Emperor and might make more when the regime had proved itself further as a responsible Government.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, it is reported, did not express any definite view on whether the regime should be granted recognition, although he did point out that it would be wrong to regard the Government as a mere puppet of the French. It was, in fact, strongly nationalistic.

The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru added his contribution to the subject of Indo-China and he stressed that no barrier against Soviet imperialism could be regarded as strong unless the states forming that barrier were politically content. Pandit Nehru declined to recognise the Bao Dai Government.

One of the outstanding achievements of the Colombo Conference is the recognition of Asia as an area of special urgency. The conference has endorsed Britain's new foreign policy of extending links with western Europe. The need for aiding the economic development in the backward countries of South East Asia as a concrete measure for stemming the surging tide of communism in this part of the world has been fully understood. The intention to set up a consultative committee representing the Commonwealth Governments is a part of the series of recommendations for furthering economic developments in South East Asia. The proposal to set up such a permanent committee in Australia—provided the Governments agree—was made by the Australian Minister of External Affairs. Under the proposed scheme it is intended to provide the backward countries of South East Asia, firstly, with food and consumer goods; secondly, with technical advice and assistance; and finally, with capital equipment. It is not assumed that this plan

envisages the inclusion of commonwealth countries only. Burma and Siam, for example, may also be included. The greatest importance of this conference seems to be that it marks a step forward towards a shifting of the emphasis in foreign politics from Europe to Asia.

"Constructive Criticisms"

Rulers of States develop a habit of resenting criticism, however valid, and call for "constructive criticism." The new rulers in India are not free from both these traits. They appear particularly resentful of criticism of the deterioration in the economic life of their people which they have not been able even to halt. Taking notice of this foible of theirs, the savant of Banaras, Babu Bhagawandas, put forward certain "constructive criticisms" which should be widely known. We reproduce some of these below :

"Please follow Mahatma Gandhi's advice in respect of rationing. Abolish it. But, I add, not wholly. . . Permit free sale, but also have ration-shops. Give purchasers option. This will prevent disappearance of goods on one hand and excessive charges on another.

Bear in mind always that human beings (as well as animals) commit all sorts of crimes for (a) food primarily, (b) property next—infants quarrel for toys—(c) spouse and children. In the old words, (a) *loka-eshana*, (b) *vitta-cshana*, (c) *dara-suta-eshana*....

Therefore, suspend all schemes, especially the more showy and grandiose ones, except those which directly, or indirectly, in the short run, subserve these three ineradicable 'appetites'.....

Control first and foremost that which most needs control—population. You try to control everything else (more or less ineffectively, because corruption among your public servants and black markets flourish apace), but do not even think of controlling that which needs control most. Realise that 14,000 mouths are being added daily to India's population. Food diminishes; mouths to be fed increase.....

Do not try to do what you and your subordinates are not qualified for. Do not try to do everything. In the last of my series of articles above-mentioned, I quoted an American writer to the effect that whenever and wherever the Government took over a private concern there was always a loss. This in the U.S.A., where men are far more efficient and honest than here.

Reduce the number of taxes to the number absolutely unavoidable. Thereby you will avoid immense waste of public and private money, and save much serious annoyance and discomfort to the public.

Respect private property. You dislike socialism and communism; quite rightly. But you are yourself doing what they wish to do. You are depriving the word 'property' of all meaning. This indiscriminate abolition of all zamindari and immense increase of income-tax and sur-tax mean nothing else. Make haste slowly.

Compare the numbers of your ministers and of the staff in your secretariats at the present time with those during the British regime. You will see very great increase in numbers and very great decrease in efficiency and vast delay in disposal of work and deterioration in its quality.

Avoid 'herd-education.' Promote technical vocational education, in accord with the congenital aptitude of the pupil, which should be carefully ascertained with the help of 'career-masters' as in Britain.

To conclude with the most important items :

- (a) Control and reduce population;
- (b) Promote vocational technical education, so as to bring suitable bread-winning work and appropriate worker together;
- (c) Allow private enterprise in trade."

Babh Bhagwandas is a "wise man of the East" if there be any amongst us here and now. The Nehru Government should pay heed to his "constructive criticisms."

Andhra Province

Legal purists may tell us as to why our Telugu-speaking countrymen desired so much to have their separate province constituted before January 26, 1950. the day on which Bharat becomes a Sovereign Republic.

They have not got all that they wanted—for instance a place for a capital in the city and the port of Madras. The Nehru-Patel-Sitaramayya Committee, appointed at the Jaipur Congress, had made the exclusion of Madras from the Andhra Province-to-be a condition precedent to the Government agreeing to constitute a province for them. And the leaders of the Andhra people, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya amongst them, had some difficulty in persuading the rank and file to accept the Committee's *dictat*.

But the line is not "all clear" before them. The Kanarese-speaking people who desire as fervently the constitution of a separate province out of areas distributed under three or four administrations, have entered vigorous protests against the inclusion of Kanarese-speaking tracts in this Andhra Province. We remember to have seen a Central Government directive that three Taluqs—Sub-divisions—in the Bellary district are to be kept out of the Andhra Province. The Kannadigas, however, speak of six such Taluqs in this district—Alur, Adoni, Rayadruga amongst them, of Kannada areas in the Anantapur district, and certain other Kannada *enclaves* in Telugu and Tamil-speaking areas. These claims are subjects to be pressed before the Boundary Commission as and when it is set up by the Central Government.

Besides, there are other difficulties in the way. A section of the Andhra people themselves appear to be against the immediate setting up of a separate Andhra Province. They live in the interior districts of Cuddapah, Ellore, Bellary and the Anantapur districts, popularly known as Rayasaleema. Two causes appear to have influenced this attitude. One is the fear of their coastal friends, educationally and in other ways far in advance of them, as also the fear that their areas which have been waiting for modern irrigation facilities may be neglected by the more fortunate of their brethren. A deputation of their representatives pressed these arguments on Pandit Nehru.

But these difficulties cannot for long halt their ambition which is as old as that of Oriyas. The latter have been marching forward upheld by the exaltation of a goal reached. The Andhras will be found as

capable of rising to the great occasion. We wish our Andhra friends all success in their new life though it appears they may have to wait for many more months before they reach their goal.

Social Education in Bharat

Bharat's Central Education Minister, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, dashed to the ground all hopes of educational re-construction and its extension amongst the people. Addressing the Central Advisory Board of Education in session at Cuttack on the 8th January last, he indicated the causes.

"Our intention was to provide for an amount of Rs. 11 crores for 1949/50 as this would enable us to start the basic education programme and undertake preliminary work for social education. Our financial position, however, enabled us to provide only Rs. 6 crores. Within six months of the adoption of this year's budget, we have had to face a financial crisis of such magnitude as to force a reduction of ten to twenty per cent. in the already approved budgets. Instead of going ahead, as we had originally planned, we suddenly realised that we had to retreat. For 1949-50 we had to surrender about Rs. 153 lakhs out of a total budget of about Rs. 588 lakhs. The result is that a country with a population of almost 350 millions and with hardly 14 per cent literates cannot provide more than Rs. 4-1/2 crores for about 50 millions from its central revenue for education."

We do not desire to complain. But we have a right to ask the Education Minister whether he is prepared to state as frankly that the Education budget, Central and Provincial, is being rightly used. Whether they, we mean the Education Ministers and their advisers, had not acted unwisely in trying to carry their programmes through on their own methods, giving non-official agencies hardly a decent chance to give a trial to schemes that might have involved less waste of the resources available. We do not know what these high-brows have done in other Provinces. But from our experience of the West Bengal Government's activities in the line, we can unhesitatingly say that money has been wasted in grandiose paraphernalia.

World Health Organization

The United Nations Organization has failed of its political purpose and promise. But certain other activities sponsored by it hold promises for the good of that broad strata of the world's peoples that are not interested in power-politics though they have to suffer for their connivance at it. One of these is being organized under the World Health Organization which has remained unrepresentative because the Soviet Union has strangely enough refused to join it as a member.

But the Organization, with its centre at Geneva, has been spreading its activities and influence over the far spaces of the earth. In India it has opened a Seminar at Mysore. Its line of activities has been made known to us through an interview which Dr. Sourin Ghosh, Director of Health Education in West Bengal, had with Miss Helen Martikaineu, Health Education Consultant with the World Health Organization.

Miss Martikaineu has had wide experience of such work gathered during her ten years' work as Health Education Consultant with the United States Public Health Service. We quote hereunder her description of the newly-opened Seminar's objectives :

... the Seminar is being sponsored by the UNESCO which, as you know, is one of the specialised agencies of the United Nations having its headquarters in Paris. In co-operation with the Government of India, the UNESCO arranged this Seminar for the purpose of studying the over-all problem of illiteracy and developing practical schemes of adult education, particularly among people living in rural areas. . . . the Seminar was very well represented. Delegates from about 20 countries in this region of the world attended. Very interesting and lively aspects were discussed such as health and home problems of rural adult education, methods of teaching literacy and extending Basic Education among the rural people. The delegates stated their problems, the progress made so far in their respective countries and earnestly suggested improvements that could be made to solve the problems and to help the people in their own countries.

We should like to have more reports like these.

Damodar Valley Project

Financial difficulties appear to threaten the execution of this project on which the hopes of the economic renovation of West Bengal depends to a large extent. The Chairman of the organization, set up by the Central Government of India, has left for the United States to arrange for a loan from the International Monetary Bank, product of a U.N.O. resolution but really controlled by the United States Government. He will try to enlist the services of American specialists who possess thorough practical knowledge of multi-purpose irrigation and flood-control projects. Engineers in India seem to be of divided opinion with regard to the results of this project when it is given ultimate shape.

Of these the Honorary Adviser to the Damodar Valley Corporation, Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, spoke very hopefully in course of an All-India Radio speech delivered on December 2 last. We have to thank the Government of India Ministry of Information for making it available to us. Mr. Elmhirst is not new to Bengal. He was brought to her service in 1921 by Rabindranath Tagore, and for long years it was his contributions in the shape of money and planning that had maintained the Sreeniketan experiment-station of Rabindranath's constructive nationalism. During the war years he was engaged in work that had a development bias ; in 1944, Governor Casey appointed him Agricultural Adviser, and he recalled in his speech the "first note" he had written in July, 1944 for the Minister and Governor urging "immediate and combined operations over the Damodar."

By "combined operations" Mr. Elmhirst appeared to suggest not only that West Bengal and Bihar

should combine to fight the common fight against erosion of the Valley's soil and the floods that cause in one week Rs. 20 crores' damage but that the engineer and the people should combine their skill and labour power to push these enemies of prosperity back to extinction.

What is possible for them to do was indicated by Mr. Elmhirst from a recent experience gathered by him at Laldaha, a village near Sreeniketan. Meeting his old friends of the village in the Village Hall, built by their own labour and money, sitting on the ground, he asked them :

"How many of you have had malaria this year?"

Ans.: "Not one. Through our Health Co-operative every household has taken strict measures of control."

"What about your tanks?"

Ans.: "Through our Fishery Co-operative we leased all the tanks but two from the owners three years ago on a plan worked out with the Director of Fisheries who came here to help us. So we have no mosquitoes, and a fine harvest of fish."

"Whilst we talked, the children of the village were playing a vigorous game on the village playground, with much shouting and laughter and enormous energy. This, I said to myself, is a people's revolution. These village people have taken their destiny into their own hands. With such a spirit the villages in the Damodar Valley would also win their own victory and a richer and fuller freedom than they have ever known before."

These had been Rabindranath Tagore's dreams and aspirations—the village people will be able to take their destiny into their own hands. May the State in India help in bringing nearer the day of their fulfilment!

Ply-Wood Industry

In December last there had been held a three-days conference at Calcutta convened by the Central Ministry of Agriculture to consider the problems of the ply-wood, the match-wood and the tea-chest industries. The Inspector-General of Forests presided over the deliberations; the other participants were officers of the Central Government, of the West Bengal Government, of the Forest Department of the Andaman Islands, and representatives of the ply-wood industry and of the Indian Tea Association.

The difficulties in the way of these industries were many—supply of wood, and its price being the most pressing. Before the partition the wood came mainly from Assam and East Bengal; now the Andaman Islands appear to be the main sources of supply. In price also our tea-chest industry cannot stand competition with the foreign one. For instance, Finland tea-chest sold at Calcutta at Rs. 6-4 each as against Rs. 6/12 of the native manufacture.

Even at this price the nearly 200 tea-chest factories in and about Calcutta cannot meet the whole needs of the industry. The requirement of tea-chests

is about 25,000 tons, whereas the local supply available is only 12,000 tons. There are other factors involved, one of which appears to be discrimination against the small-scale factory. From the report of the proceedings immediate relief does not appear probable.

"National Anthem"

The makers of the songs of a country occupy a special place in the affections of her people. Of these immortals Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Rabindra Nath Tagore, both born in Bengal, are names to conjure with in India. Their songs—*Bande Mataram* and *Jana-Gana-Mana Adhinayaka*—possess priority in the estimation of their people. And we have watched with pain and dismay the way in which the songs have been dragged into the arena of controversy. The idiosyncrasy of one person is responsible for it. And we cannot tender support to the manner in which the choice of a "National Anthem" has been managed to the indignation of millions of men and women.

The Provincial Congress Committees, numbering more than 25, have with one or two exceptions, accorded support to *Bande-Mataram* song as the "National Anthem" of the Republic. They are supposed to represent dynamic public opinion in India. The Constituent Assembly was not given a chance to give its verdict.

It has happened, therefore, that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Babu Rajendra Prasad, should voice the Nehru Government's divided mind. This he did on the 24th January last.

"At one time it was thought that the matter may be brought before the House and decision taken by the House by means of a resolution. But it has been felt that instead of taking a formal decision by a resolution, it is better if I make a statement with regard to the national anthem; and I, therefore make this statement.

"The composition and the music of the song known as *Jana-Gana-Mana* shall be used for official purposes as the national anthem, and the song of '*Vande Mataram*,' which has played a historic part in our struggle for freedom, shall be honoured equally and shall have equal status with it."

We are sorry that Babu Rajendra Prasad should have agreed to sponsor such a sophistry. But there it is. It has long been coming. Since 1938, when the opposition led by Ramananda Chatterji, who was not an idol-worshipper, and others in Bengal had been able to influence Gandhiji to advise patience, that the hand of vandalism was stayed. But, it has been biding its time. The decision on the matter has been postponed from day to day; and now comes the *ex cathedra* dictum.

Calcutta University

Interest in Calcutta University affairs was renewed by the exposures that took place in September last. The Chancellor could not disregard the expressed and unexpressed desire that an enquiry into the sources of corruptions—Press, Accounts and Examinations—should be held. He responded to this demand, and appointed a Committee with the late

Brojendra Lal Mittra as its Chairman. It is widely talked about that the Committee has submitted its findings, and certain of the charges have been brought home to particular persons in the administration of the University. And a sadistic pleasure is anticipated by the exposures made in these reports. Hence, a cry for their publication has become insistent.

But complaints have reached us that the manner of the enquiry has not been above criticism. It is said that no opportunity was given to certain persons to vindicate their honour; that findings have been arrived at on the basis of evidence that would be found to be suspect or not sustainable when subjected to proper examination. If this complaint has any basis, we are afraid that the Enquiry Committee's findings would lose weight.

While on the subject, we may call the Vice-Chancellor's attention to the inadvisability of persons whose names have appeared in the exposures remaining where they were. This has enabled many persons to brazen it out and spread the contagion of their dishonesty throughout the University. Sree Charu Chandra Biswas should have looked into this aspect as soon as he stepped into the responsible position he occupies today. It is never too late to mend, however.

School Jubilees

The Bethune Vidyalaya has been celebrating the centenary of its foundation, the Brahma Girls School its Diamond Jubilee and the Saroj Nalini Memorial Association its Silver Jubilee. These three institutions, devoted to women's education in Bengal, stand as symbols of that awakening which beginning during the twenties of the 19th century have in course of a century and quarter helped to transform middle class life in India. That was the time when the Victorian poet could confidently sing of women's cause being men's. That impulse has carried East and West to a new realization of the place of women in the evolution of modern social values. Today women do not subscribe to Tennyson's faith; they have started to go in their own way, disdaining the help of "mere man." This has revolutionized social conduct in its widest ramifications, and it is difficult to imagine a turning of the hand of the clock. On the occasion of these Jubilee celebrations we wish God-speed to these three institutions. May they help build up the India of the free!

Atom Bomb's Use

The Chancellor of the Washington University, Dr. Arthur Compton, told a gathering of scientists at Poona, assembled on the occasion of the 37th Session of the Indian Science Congress of the discovery of the atom bomb by U. S. scientists and its release over Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The potency of this weapon of mass destruction, thus demonstrated,

led to Japan's unconditional surrender on August 7-8, 1945, three months after Germany had laid down her arms. Dr. Compton spoke of the anxious thought and spiritual strain through which the scientists and administrators of his country passed in debating to use or not to use this bomb. He related the story of his talk with Mr. Stimson, the then War Secretary, in which the latter spoke of the choice before them, "We must not think in terms of the life of the United States but of humanity." But ultimately the former prevailed.

A recent number of the *World-Over Press*, a U. S. interpreter of news and views, has published a report submitted to the War Secretary in June, 1945, by a Committee on the Social and Political implications (of the atom bomb) appointed by the Metallurgical Laboratory of Chicago. The following quotation will enable our readers to analyse and judge the considerations that had weighed with the members of this Committee, and had led them to say that "these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early attack against Japan *inadvisable*." The fear expressed there is more than ever justified by the experience of the last four years.

"The military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by a wave of horror and revulsion sweeping over the rest of the world . . .

"From this point of view, a demonstration of the new weapon might be made before the eyes of all the United Nations on the desert or a barren island . . . After such a demonstration the weapon might perhaps be used against Japan if the sanction of the United Nations (and public opinion at home) was obtained after a preliminary ultimatum to Japan to surrender . . .

" . . . If the United States were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments, and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

Neither the Allied Nations nor the U.S.A. public were consulted, as suggested in the Report; President Roosevelt lived to watch the success of the atom bomb experiment. But he died suddenly in April, 1945, and it fell to his successor, President Truman, to give the fateful order.

Cochin-China

The Government of Communist China has given recognition to the Viet Nam Government set up under Dr. Ho Chi-Minh struggling to throw out the "puppet" administration set up under French auspices with ex-Emperor Bao Dai of Cambodia at its head. Pandit Nehru, in course of a statement made at Colombo, announced that he could not recognize Bao Dai as he is upheld by non-Asian army formations; he explained himself further by saying that a cardinal

principle of the policy followed by him was to withhold recognition from administrations whose defence and foreign affairs were controlled by non-Asian Powers. This policy, consistently followed, would have consequences that would not affect France alone.

Even French papers have told us that 90 per cent of the area of Viet Nam comprising Annam, Tongking, Laos and Cambodia is under the control of Dr. Ho's Government; Bao Dai's is confined to certain coastal towns and ports. But the latter enjoy the patronage of many of the leading Powers of the West represented in the United Nations Organisation. We have seen statements made by the politicians of the United States that they disapproved of the French regime in Viet Nam which has forfeited the support of all but a few of her 2,30,00,000 people.

But in practice they are found to be recognizing it. Their "Marshall Aid" contributions enable France to divert a part of her resources in money and fighting power to crush the resistance movement that grew when Japan had been in occupation. It took over the fight when the French came in at the tail of victorious powers—United States and Britain—against their policy of restoring the *status quo* as it had existed in 1940. Indonesia has after 4 years of fight been able to upset the colonial order. So will Dr. Ho Chi-Minh.

The core of this "resistance movement" had been constituted by the Annamese League for Independence or Viet Minh; its leader was Dr. Ho, "a little man who looks like an ascetic philosopher," to quote a U.S.A. commentator. Today 90 per cent of Indo-China follow him; not Bao Dai's but his writ runs over the four provinces of this "insurgent" State. This one fact should be recognized as the writing on the wall by the United States at least. She has seen the failure of her China policy of sheer opportunism.

Economic Resources of South-East Asia

Western Powers have been developing increasing concern over the economic re-construction of this portion of the earth. President Truman's Point Four Plan and the "Commonwealth" Plan discussed at the Colombo Conference during the second week of January last are signs and symbols of this desire to help the under-developed countries of the world. But these Plans appear to be motivated by political purposes—one of which is the halting of the Communist menace which thrives best on poverty and malnutrition. It is not fully realized by the protagonists of these Plans that Communists have another weapon of offence; it is to stir up and activate discontent in the name of Self-determination, of the Self-respect of subject peoples. This right has been denied in practice by many of the Western Powers.

However, we are glad that they have grown conscious of their direct and indirect responsibilities in this matter. But we in India have been forced willy-nilly to take a hand

in it. Attempts are, therefore, being made to keep us informed of the needs and requirements of the peoples of this vast continental area. Exhibitions of South-East Asia's products, natural and industrial, are being held; booklets are being published describing their potential wealth and its neglect due to ignorance of the native populations. The Commercial Museum, maintained by the Calcutta Corporation—a pioneer venture for a Municipality to organize and keep alive and active for about 15 years—about six months back held an Exhibition of Far East Asia's resources, and published a booklet on these..

This may look immediately profitable. But we must beware of the political consequences of such direction; we should recall the words of the late President Wilson of the United States of America spoken at Turin, Italy in 1919 after victory won over Kaiser's Germany.

"The plans of the modern world are made in the counting house. Men who do the business of the world now shape the destinies of the world.....The country is dominated by the capital invested in it."

Brojendra Lal Mittra

The death of this eminent lawyer in his 75th year took place on the Republic Day. We share the grief of his family.

A Law member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, a Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Baroda, an Acting Governor of Bengal during British regime, Brojendra Lal had gathered experiences which would have proved of value under the altered circumstances of India. He will be remembered for being able to persuade the Maharaja of Baroda to "accede" to India in the middle of 1947 when a section of the "Princely Order" under the leadership of the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Nawab of Bhopal, were contemplating a stab at India's unity. The example of Baroda heartened other Princes amongst whom the Maharaja of Bikaner was most prominent. The "lapse of paramountcy" suggested in the Memorandum on States Treaties and Paramountcy prepared by the Cabinet Mission's Secretariat and handed over on June 12, 1946, was turned thus to India's advantage. Brojendra Lal's lead has made easier Sardar Patel's policy of States integration.

Nagendra Nath Rakshit

We have to record with sorrow the death of this Bengalee industrialist who left many of his life's works unfinished at his 64th year. Founder of the National Iron and Steel Company and of the Tata Foundry, he showed by his life and conduct that there were other interests in life that deserved as sincere devotion as money. Of these the consolidation of Bengalee culture and of its spread through India had occupied the first place in his heart. He was the power behind the Prabashi Banga-Bhasha Prasar Samiti—Society for the spread of Ben-

galee language outside Bengal. For his devotion to this cause he risked unpopularity at Jamshedpur, the seat of his financial and industrial activities. But he marched ahead, heedless of consequences.

Braja Sundar Roy

The death at 75 years of Braja Sundar Roy removes a notable figure from the scholastic world of Bengal. The Braja Mohun College of Barisal, the City College of Calcutta, the Keane College of Shillong were institutions that he served. He was during the few years of his life editor of the *Indian Messenger*, organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and his scholarly articles on comparative religion were a feature that enhanced the value of this paper.

Sardar Patel's Calcutta Speech

It is after a long time that I have found it possible to have your *darshan*. I have been ardently desiring to meet you all. Several times I thought to but on account of my physical incapacity, I could not come to Calcutta. After months of waiting, by the grace of God, it has now been possible for me to come and meet you. I have to say a few words on this occasion, which, I hope, you will think over and try to realise their full import.

I am fully alive to the sorrows and difficulties of Bengal. Day and night I think of them, and my heart bleeds in sympathy for your afflictions. But in spite of these sorrows, troubles and tribulations, I still have faith in the people of Bengal. Bengal and its people have faced many a difficulty in the past. This is not the first time that they have been so afflicted. Ever since the foundations of India's freedom were laid, Bengal has had to bear the brunt of all troubles. It has done so courageously and with a stout heart.

When the foreign Government was here and we tried to remove it, Bengal and its people took a leading part in that struggle. They suffered tremendously and bore their sufferings with faith, courage and bravery. India is deeply grateful to Bengal for all this. It can never forget the debt it owes to Bengal.

When another Government, half foreign and half indigenous assumed power, the troubles did not end; in fact, they worsened. The other half, of course, consisted of the Muslim League in which there was no man of our own. You had to suffer grievously under them. How can Bengal, or even the rest of India, forget those days of "direct action" and the situation in Calcutta which followed in its wake. You survived those shocks also.

Then came the Tragedy of Noakhali. How can India or you forget those dark days. The pages of History in which these chapters have been written cannot be eliminated. When the time came to determine the future of Bengal, Gandhiji came here, he went to Noakhali, shared the joys and sorrows of the suffering humanity and then came and stayed in Calcutta.

Due partly to a desire to share your sorrows and partly in anger, the people of Bihar retaliated, then the fire spread all over northern India. You know the subsequent history. It was in such a situation and with an eye on the future of the whole of India that we came to an irrevocable decision that the foreign Government must go.

We felt that as long as Englishmen were here, there was neither prospect of peace nor of amity and concord between the two communities. We decided that, if necessary, India should be partitioned, but that could be accepted only if Bengal and Punjab were also partitioned.

What an irony of fate! We resisted the partition of Bengal when it was planned by the British 40 years before the partition of India actually came about; you sacrificed your all to avoid the catastrophe of partition; India was with you; subsequently, we had to accept the partition of another conception. At that time, there was no dissentient voice. All accepted it as an inevitable fact.

We also decided, however, that we could not accept partition without the City of Calcutta. The leaders of the Muslim League were not prepared for it. They did not desire this "motheaten" Pakistan. They wanted to engulf the other portions, to which they had no claim. However, they could not succeed in their designs, and the partition became an accomplished fact.

Even after accepting partition, however, there was a blood bath. We were separated from our own brothers and sisters across the border. Bengal suffered grievously on that account. The wounds which were inflicted on it have not yet healed; in fact, the sores are increasing to face such a situation, you want courage and bravery of a high order, you want also patience and fortitude.

This is the time when you have to prove your mettle, you have to suffer all this in silence, but in full expectation of the good days to come. You must make sure that you do not spoil the prospects with your own hands. After all, it is only in difficulties that men have to be cautious.

When better times come they can afford to relax. Anger or haste will not avail you. Our brothers, both Hindus and Muslims, have been separated from us. All of us do wish that people on both sides of the frontier should prospect, but for that both sides must be patient, brave and prudent. Who does not know the pangs of Bengal?

(Those friends, who were with us until yesterday, have now become foreigners today.) But how can that be in practice? They are for us still what they were before and the problem of how we can go to their help stares us in the face. There is, however, no room for despondency. If we can express sympathy with the people of South Africa and run to their assistance, it is much easier to do so in the case of people in Pakistan.

Artificial boundaries cannot separate them from us. Our relationship and economic and political ties cannot be broken. Difficulties and obstacles are there and must be removed. But for that we must set our own house in order.

Lakhs of people have come away from Pakistan. They have left their all, their hearths and homes and their dear ones. Many people try to mislead them that Provincial and Central Governments are doing nothing. This, however, will not benefit them. Their troubles will not be relieved that way. I know them full well and I myself want to help them out in the best manner possible, but before we can do so, it is necessary that there should be peace and security.

Today, the whole of India feels concerned to read every day something or the other happening in some part of Calcutta. Bombs, crackers, burning of trams, attacks on police, arrests, fasts in jail—these are the incidents that are reported under prominent headlines.

It is natural that in such circumstances people outside the province should feel that there is general lawlessness in Calcutta, and the machinery of Government has broken down. It is only when you come here and see the normal life of the City going on unchecked that you realise that all this is the work of some young men who have gone astray.

These handful of youths wish to upset the peace and tranquillity of the whole city. They wish to terrorise or overawe the whole population and the Government. (I do not know what they wish to gain out of it.) I can understand Communist ideology, (but cannot understand what they will achieve as a result of murderous assaults and other tactics.

(I am, however, pained) that while millions live in this city, they are unable to express themselves or act in opposition to the machinations of these wrong-doers. (They are content to leave matters to the) police and Government. That is all wrong. If there were a foreign Government, they would have dealt with this menace as they did before, (but we cannot act in the same way.)

After all, those who are doing these acts are our own people. The police is also our own. The Government is also our own. If you feel dissatisfaction with your Government, you can replace it. Some months ago, the Prime Minister came to Calcutta. He told you that, if you wanted to change the Government, you could do so by holding fresh elections and he thought those elections should be held if you wanted. After all, whoever comes in our places will be our own men.

We are not afraid or ashamed of facing an election, but when we examined this question at some length, we found various difficulties. There were no voters' lists, fresh voters had to be registered, we had many refugees who had come from East Bengal and

whose claims to record their votes had to be taken into account.

We wanted to do away with communal representation. All these difficulties were there. We had also to consider that the next election on adult franchise was not far off and then, even in the election agitators will try to reap their harvest. We, therefore, consulted your Government and the leaders of public opinion in Bengal to find out if they wanted elections even under these conditions. All of them said that they did not want it, and we gave up the idea. When we announced our decision, all papers welcomed it. They, however, said that the new elections should be held early.

We, ourselves, want to hold these elections early, but this is the first time that we have given the right to vote to crores of people. It will entail an expenditure of millions and concentrated efforts to prepare electoral rolls and take other necessary measures for the holding of an election. Nevertheless, we have got to be ready for it, and Government will do their best, but in the meantime it is up to you to see that the proper atmosphere is created, in which free and fair elections could be held.

At the same time, we cannot stand silent and inactive. Government has to be carried on. If you are not satisfied with the Government you have, the only way to change it is through the ballot box or by revolution. Bombs, attacks on police and crackers do not symptomise a revolution. All this is the cult of lunatics and the work of mad men.

I do understand when people tell me that the young men are suffering from a sense of frustration, that they do not know whither they are going, or what is in store for them. (I sympathise with them, but the remedy for it does not lie in the tactics which are being followed. In fact, it will only postpone the day of their relief and amelioration. They will spoil whatever good is being done. I fully realise the sorrows and sufferings which they have to bear, but in the past also you have suffered and braved it all. Thirty lakhs of people lost their lives from sheer starvation. No one dared to raise any voice then. To-day your own police, seventy per cent of which is Bengali, is attacked with stones and bullets and not a single voice is raised.

Instead accusations are levelled that they are terrorising our people and committing excesses. People say that there is no civil liberty. I ask you: "Where is civil liberty gone? Has it been taken to the United Kingdom? Was there more civil liberty when people dared not do anything even when millions suffered, or is it now when people can do practically what they like?"

They can criticise whomsoever they want, and they can throw bombs and attack the police. I warn you that if these tactics are not stopped, the civil liberty which you enjoy will disappear. These few people

will take it away. You have either to face that prospect or to stop these nefarious activities.

No democratic Government can flourish on police batons. We have got used to calling the police bad names in the past. We have to change that mentality. The police, which we maligned, was different from the police which is serving you to-day. They are volunteers. They are bearing the burden of a great responsibility. At the same time, the burden of their salaries on us is not as much as it should be, because we cannot afford it. You should have respect and sympathy for these guardians of law and order. If you do not, you will regret it. I read in the papers that Rs. 20,000 were spent on holding this public meeting. Instead of worrying as to how much was spent, you should ask yourself as to why it was spent. It was not long ago when we could hold meetings at will without the presence of so many policemen. We had policemen then, but that was not to protect us, it was to watch us. But now our ways have changed. Some of us have learnt to create mischief for the sake of mischief, and it is then that the police is needed to maintain peace and tranquillity.

All this is due to our weakness. Our Congress organisation has been weakened. Our own army of volunteers does not command the same influence and there is also not that same spirit of service.

All these defects must be remedied. I talked to the police officers as well as to the Ministers of Government. I also talked to political leaders. I heard what they had to say. I appealed to them not to get themselves involved in useless activities instead of devoting themselves to the real work of reconstruction.

I know the students are restless. They study in classes where they do not have even sufficient elbow room. They work in shifts. Whether and what they can learn in these circumstances beats me.

I do not know what all these thousands of graduates who are coming out of colleges every year learn. I hope it is not merely to agitate and create mischief. Nor do I hope that they read literature which sometimes you see on posters. They cannot digest it. They will very soon get indigestion, if they go on reading that rotten stuff.

Calcutta is the centre of industry. It was at one time the capital of India. Now it is the capital of industry. For our prosperity, we need both agricultural and industrial wealth. In the industrial field, Bengalees do not play their due part. Their young men are to be found in small numbers in industrial installations. Instead of making a grievance of it, you should really enquire why it is so.

Why should they not take to industrial occupations? Why should they not become captains of industry? I want to appeal to those who own these industries and those who do not, to realise each other's duties. They have to share the troubles of Bengal together and to understand each other. To-day, each

province is autonomous. There can be no question of one overlordship the other. There should, therefore, be no barriers.

Provincialism is bad. It narrows one's vision and prevents one from thinking in terms of the larger whole. We lose our sense of perspective as citizens of a great India. We forget our duties as sons of the motherland. To-day, people ask for separation of their province. Bengalees want more room for expansion. It is my earnest desire to help Bengal in its hour of need, to the maximum of my capacity.

It was for this reason that, when people of Bengal claimed Cooch Behar, I went into the whole question and came to the conclusion that their claim was just and proper. Then I tried my best to persuade everybody so as to make the process of merger easy. We succeeded in that, and Cooch Behar is now part of Bengal.

You know how I succeeded in persuading more than six hundred Rulers to give up their sovereignty and to accept the schemes of integration and democratisation. All this has gone through without any trouble and with the consent of everybody. Whoever tried to create trouble had to break his own head. They all helped me.

I want you to help me in the same manner. Your troubles and difficulties are all known to me. I want to help you as best as I can, but you have to allow for the fact that my health is not as good as it used to be. I have also to think of many other problems, the solution of which is in the interests of this province as much as in that of the rest of India and the absence of solution of which is bound to affect it adversely.

It is only with your co-operation that I can do away with all the police that is now stationed here to prevent mischief. I never had so much protection as I have now, although I feel, like Gandhiji, that nobody would desire to kill me, but the police would not just let me have my way. Why is it so?

It is because a few young men have gone astray. It is not in anger that they have done so. These young men have been misguided and misled into it, and once, having been misled, they have become used to wrong ways.

Nothing else now enters their head except to persist in the ways of folly. We have to change all this atmosphere.

We have to devote ourselves to the art of peace. We have to run our Government. We have to pursue our normal avocations. We have to create wealth for our existence and also for improvement in our own standards of living. We have to run our industries. We must explain to labour that we regard it as our duty to see that they get their due.

The industrialists should be prepared to sacrifice their profits in the interests of their country. Black-marketing, profiteering, cornering of business, all this must go. They must also lend a helping hand to

Government in dealing with commodities that are scarce and seeing that the task of distribution is performed smoothly and efficiently.

Some young men say: Why worry about them, do as was done in China. We have yet to see what will happen in China. In Russia, where there was a revolution, whatever position has been reached to-day is the result of untold sacrifices. They had to put in tremendous efforts before they could organise their industries and agricultural life on a planned pattern.

To-day America is the richest country in the world. When it became free, it took several years to make the Constitution. We drew up ours in three years, in spite of the difficulties with which we were faced in the very first two years of our existence as a free nation.

To-day India has been fully consolidated. It was never like that before. The whole of India is now painted in one colour. America took years to become rich. You should read that history. As compared to that our freedom is only two years' old and you want us to perform miracles within that short period. You want us to distribute wealth equally.

What is there to distribute? There are a few rich men I admit; but what are they as compared to the rich men in America. If we distribute the little wealth that they have accumulated, it would make little difference to our poverty.

If we wish to uplift India, the rich have to shed their greed, labour has to work loyally and farmers have to give up their surplus. Instead, we have frequent calls for strikes of all varieties, such as, stay-in-strikes. All these are injurious to the national welfare. If we are unfortunate and foolish, a time for strikes may come but I do not think that it will be necessary if we conduct ourselves in the true spirit of our culture and civilisation.

Our culture and ancient civilisation dictate that we should settle our disputes amicably. Nobody said anything when the rich men made money during the war. We sat quiet then. They flouted our instructions and did not reveal their income-tax—we are now after them, but we do not get anything. Then they talk of nationalisation. How can those, who do not know how to run their own household, run a whole industry. If they wish to do so, they can; but then you will see the result.

We do not have either the means or the agency for taking over control over industries. We have taken upon ourselves a part of the business of industrialists, we are running shops. We are controlling various channels of trade. But we are making a mess of it. Gandhiji advised us to remove controls. We did so, but very soon we found that the experiment had failed and we had to reimpose control.

It is then that people charge us that we do not know our own mind. It may be so. India is a big country. It used to be run on prestige. 55 to 60

per cent of the key services were manned by Englishmen. They have all gone. The revolution, about which our young men shout, has already taken place. Now we have to consolidate our freedom.

The time is for reconstruction not revolution. The future of India we can make or mar, during the next five years. In the formative period, all have to work. It is only by mutual love and affection that we can do so. We cannot do so by coercion or by hatred.

Inter-provincial rivalries or inter-communal or inter-sectional disputes will only prevent us from making any progress. Today if you like you can shift the centre of industry from Calcutta, but that will not serve our purpose. I want young men to be patient during this formative period.

My complaint to you is that you feel as if this is not your own work. Two young men can get a whole tramcar emptied in order to further their own nefarious designs. This is unworthy of the citizens of a free India. Instead, you should capture these young men and put them right.

I gave the same advice to the newspaper editors, as some of them speak with two voices. Then we hear of fasts and people express sympathy with those who fast. Do they realise why these people are fasting? Is it in sympathy with Government which is faced with the scarcity of foodgrains or because they are not satisfied with what they get. Think of all that they are getting now.

I know in jail they are given Rs. 250 as outfit allowance. Then they get Rs. 2-8 a day for their maintenance. Mark this figure. Look at your refugees. How many can get that much then, on top of it, they get allowances for their dependants. When they are pampered so much, why should they remain out. Why should they not go to jail.

Some of them make out as if they fast, although they take four meals a day. Some certainly starve in order to get more privileges, as if those that they have are not enough. I cannot understand how people can sympathise with such complaints, yet they complain against the police when they deal with these fasts in a manner laid down by law.

I warn you that if we cannot give the police the respect and position that are due to them as police of a free country, we shall lose our freedom. I agree that it is the duty of the police to behave with courtesy and consideration.

I am sometimes told that they do not do so, yet when I read the newspapers, I only read of the stories of the police bearing the brunt of attacks of bombs and stones. When they retaliate, there is a hue and cry; but, when they are attacked, not a dog barks. Some time ago, they fired at a mob.

Everybody shouted and some of them were put on trial. What happened, they were all acquitted. Is this the way that you expect a Government to function? You cannot digest freedom, unless you learn to discharge your duties. You should make people

understand their duties and responsibilities. They say these young men have gone underground. How can they go underground in our own midst?

Those days when such a thing was possible should have gone long ago. Today it is not a question of going underground against a foreign government. It is a question of going underground against your own Government. It is the duty of those with whom these miscreants take shelter to hand them over to police.

We have to share the burden of civil liberty along with the police; otherwise, we shall not be able to safeguard our freedom.

I would, therefore, advise you to face your difficulties with courage and patience. When we achieve peace and tranquillity, we can devote ourselves to the art of amelioration. We know that our brothers and sisters in Pakistan are in sore straits. If all of them come out, we have no space to keep them here, at the same time, we must find a way out.

Before we can do so, we have to set our own house in order, we have to strengthen ourselves and make the foundations of our freedom strong. We have to increase our wealth in order to meet the demands of modern economy. Farmers have to produce as much as possible; keep as little as they need and give the rest to Government at prices fixed by it. Instead, some of our men go and advise them to dictate their own price.

(Do they realise what they are talking about?) From where will government get the money to pay the farmers? It will have to get it from the farmers themselves. They make all sorts of charges against Government. Do they realise that when a closely knit administrative machinery was functioning 30 lakhs of people died of starvation in this very city without any murmur?

Nobody has been allowed to die of starvation during the two years that we have been in office. It has cost us crores, but we have seen to it that people get sufficient food for sustenance.

We should also make sacrifices for the relief of the poor. Formerly the middle-classes and others, who could afford, used to sponsor charities for the relief of the poor. Now the middle-classes are also in difficulties.

We have, therefore, to organise the relief of the poor on a broader basis. Every Indian must now share the troubles of their fellow-men for these few years of our formative period. By tightening our belts now, we shall be laying in store for the future. It is not too much to ask we call upon you to postpone happier times by a few years.

If Calcutta or Bengal dies, none in India can live. It is only when Bengal can take its place in Indian polity and get the leadership which it had before that we can say that we have put matters right.

This is, therefore, my last appeal to you. Put your own house in order and work together. Suffering and troubles are the badge of our life. Floods and famines have brought untold misery to you. You have suffered all this in silence, bravely and courageously. How can you quail now when you are faced with lesser troubles?

Those who are not Ministers say that the Ministry is not good, that it has this defect and that. If the Ministry goes and others take its place, those who will go out will say the same thing of their successors. If we ourselves go on running down our own men, who appreciate these difficulties and who will take remedial action?

After all people will get the government that they deserve. If people themselves do not behave responsibly, how can they expect to make any impression on the Government? I, therefore, implore you to co-operate together in a great endeavour and build the future of our country on the lines of peace, prosperity and happiness.

You must think over what I have told you. I cannot come here frequently. There was a fire burning inside me that brought me here and I have unburdened myself. I plead before you in all humility to remove the canker of provincialism from the city.

Calcutta gives shelter and sustenance to people from every province, it cannot afford to look at matters in a narrow parochial spirit. There is room for everybody in this big city. They should all live in peace and amity.

Lend a helping hand to Government to remove your present troubles, improve the atmosphere of the city and create wealth which you can then distribute. Learn to work together, instead of working apart.

You must forget that the police is tyrannical and dishonest. If you have complaints against police, make it to Government. You must remember that theirs is a very difficult and unenviable task. They are doing that as faithfully as they can.

I appealed to the newspaper proprietors to help in the improvement of the atmosphere in this city. I appeal to the general public to set the tone for the newspapers, so that they can also do their duty. We should have our own volunteers for dealing with these trouble-makers. It is only then that Calcutta and Bengal can live in peace and its people can dedicate themselves to the tasks of relief and amelioration.

* THE COMMONWEALTH AGREEMENT AND INDIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE Agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, held in London in April, 1949, has been cried up or cried down, more or less, with an equal vigour and enthusiasm, and sometimes, I may add, with an equal lack of understanding. It has been acclaimed by some people as "bold", "great", "historic" and "momentous." It has been condemned by others as a "great betrayal," a "great national blunder," "the greatest mistake committed by the Congress Party after the partition of India," a "triumph for British diplomacy," and an "outrage on the national sentiments of the Indian people". Such a sharp difference of opinion amongst our leaders on the question of the Commonwealth Agreement is, perhaps, natural and inevitable in the present circumstances of our country. An attempt has been made in this paper to deal with what appears to me to be the true nature of the vexed Agreement, mainly from the standpoint of constitutional law and practice. Incidentally, I shall also consider how far India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations will be compatible with its proposed republican status.

II. THE AGREEMENT

The Statement issued on 27th April, 1949, from No. 10 Downing Street at the conclusion of the London Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, said :

"During the past week the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have met in London to exchange views upon the important constitutional issue arising from India's decision to adopt a Republican form of constitution and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth.

"The discussions have been concerned with the effects of such a development upon the existing structure of the Commonwealth and the constitutional relations between its members.

"They have been conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding and have had as their historical background the traditional capacity of the Commonwealth to strengthen its unity of purpose, while adapting its organization and procedures to changing circumstances.

"After full discussion the representatives of the Governments of all the Commonwealth countries have agreed that the conclusions reached should be placed on record in the following Declaration :

"The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe common allegiance to the Crown, which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

"The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that, under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign, independent Republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this Declaration.

"Accordingly, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

It is obvious from the Statement quoted above that the Joint Declaration by the representatives of the eight Commonwealth countries, embodied therein, was really an instrument of compromise—a kind of improvised political device—intended to reconcile two apparently inconsistent factors, namely, India's decision to adopt, as a sovereign, independent State, a republican form of constitution, and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth. Since India desired, obviously on the ground of expediency, to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, she had to accept the position that the King (of the United Kingdom) would be "the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth." But this has created, to my mind, a constitutional anomaly. Although I am one of those persons who believe that in her present circumstances and in the context of international politics today, it would be both economically and politically expedient for India to remain in close and friendly association, on terms of absolute equality, with the other members of what is now called the Commonwealth of Nations, yet (I find it rather difficult, as a student of constitutional law and practice, to reconcile the proposed status of India as a sovereign, independent Republic with the (suggested) position of the King as the Head of the Commonwealth of which the republican India will be a member, along with others the existing basis of whose membership, however, is not going to be changed by the new Commonwealth Agreement.) So far as the latter are concerned, there will be no change in the royal titles and they will remain "united by a common allegiance to the Crown"—as, presumably, contemplated by the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

"It has been stated—and I think very rightly—that although "the King will have a symbolic status

recognized by India, he will have no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned." In view of this, it would have been well if the use of the word "Head", in reference to the King alone, had been avoided so far as India was concerned, and the Commonwealth had been declared simply an "Association of Free and Independent States comprising Monarchies and Republics, voluntarily united for the pursuit of peace, happiness, liberty, and prosperity." The King to whom the other countries of the Commonwealth would continue to owe a common allegiance, and the proposed President of the Indian Republic might alternately be the President of this Association of Free and Independent States. As it is, the new Commonwealth Agreement has, from a strictly constitutional point of view, created, so far as the proposed Indian Republic is concerned, a rather anomalous and confusing position.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that (Mr. Robert G. Menzies, Leader of the Australian Opposition, remarked on 28th April, 1949, with reference to the Agreement :

"How a nation can become a Republic by abolishing allegiance to the Crown and at the same time retain full membership of a united Commonwealth which is and must be basically a Crown Commonwealth is a complete mystery."

At the same time, it must be stated that those persons who seriously maintain the view that India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, purely on a voluntary basis, even after she has formally declared herself a sovereign, independent Republic, will really mean that she will continue to be a part of the *British Empire* or that she will in effect remain a *Dominion*, take, to my mind, a perverse view of things and are, speaking constitutionally, wrong. (The Commonwealth Agreement has no legal significance, and the proposed Commonwealth of Nations is not going to be a Super-State.) I believe that the Hon'ble Sardar Patel was right when he stated in the course of his Address to a Press Conference, held at New Delhi on 28th April, 1949 :

"As a Dominion we have been, like other members of the Commonwealth, owing allegiance to the Crown. When we accepted this position, we made it quite clear that this was for the time being and that the question of our future status was one to be decided by the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body with complete freedom. We had already passed an Objectives Resolution in the first session of the Constituent Assembly. That resolution stands and shall remain the corner-stone of our Draft Constitution, and our republican status clearly forms a part of that objective."

Throughout, however, we have never flinched from our objective of our republican status, and

1. It may, however, be argued, as Mr. M. Ramaswamy of the Mysore High Court has done in an article published in *The Indian Law Review* (Vol. III, 1949, No. 2) that (the King's Headship of the Commonwealth of Nations "is only courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance.") Still, the whole arrangement looks somewhat anomalous.

never has the problem been of modifying that status in order to suit such form of association with the Commonwealth as might be evolved. On the other hand, it has been our endeavour to determine that form of association without in any way affecting or departing from our republican status . . . "India's status of a sovereign, independent Republic is, by no means, affected, because there is no question of allegiance to His Majesty the King who will merely remain a symbol of our free association as he would be of other members . . ."

"So far as our Constitution is concerned it will remain republican both in internal and (in) external spheres. You will notice that the King's headship of the Commonwealth is limited to being the symbol of the free association of its independent member-nations."

When he was asked at the Press Conference to state what the functions of the King would be as the Head of the Commonwealth, Sardar Patel replied :

"So far as his functions are concerned, they are hardly any. But he gets a status. He is, as mentioned in the *Communique*, a symbol of the free association of all these units."

And when he was asked as to whether it would, in view of the fact that the King had always been a symbol, "make any difference, whether he was the Head of the Commonwealth or the Head of the Indian Government", Sardar Patel very rightly replied :

"It does make a lot of difference if he is the Head of the Indian Government."

In reply to some further questions at the Press Conference (Sardar Patel declared that, although "there are obligations of friendship and association and also advantages" arising out of the membership of the Commonwealth, yet the right of a member of the Commonwealth to secede from it at will was not affected by the New (Commonwealth) Agreement. Nor was the question of trade relations amongst the members of the Commonwealth "covered by the Agreement", as this matter would have to be considered separately.

(Thus it is clear from what has been shown above that under the Commonwealth Agreement the King will have no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned ; nor will he be the King of India as he is now, as soon as India declares herself a sovereign independent Republic.) Our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru also stressed this point when he said, in the course of a broadcast from New Delhi on 10th May, 1949 :

* "It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a Super-State in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic Head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. So far as the Constitution of India is concerned, the King has no place as we shall owe no allegiance to him."

Again :

2. Regarding the Commonwealth Agreement.
3. I.e., the Member-States of the Commonwealth.

* "We took a pledge long ago to achieve Purna Swaraj (complete independence). We have achieved it. Does a nation lose its independence by an alliance with another country? Alliances normally mean mutual commitments. The free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It is well-known that it is open to any member nation to go out of the Commonwealth if it so chooses.")

((It is also worthy of note in this connexion that there is no reference at all in the new Constitution of India either to the British Crown or to the British Parliament exercising any authority in India, except as permitted by the said constitution itself for the transitional period. In view of all this, we are constrained to observe that those who say that the Republican India will, under the Commonwealth agreement, be, after all, nothing else than a Dominion, do not really talk sense.))

Nor does it follow from the Commonwealth Agreement that there must have been some previous commitment on the part of India, or some secret understanding between her and the other members of the Commonwealth. Pandit Nehru, our Prime Minister, has emphatically repudiated any such thing on several occasions. For instance, in the course of an Address to Indian students in London on May 2nd, 1949, he stated:

* "Some misinformed people have suggested that there have been secret agreements and that India has become a party to the Atlantic Pact."

"I categorically state that this is complete nonsense. We have no secret agreements and have joined no political bloc."

"We have chosen to stay in the Commonwealth because we did not want to live in isolation and because it confers on us benefits which do not take away our sovereign status."

Again, in the course of a broadcast from New Delhi, on 10th May, 1949, he declared:

* "I wish to say that nothing has been done in secret and that no commitments of any kind limiting our sovereignty or our internal or external policy have been made, whether in the political or economic or military spheres. Our foreign policy has been often declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries and of avoiding alignments with power blocs. That remains the keystone of our policy still. We stand for the freedom of suppressed nationalities and for putting an end to racial discrimination. I am convinced that the sovereign Indian republic, freely associating herself with the other countries of the Commonwealth, will be completely free to follow this policy, perhaps in an even greater measure and with greater influence than before."

Further, at a Press Conference held at Ottawa

4. Italics are mine.

5. India's recognition of the Government of the People's Republic China, in advance of any other Commonwealth country and notwithstanding the present, uncertain American policy towards China, is proof of the fact that India is free today to pursue her foreign policy as she thinks fit both in her own interests and in the interests of humanity.

on 24th October, 1949, he reiterated that "it was not the policy of India to align herself with any bloc of nations." "It is our aim", he stated, "to keep friendly contacts with everybody. Naturally, we are bound to be closer to some nations than to others—for example, we consult with the other nations of the Commonwealth—but our foreign policy is completely independent."

I think that we can accept these assurances of our Prime Minister on the particular point in question.

(III) INDIAN SUBJECTS AND BRITISH NATIONALITY

I shall now say a few words in regard to the status of Indian citizens under the Commonwealth Agreement. (It has been argued by some critics of this Agreement that Indian citizens will continue to be British subjects even when India has become a sovereign, independent Republic.* This view seems to be erroneous. The critics forget that the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 has been considerably amended, and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts of 1918, 1922, 1933 and 1943 have been altogether repealed, by the British Nationality Act, 1948, which has come into force with effect from the 1st of January, 1949. And the British Nationality Act, 1948, cannot apply to India as it has not so far been extended thereto by any law of the Legislature of the Dominion of India, as required by Sub-Section (4) of Section 6 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Further, under the following provisions of the British Nationality Act, 1948, which give a new definition of British nationality, the expression "India" means not India as she has been since the 15th of August, 1947, but "British India" as defined by Section 311 of the (original) Government of India Act, 1935:—

Sec. "1—(1) Every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies or who under any enactment for the time being in force in any country mentioned in sub-section (3) of this section is a citizen of that country shall by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject.

"(2) Any person having the status aforesaid may be known either as a British subject or as a Commonwealth citizen; and accordingly in this Act and in any other enactment or instrument whatever, whether passed or made before or after the Commencement of this Act, the expression "British subject" and the "Commonwealth citizen" shall have the same meaning.

6. Among others, Sections one to sixteen of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, have been repealed. Section 1 of this Act gave a definition of natural-born British subjects. That definition does not hold good now as the Section has been repealed.

7. With this exception only that some provisional arrangements have been made for Newfoundland and Southern Rhodesia.—See Section 34 of the British Nationality Act, 1948.

8. It runs as follows: "No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions (i.e., India and Pakistan) as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion."

(3) The following are the countries hereinbefore referred to; that is to say, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon.

Section "32—(1) In this Act⁹, unless the context otherwise requires . . . 'Colony' does not include any country mentioned in sub-section (3)¹⁰ of Section one of this Act . . .

"(4) Any reference in this Act¹¹ to India, being a reference to a state of affairs existing before the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, shall be construed as a reference to British India¹² as defined by section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935."

(It is evident from the above that a citizen of India as she is now, has not the status of a British subject.¹³ Whatever may have been the position before, this appears to be the latest legal position.) A fortiori the citizens of the sovereign, independent Republic of India cannot be British subjects. (The nature of the Commonwealth of Nations will be that of a mere alliance, for mutual advantages, between the sovereign, independent Republic of India, the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Juristically speaking, the Republic of India will be a foreign State¹⁴ in relation to the

United Kingdom as she will, as we have seen before, cease to owe any allegiance to the Crown and will have no connexion with the British Parliament.) As I have already stated, the Commonwealth Agreement has no legal significance since it is not based upon any law, and the Commonwealth will not be a Super-State.) Whatever, therefore, may be the position of India and her people in relation to the Crown and the British Parliament before she formally declares herself a sovereign, independent Republic (the moment she makes this Declaration, all her legal connexions with them will automatically terminate except where it is otherwise authorized by the new Constitution of India itself for the transitional period, and the citizens of India will be the subjects of the Indian State alone and will cease to be British subjects. This will be the position in law. But this does not mean, however, that there cannot be any new special arrangements, on a voluntary and reciprocal basis, as between India and the other members of the Commonwealth.¹⁵ But that is a different matter altogether, not within the purview of this Paper.*

9. I.e., the British Nationality Act, 1948.

10. Previously quoted.

11. The British Nationality Act, 1948.

12. "British India" meant all territories for the time being, comprised within the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces.—See Section 311 of the (original) Government of India Act, 1935.

13. This follows from the British Nationality Act, 1948, although it may appear to be a debatable point.

14. Conversely, under clause (3) of Section 367 of the (new) Constitution of India "any State other than India" will, ordinarily, be a foreign State for us.

15. The recent enactment of the India (Consequential Provision) Act, 1949, by the British Parliament, is presumably a move in this direction. Also see, in this connexion, the proviso to clause (3) of Section 367 of the (new) Constitution of India.

* A paper read on 30th December, 1949, at the 12th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, held at Madras under the auspices of the University there.

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IN THE LANDS OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

It was with considerable difficulty that I could obtain the necessary visa for Berlin, although the Allied Military Permit for the British, French and American zones was quite an easy affair. Since I had been travelling mostly by air, I decided to go by train from Zurich to Frankfurt. The German trains are usually crowded, and the third class is as bad as that of the Indian Railways. On both sides of the railway line I could see hundreds of bombed houses throughout this long journey. Owing to scarcity of rain-fall the crops were withering away and the whole countryside presented a dull, dry and dilapidated appearance. It was possible to get hardly anything to eat on the way except bad ice-cream and some peaches.

Frankfurt is the administrative Head Quarters of the French, British and American zones of Germany. It was heavily bombed during the last war. Wiesbaden, where I stayed for a few days, is a delightful summer resort with famous sulphur springs. Here I

could visit a few educational institutions and get a glimpse of the beautiful Rhine Valley with old castles and green vineyards. The Indian Consul advised me to go by air from Frankfurt to Berlin because trains have to pass through the Russian zone which, more often than not, means unexpected and endless trouble and harassment for the travellers. I ultimately did get a taste of the Russian zone while travelling from Berlin to Prague. Although the driver and myself had our necessary visas with us, the Russian soldier bluntly stopped us with the remark that the car had no special permit. All arguments were futile, because the Russian military does not seem to believe in any discussion. So we had to walk about six furlongs with our luggage and just managed to catch our plane for Czechoslovakia.

Berlin is now a heap of ruins; about sixty per cent of the city buildings were heavily bombed during the last phase of the World War. The Ameri-

cans were trying hard to clear the debris and rebuild Berlin. But it appears to be almost an impossible task. The German capital is still divided into four zones, the French, British, American and Russian. Transport in the first three zones is not difficult; people can pass from one zone to another without any checking by the police or military. But going to the Russian zone is a veritable trial. You could surely thank your stars if you come back safely without any untoward happening. I was told that kidnapping of persons, including their cars, was a daily occurrence in the Russian sector. The Indian Military Mission had arranged to take us to the Russian sector in a car of the British Embassy, and so there was, fortunately, no trouble. We could have a look at the ruins of Hitler's Chancellery, Goebbels' Offices and Hitler's famous Balcony. The last air-raid shelter where the Fuhrer is believed to have electrocuted himself was also shown to us from a distance. A visit to the Olympic Stadium was reminiscent of the past glory of Hitler and Germany; it is now lying unused and, perhaps, haunted by the ghosts of many Nazi leaders.

The economic condition of Germany is extremely hard and pathetic. Owing to large-scale bombing, the housing problem has assumed serious proportions. In Berlin, sometimes one could find several families huddled together in one room. About 35 per cent of the people are unemployed because of industrial disorganisation and destruction of German factories. But the employed persons have to pay a tax of 25 per cent on their monthly incomes for the maintenance of the unemployed. The Americans get fancy articles for sale in Berlin. Many German men and women standing before the show-windows of American shops without the purchasing power for satisfying their needs was a very common but tragic sight in Berlin. A few months back, the old currency which was highly inflated was scrapped, and every German, rich or poor, was given 40 marks to re-start his earthly existence. So the Allies can be given the credit of launching "Communism" of their new brand in the land of Hitler. The result is economic depression and very low purchasing power among the people. Conditions in the Russian zone were much worse; the East German mark was equivalent to only one-fifth of the West mark. But there were no rigid restrictions on the flow of commodities from the West to the East.

Despite all these hardships, the spirit of the German nation appeared to be unbroken. They were not repentant of the doings of their Fuhrer, and the common people believed that he had succeeded in doing for their economic welfare what nobody else could ever do. If Hitler were to appear again people would implicitly follow him without any hesitation. The Germans are, by nature, extraordinarily hard-working, thorough and disciplined; but they require a hero to order and direct them. On the eve of the general elections of Western Germany the people

were openly abusing the Americans and other Allied powers in the press and on platform for having unthinkingly destroyed their fatherland. Hitler was determined to destroy Communism in Soviet Russia, but the United Nations stabbed him in the back. Now the United States of America and Great Britain are over-anxious to check the gushing tide of Communism in Europe and seek the help of Germans in this uphill task. The Germans, therefore, regard the Americans as puerile and short-sighted in politics and international affairs. "If you really desire our help in destroying Communism, first rebuild our country, hand over complete political power to us, stop dismantling our factories, and then we will consider"—this is the typical feeling of the average German today. The Americans are, at present, 'humouring' the Germans because their immediate interest is to wipe out Soviet Russia. They are actively encouraging the old Nazi elements in their inordinate anxiety to annihilate Communism. This is a tragedy of the highest order, and the world seems to be destined to tear itself between Fascism and Communism on the royal road to complete destruction.

In Mussolini's land also the economic conditions were far from satisfactory. There was mass unemployment and scarcity of consumer-goods. Black-market and corruption were rampant throughout the country. There is no business morality among the Italians; they try to fleece the tourists to the maximum. Their cities are comparatively dirty and unclean. There is laziness and indiscipline in their national life. For example, all shops in Italy are closed between 1 and 4 p.m. during the day; the people after lunch regularly sleep for a few hours. They are bad businessmen into the bargain. But they are highly artistic people in the sphere of painting, stone mosaic work, leather-ware, glass-ware and marble sculpture. The Art Galleries of Florence, Rome and Naples are world-famous. The Leaning Tower of Pisa is a marvel of architecture and engineering skill.

The existing Catholic Government in Italy was not popular because it had failed to tackle the economic problem satisfactorily. The Communists are still very active and form the strongest single party in the country. The Americans are, therefore, afraid that Communists might come into the power at the next general elections because they missed the last elections only by a very narrow margin. Marshall Aid is being popularised in Italy in order to wean away Mussolini's people from the 'Red' menace. But the Italians did not seem to be much impressed by Uncle Sam's Aid, and they believed that the Americans were only trying to smother Italian capital-goods industries under the cloak of Marshall Aid. I had the privilege of meeting the Pope in his summer capital, Castel Gandolfo, about forty miles from Rome. The Pope is an eminent scholar and possesses an impressive personality as the Head of the Roman Catholic faith.

Although the present Catholic regime tries to belittle everything that was in any way connected with Mussolini, it is actively encouraging the old Fascist forces to align themselves against the danger of Communism in Italy. The administration of the State through the Police and the Military is day by day leading towards Fascism, though everybody

glibly talks of saving democracy from the clutches of totalitarianism. The United States of America is professing to teach "democracy" to Japan, Germany and Italy. But, Uncle Sam, both at home and abroad, is over-anxious to array the forces of Fascism against the "Red" danger. This is a tale too deep for tears.

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THE QUESTION OF AGRICULTURAL FINANCE IN WEST BENGAL IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

By PROF. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

THE question of agricultural finance was never before so important as now when the nation is thinking intensively in terms of Planning for self-sufficiency in food and an increase in the agricultural production on the whole. An agriculturist is required to borrow funds for meeting the expenses of current agricultural operations, for purchasing land, for purchasing cattle, for improving agriculture and also to a considerable extent for meeting his own consumption needs.

An investigation conducted by the writer in 1947 into the economic condition of 138 peasant families selected at random in the district of Bankura reveals the following position regarding their indebtedness:

<i>Classes of families</i>	<i>Average amount of indebtedness of each class</i>
With holdings from 2 to 3 acres	Rs. 53 8 0
With holdings from 3 to 5 acres	„ 93 8 0
With holdings from 5 to 7 acres	„ 160 12 0
With holdings from 7 to 8 acres	„ 150 0 0
With holdings from 8 to 10 acres	„ 21 0 0

Now it has been reported by the Floud Commission that families with holdings up to 10 acres constitute 92.3 per cent of the total number of agricultural families. Considering this fact with the statistics given above we find that at least 92.3 per cent of the agricultural families are badly in need of credit for financing their work or meeting deficits in their domestic budgets.

Debt-settlement measures have discouraged private money-lending considerably in recent times. The agriculturists, therefore, have to look for finance to other agencies, such as commercial or co-operative banks. Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal for the year ending 30th June, 1947* gives the following statistics regarding the growth of agricultural credit societies in West Bengal:

Number of societies	9,489
Number of members	212,219
Working capital	Rs. 101.18 lakhs
Loans made to individuals during the year	Rs. 1,812,297

There are only 2 land-mortgage banks having members numbering 1,038 and a working capital of Rs. 4.38 lakhs. In respect of land-mortgage banks, West Bengal is lagging far behind other provinces, e.g., Madras, Bombay, C.P. and Berar, etc. Thus Bombay has 16 land-mortgage Societies and a provincial land-mortgage bank working successfully. Madras has 119 Primary land-mortgage banks and a Central land-mortgage bank. There are 21 Primary land-mortgage banks in C. P. and Berar. The utter inadequacy of financial provisions created by the co-operative societies in West Bengal is quite evident.

During the latter part of the war period and in the post-war period a rise in agricultural prices more than in proportion to the rise in industrial prices has certainly led to an accumulation of purchasing power in the hands of the peasants or farmers possessing large holdings. Accordingly, their deposits with commercial banks have increased to some extent. But they have also utilized a considerable portion of their savings in purchasing and storing gold. The commercial banks receive funds from rural areas but extend credit facilities only in negligible amount to villagers. For all these reasons the growth of surplus funds in the rural sector of our economy has not gone a long way towards redressing the financial difficulties of the poor peasants who constitute the bulk of the agricultural community. This shows lack of organization. The commercial banks and even the Central Co-operative Banks do not think it worth their while to supply credit in adequate amount to the rural areas on account of the heavy cost of collecting back the loans. It is not difficult to understand their point in view of the fact that during 1946-47 only 43.7 per cent

* Published in 1948.

1. *The Indian and Pakistan Year Book*, 1948, p. 353.

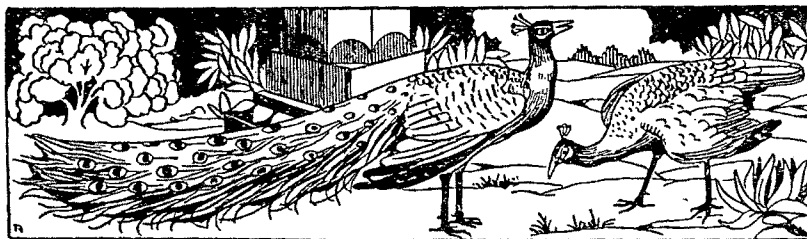
of the loans granted by the Central Co-operative Banks to the member Societies was recovered and that 71.2 per cent. of the loans granted by the Primary Societies to their members fell overdue.²

In view of all that has been stated here it appears that a thorough reorientation of state-policy regarding agricultural credit is vitally necessary at the present moment. Agricultural credit should no longer be treated as mainly a matter of voluntary or co-operative effort. The lacuna in this field has to be overcome by the Government with their own efforts. There is no denying the fact that up till now we have failed in the task or rather we have not devoted our efforts sufficiently to the task of pooling the monetary resources which have accumulated in the rural areas in the war and in the post-war period and harnessing them to an overall planning for agricultural progress. The pooling of monetary resources of the rural areas has been treated as a general problem connected with the anti-inflationary programme of the Government and the economic development of the country in general. Here it is discussed with particular reference to the problem of agricultural finance. It is a well-known fact that Savings Campaign as a part of the anti-inflationary programme has not achieved much success. This means that National Savings Certificates or other Government Bonds have got little attraction for the villagers who hoard their surplus funds in the form of gold or are inclined to increase their spending on consumption. It cannot be denied that villagers have been accustomed to the consumption of luxuries, e.g. scented oil, toilet, finer cloth, torch-light, malted milk, etc., during the latter part of the war-period and in the post-war period. In such circumstances the need for launching a special drive for savings in the rural areas must have to be emphasized. It is high time for India to have a specialized national institution like Agricultural Credit Corporation as an integral part of such a programme; each of the provinces also should have a similar institution linked up with the national one. Such institutions may be modelled on the Industrial Finance Corporation which has been brought into being by the Dominion Parliament in 1948.

It is worth considering whether a Provincial

2. Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal for the year ending 30th June, 1947, pp. 6-7.

Agricultural Credit Corporation can be started in West Bengal where a "go slow" policy is being pursued in respect of even small irrigation projects for lack of financial resources. The Government should own at least 50 per cent of the shares issued by the Corporation. The Government also should guarantee the return of capital and payment of interest in the case of debentures or bonds floated by the Corporation. The Government should guarantee the return of capital and payment of a minimum dividend in the case of share money also. The Corporation should have branches in all subdivisional towns and unions. Their business will be to receive deposits from rural areas, popularize and sell the debentures of the Corporation through vigorous campaign and finance both current agricultural operations and projects of agricultural improvement under the supervision of the board of directors located in the provincial headquarters. A substantial proportion of the loans should be supplied in kind, that is in the form of seeds, manures, oilcakes, agricultural implements and in the form of direct payment for irrigation or other improvement projects, rather than simply in the form of cash. The branches should be run by efficient and well-paid officers with the assistance of advisory bodies consisting of local men. Under such a plan the funds collected from rural areas will definitely flow into those areas rendering tangible benefit to agriculture and some indirect services to the general cause of rural upliftment; as such the debentures of the corporation are likely to earn a larger measure of popularity in villages in comparison with other bonds, if, of course, there is no lack of the requisite drive and villagers are given to understand that the proceeds of those debentures would be invested in agriculture. Co-operative Societies can be expected to achieve some measure of success only when some tangible improvement of agriculture and the lot of the poor peasants has been carried out through concerted drive for agricultural finance. If material resources and the requisite man-power are available, there is no reason why lack of financial facilities which is much talked of now-a-days should stand in the way of progress. The very tendency of monetary resources to accumulate in the rural sector of our economy opens up new possibilities of agricultural finance. The problem of tapping these possibilities is one of effective organization and unremitting drive.



BRITISH RULE IN BURMA

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.,
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BURMA—the traditional land of peacocks and pagodas—lost her independence as a result of the three Anglo-Burmese Wars in 1824-26, in 1852 and in 1885—Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, Pegu in 1852 and the rest in 1886. In the latter half of the 19th century Burma had become a pawn in the Anglo-French game for supremacy in the Far East and the complete absorption of the country by the English was the outcome.

Till 1937 Burma was ruled as a province of England's empire in India. But in that year Burma was separated from India. The reason given for the step was Burma's unwillingness to remain united with India. Truth to tell, a section of Burmese political opinion wanted separation and expressed their desire in no uncertain terms. But the actual causes go far deeper. British commercial interests were in favour of separation as that would give them better opportunities for the exploitation of Burma. In 1937, Indian merchants in Burma had already begun to prove themselves formidable rivals of the English. If Burma were separated from India, immigration of Indians to that country and their rights therein could be restricted on the ground that they were aliens. This would lead to their ultimate elimination leaving the British mercantile community virtual dictator of Burma's economic life. The policy of the elimination of Indians from all spheres of life was launched after separation and still continues with unabated vigour with disastrous consequences. In the second place, the daily increasing intensity of India's national aspirations was giving a headache to the ruling clique in England. None knew better than they that soon they would have to quit India. Unless Burma was separated from India before that, that too would be lost. Moreover, because of Indian connection political movements in India invariably reacted on Burma's political life. Awakening of Burma's political consciousness had already begun. The rulers hoped that by severing the links between India and Burma they could retard national aspirations of the latter. Hence, the separation of Burma in 1937. The hopes of the rulers were belied. That is, however, another story.

Burma was overrun by Japan within five years of separation from India. During the second World War, Rangoon fell to the Japanese army on March 8, 1942. Within a month whole Lower Burma lay prostrate at the feet of the cohorts of Nippon. The Japanese army continued its northward push and before long Mandalay, the last capital of independent Burma, fell to the invaders, who also conquered all the Chinese

outposts in Central Burma and in the Shan plateau. After the fall of Lashio in April, Chinese troops in Burma crossed the frontier and retired to China. The English army retreated to India. General Stilwell, the American Commander of the Chinese expeditionary force to Burma, followed suit. It was later widely circulated in Chinese army circles that from India the General had wired to Chungking to ask where the Chinese troops were. Military unpreparedness of the English coupled with widespread anti-British and pro-Japanese sentiments accounts for Japan's spectacular triumphs and British debacle in Burma.

On January 28, 1943, General Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, announced over the radio that Japan had decided to "grant freedom" to Burma. On August 1, Burma declared independence and at the same time declared war against England and the U. S. A. A new constitution, consisting, in all, of 64 clauses laid down, *inter alia*, "Burma shall be ruled over by the Head of the State who shall have full sovereign status and power." Dr. Ba Maw became the Head of the State (Naing-ngan-daw Adipadi). Needless to say, real powers were in the hands of the Japanese military authorities, Dr. Ba Maw being a stooge.

After the re-conquest of Burma in 1945, England decided to quit the country and this she actually did. Burma declared independence on January 4, 1948.

That Burma has been benefited by more than a century of British connection cannot be gainsaid. That British rule has done great disservice to her is still more emphatically true. The country was developed but only as much as was necessary to serve the ends of an alien imperialism, to facilitate exploitation. The harm done by British rule to Burma and her people has been incalculable. They still suffer from the evil effects of political serfdom and there is no knowing when, if at all, the wounds inflicted by British Imperialism on Burma will be healed. Independent Burma seems to have made an inauspicious start. Her performance so far is not encouraging. It does not warrant even moderate optimism regarding the future of the country.

When in 1826 as a result of the Treaty of Yandabo the East India Company helped itself to a big slice of Burma proper—Arakan and Tenasserim—she was almost wholly isolated from the rest of the world. Her only export deserving notice was a small quantity of teak. The English connection switched her on to the main currents of world history and brought about a complete change within a short time. Old trad

restrictions were abolished. The people were encouraged to use imported goods in ever-increasing quantities. Expansion of trade meant more money in the hands of the people, which they spent largely on foreign goods. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought the East and the West in closer contact. Flow-in and flow-out of merchandise became easier and quicker, and transport, cheaper. These in their turn powerfully re-acted on Burma's economic life. The demand for Burma rice increased. Towards the close of the 19th century British capitalists directed their attention and energies to exploiting the considerable mineral resources of Burma. Her total exports were valued at Rs. 654,700,000 in 1926-27. Later on, due to the world-slump there was a fall in the exports which remained at a low level for several years. In 1936-37, when the end of the slump was in sight, Burma's export figures almost reached the pre-slump figures and were valued at Rs. 555,270,000.

Under British rule Burma's foreign trade was almost wholly in the hands of the English. Ninety per cent of the foreign capital invested in Burma was British-owned. The economic life of the country was regulated by English business interests. Before the Ottawa Agreements of 1932 England traded with Burma on terms and conditions analogous to those applicable to other foreign countries. The Agreements inaugurated an era of preferential treatment for England and the Empire-countries.

That Burmese administration and traditional Burmese society were purged of many evils during English rule cannot be gainsaid. The principle of the economic liberty of the masses was recognised. The Rule of Law was introduced. Students of history must however guard against the error of thinking that British rule was an unmixed blessing for Burma in these respects. It dragged down the natural leaders of society to the level of the commoner. The traditional village and social organisations fell to pieces. National religion no longer enjoyed the patronage of the State. Education of the children was regarded as a social duty in pre-British Burma. In the days of slavery this sense was weakened almost to the point of extinction. These changes, however, did not come in a day or two. They extended over a long period and made their way almost imperceptibly. The Burmans themselves were at first wholly unaware of the process of social disintegration. The new wine of economic independence unknown in the days of kings had intoxicated the nation. It was universally acclaimed. The glamour of the West cast a spell, as it were, over the genius of the nation and paralysed it. A similar catastrophe was once about to engulf us in India when we stood at one of the most critical junctures of our history. Pull down the temples, consign the scriptures to flames—these were the slogans raised. Violation of time-honoured customs for its own sake became the fashion of the day. Thanks to

the hoary antiquity and splendid vitality of Indian culture, we did not loose our moorings. We shook off the torpor and came to our senses. Burmese civilisation, compared to the Indian, is but a child and is of a definitely inferior type. The impact of the West has therefore resulted in the Burmans being greatly denationalized.

Economic freedom and equality before law, indispensable as they are for building up a society on stable foundations, are not an unmixed blessing in the present stage of human evolution. As the English writer Blake puts it, "One law for the lion and the ox is oppression." Economic independence in a society divided into classes means the freedom of the haves to order things as they like—to hold the have-nots in social, political and economic serfdom and to build their own edifice of prosperity on the bones of the less fortunate millions. Economic freedom for these latter in the present social set-up means only the freedom of starvation. Under British rule the Burmese masses, freed from the slavery of feudal lords, were enchained in new meshes. They fell into the clutches of foreign money-lenders. British laws were all in favour of the foreign vampires. The masses were sacrificed at the altar of class-interests.

The break-down of the traditional economic organisation, the substitution of a new one in its place led to widespread economic anarchy. Religion and social structure were undermined and both decayed. The tempo of disintegration was accelerated with the passage of time. The products of Burma's fine arts as well as industrial arts yielded more and more ground to those imported from England. Indigenous amusements and recreations fell off favour. In a word, an all-round degeneration and disintegration threatened traditional Burma. Steadily accumulating debts, increasing expropriation, periodic unemployment, a low proportion of luxury goods in imports, a lower consumption of rice—all these pointed to the fact that Burma was rushing headlong towards bankruptcy. There was a steady influx of fortune-seekers from abroad. Self-interest was the only god to whom they paid homage. Any means was good to them so long as it served their ends. They grew richer and richer every day at the expense of Burma and the Burmans.

Mr. J. S. Furnivall points out, "British rule only opened up Burma to the world and not the world to Burma." (*Colonial Policy and Practice*, p. 214). It did not put a stop to the steady decline of her culture. Nor did it succeed in planting Western culture in the Burmese soil. The vacuum thus created is still there. Ever-increasing discontent notwithstanding, the Burmese for long did not even think of challenging his British suzerain.

The shock of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) did much to awaken the suppressed nationalities of the Eastern world from their slumber. It acted as an

eye-opener to Burma, among others. It demonstrated that an Asian people could be match for forces that a European power could bring against them. In common with many an Asian country Burma noticed how with the help of modern science an Asian people could get the better of a European. The discontent against foreign rule in Burma would so long express itself in minor revolts here and there. As a general rule these were confined to ignorant and superstitious masses. The classes scrupulously held aloof. But the Russo-Japanese War brought about a re-orientation of outlook. Many of the educated gentry began to think that national re-awakening would follow education. From now on the leaders began to emphasize the supreme need of the spread of education. Attempts were made in this direction. But discipline was neglected from the beginning. Hence, national regeneration through education fell far short of expectations.

The bureaucratic administration in the meanwhile was holding the nation in its grip. It was asphyxiating the nation like an incubus. It had neither time nor inclination to help Burma realize her newly awakened aspirations or to give a sympathetic consideration to them.

The Dyarchy set up in Burma in 1923 might give the people the much-needed training in the art of self-government and thus prepare them for political freedom. Nothing was done. The 1923 Reforms with their communal electorates accentuated sectional and communal animosities. In the meanwhile the zero hour for a show-down between Burma's nascent nationalism and Britain's capitalist Imperialism had been drawing closer. The astute rulers of the country took advantage of the communal situation and applied the age-old imperialist device of *divide et impera*. Anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiments were cleverly and successfully diverted to anti-Indian channels. This accounts for the anti-Indian riots in Burma and general anti-Indian attitudes of the Burmans towards the end of the British rule. It takes two to make a quarrel and no impartial observer can wholly exonerate the Indians from responsibility for the Indo-Burman bitterness which still smoulders.

Merciless exploitation of the land and her people under a capitalistic economic set-up was going on

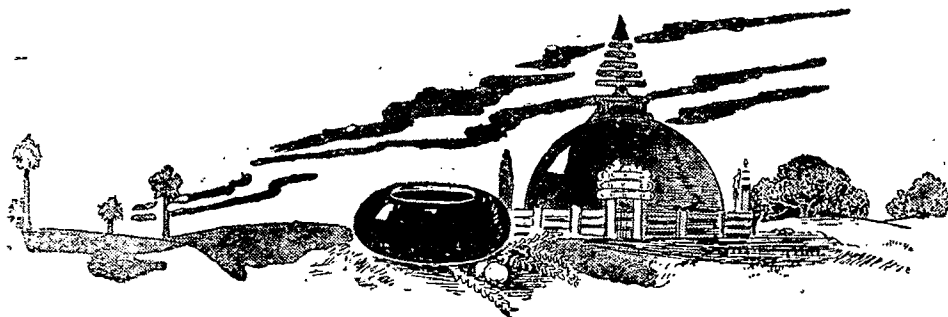
all the while. Burglary, murder, robbery and other serious crimes were on the increase. The following table speaks for itself :

Year	Per million people	
	Dacoity	Murder
1901-05	6.3	26.5
1906-10	9.4	32.0
1911-15	14.6	39.0
1916-20	17.9	42.9
1921-25	36.0	53.2
1926-30	31.9	59.7
1931	Rebellion	
1933-38	32.7	55.6*

In Burma under the kings the people were kept down. They were paid no wages and were subjected to forced labour. They had to wear coarse clothes. Officials above were allowed to wear finery. Drinking was indulged in by upper-class Burmans ; but prohibition was the general rule for the commoner. Under British rule all these factors disappeared. Burma was partially industrialised by the English. But unchecked industrial development has a tendency to be anti-social. In a sovereign country this tendency is held in leash by the conservative forces in society. In colonies and dependencies, with the break-down of the old society under the impact of foreign conquest, these forces cease to exist. The anti-social tendencies have, therefore, a full and free play. The Irrawaddy Delta where three-fourths of the crops grown are exported and the population consists, by and large, of landless labourers, "leaderless men," is the most criminal area in Burma.

In the later days of British rule the 'phongyis', i.e., Buddhist monks, became more and more restless. The increase in crimes, the general restlessness prevailing in the church are, in the last analysis, the symptoms of a canker eating into the vitals of the body-politic. A little over a century of alien rule succeeded in breaking down the old social organisation ; but nothing new was built up to take the place of the old. That is the tragedy of Burma today.

* These figures are taken from, *British Rule in Burma* by G. E. Harvey.



AMERICAN INVESTMENTS VERSUS FOREIGN POLICY

By SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

THE students and teachers of world affairs have perhaps been familiar with 'foreign capital' as a means of world economic development. The post-war Europe and the less well-developed countries of Asia are in need of foreign assistance. The statesmen the world over reluctantly accept the foreign aid of one kind or the other so that the shape of things to come may not hamper the real cause. The rehabilitation of Western Europe and the problems of the Far East have been uppermost in the minds of the U.S. statesmen for various reasons. The U.S. foreign policy *vis-a-vis* foreign investments vitally affects the shape of things to come for mankind. The U.S. attitude to the promotion of vital interests of the peoples of Asia as a whole similarly has been uppermost in the minds of the statesmen of the less well-developed regions like India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and South-East Asia. The high lights of the U.S. investments abroad *vis-a-vis* foreign policy have been of tremendous interest to the students of world affairs to-day.

The less fortunately placed countries with interests common to one another, either in Europe or in the Far East, cannot remain unaffected by the powerful forces aided and abetted by the financial assistance in the international plane. It is perhaps well-known that between July 1, 1945 and June 30, 1948 financial assistance to foreign countries by the United States amounted to \$21,219 million including \$3,592 million or roughly 17 per cent supplied from private sources. In 1947, the total outflow of private long-term investment capital from the United States was \$501 million, exclusive of the purchase of \$243 million of International Bank debentures. New loans totalling \$153 million were less than half the total of outstanding foreign loans retired and repatriated. Long-term banking claims on foreigners increased to \$76 million, direct investments abroad (net) to \$666 million, although a special type of investment, the purchase of ships for the use of American-owned foreign-flag operators, accounted for \$124 million of that total. Investments in the petroleum industry, exclusive of additions to tanker fleets, totalled \$353 million. More than two-thirds of the petroleum investments were made in Venezuela and the Middle East. Of the investments other than those in the petroleum and shipping fields, 40 per cent were made in Brazil and Argentine. (Data in this paragraph are based on *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, August 21, 1948, "Movement of Private U. S. Capital to Foreign Countries.")

This concentration of new investments in the

petroleum industry is significant because it shows that, when safety of principal and the possibilities of profit are combined, large investments follow. As an indication of the magnitude of their operations representatives of the industry recently stated that the oil companies contemplate investing about \$1,750 million in the Middle Eastern companies in the next five years. (*New York Times*, December 8, 1948 : A statement attributed to executives of the Arabian-American Oil Company and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company).

Similarly, the *New York Times*, December 20, 1948 reports that steel companies in the United States are developing properties in Venezuela which by late 1949 will be valued at about \$60 million. Below is given a table showing the American-owned assets in foreign countries :

Estimates of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries—End of 1939, 1945 and 1947 :

Type of Assets	(In millions of dollars)		
	1939	1945	1947
Private Investments			
Long-term			
Direct Investments	6,750	7,600	9,400
Other Investments	6,100	7,200	5,700
Total, Long-term investments	12,850	14,800	15,100
Short-term investments	1,050	900	1,600
Total private investments	13,900	15,700	16,700
U.S. Government Assets			
Long term	40	1,600	11,700
Short term	—	—	400
Total U. S. Govt. Assets	40	1,600	12,100
Total American-owned Assets	13,940	17,300	28,800

Note : The 1939 and 1945 data were taken from Treasury Department, *Census of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries*, 1947, p. 9. The 1947 data are from Department of Commerce, Press Release OBE—142, August 26, 1948. "United States Investments Abroad."

It is clear from the above table that government loans and credits to foreign countries rose from a negligible figure in 1939 to more than \$1,600 million at the end of 1945 and then, as post-war lending really expanded, rose again in two years to \$12,100 million at the end of 1947. The latter total included about

\$3,400 million subscribed to the Bretton Woods Organizations. At the same time, total private investments increased from \$13,900 million at the end of 1939 to \$16,790 million at the end of 1947. Most of the increase in private investments, be it noted, has been direct investments in Latin America and the Near East. The increase in government-owned foreign assets exclusive of the subscriptions to the Fund and the Bank has been mostly in Europe, particularly as a result of the loans to the United Kingdom and France.

It must be emphasised that the pre-war American-owned foreign investments were made in the industrially advanced areas, U.K., Germany and Canada for certain reasons, political or economic or both. It is however no less true that American investments in the less well-developed areas were greater than in Europe, proportionally to total capital investments (the capital equipment of the country—domestic and foreign-owned). American holdings of non-controlling interests in the securities of European and Canadian corporations were much larger than in those of Latin American corporations or those of Asia and other under-developed countries, both in terms of value and proportionally to total American-owned assets in those areas.

It is to be noted that the government investments in foreign countries have a different motivation other than financial returns. The U.S. investment in foreign countries is no exception to the rule. It is evident that there has been intention to make the loan more palatable politically in the home country of the lender. History says that the investments of the British Government in the Near East oil-fields have been made to further political ends—to control sources of fuel needed by the Royal Navy. The fact that the investments have been profitable is fortunate but not determining. The United States government invested heavily in manganese production in Cuba, not because of any chances of profits, but because supplies of that metal were needed during the war, regardless of cost. The British investments in the Suez Canal and the American investments in the Panama Canal are examples of a somewhat earlier period. Both facilitated trade, both were implements of national defence. (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXIV, "Private Foreign Investments: A Means of World Economic Development" by William Harvey Reeves and Paul D. Dickens, p. 217.).

There is no doubt today that the American assistance in foreign countries cannot by itself restore the position of political and economic equilibrium over the three continents. The trend of American foreign policy since her victory over a moribund Spain fifty years ago aims at moulding her destiny in such a way that European power-politicians may not disturb the peace of the globe. It is not difficult to follow that the Monroe Doctrine is a step to accelerate power-

ful forces already in operation. The American sovereignty over the Philippines marks a startling development in American policy. It is a fact that the U. S. had acquired acutely sensitive nerves concerning the destinies of the Pacific, just as even earlier, she had grown feline antenna concerning Latin America. The events of history began to move very fast and European power-pattern began to upset the rise of new imperialism in any part of the globe at the dictates of powerful Britain and France with their far-flung overseas empires. But the U. S. policy still continues to remain highly sensitive concerning the destinies of the Pacific and Latin America. But the tide of events could not rest there. American interventionist tactics became increasingly effective in changing the *status quo* of European affairs. It may not be out of mark here to point out that Theodore Roosevelt, speaking to a distinguished German diplomatist in 1911, said :

"As long as England succeeds in keeping up the balance of power in Europe, not only on principles but in reality, well and good. Should she however for some reason or other fail in doing so, the United States would be obliged to step in at least temporarily, in order to re-establish the balance of power in Europe, never mind against which country or group of countries our efforts may have to be directed. In fact, we ourselves are becoming, owing to our strength and geographical situation, more and more the balance of power of the whole globe."

It is in the context of the above statement that the later course of American policy develops itself fully. Today American interests in European balance of power are perhaps the beginning of greater tasks ahead. The Americans feel that their stake in Europe is and always has been greater, infinitely greater, than their stake in the Far East. In the context of the present situation that global politics may not continue to upset the position of equilibrium, it is inevitable that U. S. stake in Europe is part of their stake in the Far East, for as Americans believe, the Far East is only the backdoor of Europe. Moreover, it is common knowledge that for three centuries or more the destinies of the world, including those of the Far East, have been settled on the battlefield or at the council tables of Europe. The sea-lanes of the Atlantic, in peace and war, have been historically of more critical national interest to the Americans than the broad reaches of the Pacific. The two world wars have shown once more that the Americans are more interested in defence of the coastal states of Western Europe and their insular and continental possessions in the Atlantic basin, or for that matter, their African continental possessions. (From January 1, 1913, to July 31, 1940, the *New York Times* index lists the French port of Dakar a total of four times. It appeared 49 times during the balance of 1940 and 67 times in 1941—in the latter years almost exclusively

in connection with its importance to the security of the United States.)

Very recently, the Report of February 25, 1948, of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, says :

"The American people, victorious in battle, look out upon a world disrupted by war and shaken by its aftermath. Our efforts to win back to peace have induced unswerving support of the United Nations as well as generous assistance to foreign countries in need of aid."

It is well-known to students of history and politics that for a century after 1814 with the exception of the decade 1907-1917 one of the principal concerns of British policy was to resist Russian expansion along the whole periphery of the Russian Empire, to resist by diplomacy, moral influence, economic pressure, and if necessary by armed force. In so doing Britain was of course serving her own interests but she incidentally was serving purposes other than her own. The world knows that the Americans have inherited the former British responsibility of holding back Russian imperialism and that of replacing it by dollar diplomacy. The spread of American imperialism naturally coincides with the generous assistance of far-reaching consequences to Greece, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Iran and other areas of potential trouble looming just in the horizon. The story does not end there. The "Truman Doctrine", the Marshall Plan and the prospective military alliance with the Western European nations are a recognition of the fact that the American defensive frontiers lie along the Rhine and the Alps and the Elbe. It is a strong current of misgivings and misapprehensions on the shape of things to come over the entire global politics. Today the Economic Recovery Programme is very much in the news, perhaps rightly so as it should be. It is true that E.R.P. is intelligent statecraft founded upon an enlightened self-interest. It is unfortunate that it is concerned among other things with helping the Western European states to resist Soviet subversion or aggression. It is rather perplexing that the Americans as a nation have become war-minded in an unusual manner. The ratification of the Atlantic Pact by an overwhelming majority in the United States Senate is a sign of the same nervousness and sense of perturbation rooted deeply in the minds of the American statesmen. The perversities of the present situation make confusion worse confounded. Recently, General Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff, while arguing for the Military Assistance Program, said :

"It must be perfectly apparent to the people of the United States that we cannot count on friends in Western Europe if our strategy in the event of war dictates that we shall first abandon them to the enemy with a promise of later liberation. Yet that is the only strategy that can prevail if the military balance of power in Europe is to be carried in the wings of our bombers and deposited in reserves this side of the ocean. It is a strategy

that would produce nothing better than impotent and disillusioned allies in the event of a war."—*The Round Table*, September, 1949, p. 342.

A solution for the impoverished world indeed! It is not clear why the Americans are participating in an undeclared civil war in Europe to the detriment of the progressive forces of Europe and through it to the rest of the world. It remains to be seen how the principles of individual liberty, free institutions and genuine independence in Europe may be strengthened in the present context of economic crisis which Europe and other less well-developed areas of Eurasia have been passing through since the termination of hostilities. The world today faces a resurgent Asia, throbbing and pulsating with new life and vibrating with new emotions. Europe and Asia if split by the turbulent streams of disintegrating tendencies may spell a disaster the consequences of which may not be easily imagined. The vast land mass of Eurasia is today restless and high statesmanship on the part of the wealthy nations of which the U.S.A. towers above all in material resources and in new technical 'know-how' can resolve outstanding issues of the hour. The history of financial assistance in the past is disheartening to a degree. The Near and the Middle East still associate with foreign investments the system of 'capitulations' and the Far East, particularly China, the system of 'extra-territoriality.' Furthermore, the foreign investments of the earlier period and also of recent times, grew from small beginnings and their power became enlarged as the amount of the capital invested and the number of foreign persons within those countries increased and in a later period their principal usefulness was to insure political controls which tended towards maintenance of monopolies. It is obvious that the international political tension is a part of the several factors of which one is financial assistance in foreign countries by the Great Powers. It is a patent fact that foreign capital often assumes a sort of responsibility toward the system which it serves and the persons who operate it and are dependent on it. It is well-known that the Middle East and the Near East have not yet been able to move in line with the rest of the world, and feudalism of reactionary character has been and still is supremely backed by the private foreign investor with interests not common to that of the investee. The unfavourable attitude to foreign investments is easily traceable to past experiences.

We must admit that remedies lie in several lines of international policy. The sooner they are implemented, the better. The American insistence on economic nationalism and protectionism has been a bar to the expansion of world economy as a whole. The multilateral agreements as envisaged in the Havana Charter are perhaps a step in the right direction. The investee countries must be protected against possible interference in their internal affairs and their

rights to control foreign capital must be unequivocally acknowledged. Mr. Walter Lippman, well-known author and commentator, has rightly said that the foreign policy is the first line of a nation's defence and it is what he called the "shield of the republic". It is expected and necessary that the world should not only share the views and sentiments expressed in Mr. Lippman's phrase but should see that the "shield of republic" is not threatened with the pressure-tactics of the power-politicians. It is often seen that power-economics and power-politics always go together. Today as never before in world history, the position of economic equilibrium and that of political equilibrium have been upset, and poverty, hunger, malnutrition and economic ills are common to the less well-developed countries of Asia. Asia's greatest living statesman Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, while on his mentally exciting tour in the U.S.A. cried in agony that the freedom-loving peoples of Asia must have full control of managing their own affairs in line with the rest of the world. It is unfortunate that American Far Eastern policy and American occupation of Japan are examples of a somewhat reactionary character and of grim outlook on the shape of things to come. No less serious has been the situation of Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia that suffer immeasurably from the Anglo-French-Dutch imperialisms of the past.

America's European policy is intimately bound up with the sinister designs of the Anglo-French-Dutch imperialisms of the past. It is well and good that the commitments of the types, *e.g.*, Military Assistance Program and Economic Recovery Program are part of political interest of the United States, broadly conceived what Washington called "interest guided by justice." The statesmen, politicians, men of goodwill across the seven seas and five lands however, agree that the 'cold war' between two blocs is an unnecessarily distasteful experience for the common run of men and women on earth. It is likewise a new and even more distasteful experience to know that the recovery and the stability of the world are not being tackled as it should be, on a global scale, intelligently and intellectually at a high level. We believe that America's active participation in European affairs will be the beginning of her greater efforts in resolving certain fundamental differences between the Atlantic communities and the freedom-loving peoples of Asia. It is to be hoped that the dominant trend of nationalism of the Asians as a whole, may satisfactorily enable the Americans to approach the problems of resurgent Asia in proper perspective. The very strong urges of the peoples need human touch in many ways. The foreign investments by themselves are mere palliatives in the present context.

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TEA INDUSTRY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By PROF. N. C. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A.

Tea is obtained from the young leaves of a bushy plant. Oil glands occur in the substance of the leaf. The flavour of the tea is largely due to this oil content.

Tea drinking has now become widespread all over the world. It has become so universal among the civilised people that it is looked upon more or less as a daily necessity. Even the poorer people in many places cannot do without a cup of tea daily. And by gradual improvement in the standard of living of the people, tea has become an important item in the menu of daily tiffin as well as of social entertainment. Though it has occupied an important place in our dietary, we cannot say exactly when use was first made of tea. We come across various 'sayings' of eminent persons regarding the efficacy of this leaf, some of which are more than 4000 years old. In the third century a famous Chinese physician says, "To drink tea constantly makes one think better." We find in the legends of Japan, wherein the discovery of tea is credited to a Buddhist saint, that a saint finding it difficult to remain awake during his meditations, plucked the leaves from a nearby bush. He chewed

them and found that his mind was clear and refreshed. Thus these leaves enabled him to throw off his lethargy. Even Cowper mentions tea as "the cups that cheer but do not inebriate." Let me quote below a few extracts from the writings of eminent persons, dealing with the efficacy of tea. These, I believe, will be both amusing and interesting to the readers.

"We drank some tea . . . we found it very wholesome, and comparing the effects of this tea with those of wine . . . it is doubtful which of these two may obtain pre-eminence, if not this leaf."

"Nothing is comparable to this plant. Those who use it are for that reason alone exempt from all maladies and reach an extreme old age. Not only does it procure great vigour for their bodies but it preserves them from gravel and gallstone, headache, cold, ophthalmia, catarrh, asthma, sluggishness of the stomach and intestinal troubles."

I do not, of course, believe in all these efficacies of this drink, but from my personal experience I must confess that it has some soothing influence. A few years back I suffered from headache occasionally. I used to take a cup of tea whenever I had an attack of

headache. I felt much relieved of my headache as soon as I finished taking tea. It is also a fact that a cup of tea helps much to regain fresh energy after temporary exhaustion of mind and body. From these accounts we should not assume that there are no adversaries of tea. A German claimed that tea was the cause of the dried-up appearance of the Chinese. Another writer remarks :

"Men seem to have lost their stature and comeliness and women their beauty."

He also draws an analogy between the effect of concealment of love and the use of tea. Sir P. C. Roy called this drink as poison. It has also been found from experience that tea in empty stomach reacts on liver and too much of this drink tells upon the general health.

Whatever its value be from the foregoing discussions, it is clear that tea had been in use from ancient times. And by the beginning of the 7th century tea was introduced both as a medicine and as a beverage, and it was also an important article of trade in China. This country is believed like the natural home of this plant, though it is generally accepted as certain that tea plant is also indigenous to Assam and Burma. For many centuries China was the greatest exporter of tea in the world and it had been introduced into Europe from China by the Dutch and the Portuguese travellers in 1610. England saw it for the first time in 1641. During the reign of Princess Catherine tea became a fashionable drink for the ladies of England. Gradually it was then introduced to other countries of Europe and made its first appearance in America in 1670. All these accounts show that the European countries as well as America which are the greatest tea 'importers and drinkers' were acquainted with tea only about 350 years ago. Though China is still the largest producer of tea in the world, India is the greatest exporter. She rather dominates the world market now. The demand for tea in international trade has been estimated at 880 million lbs. and more than 40 per cent of the total is supplied by India. The production and export of tea by India and other important countries which compete with India in the world market may be given below for comparison :

Countries	Production in 1948 (million lbs.)	Exports in 1948 (million lbs.)
India	572,400,000	349,662,000
Pakistan	50,000,000	27,829,000
Ceylon	298,791,000	295,838,000
Indonesia	27,817,000	19,760,000
China	880,000,000 (1936)	92,000,000* (1938)
Japan	227,380,000 (1939)	39,000,000 (1928)

Other tea-producing countries are Formosa, Malaya, Burma, Indo-China, Fiji, Natal, Madagascar, Brazil, South Carolines in U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

It will not be out of place to mention here that since April, 1933, the tea production and export of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia are regulated by International Tea Restriction Scheme. The present agreement runs from 1st April, 1948, and will continue

for a period of two years or for such shorter period as may be necessitated by the coming into force of the Charter of the International Trade Organisation of the United Nations. The present Interim Agreement fixes the permissible acreage and export quota as under :

Countries	Permissible acreage	Exports quota in lbs.
India	7,75,700	348,246,170
Pakistan	76,700	34,996,746
Ceylon	5,65,603	251,588,012
Indonesia	5,19,012	173,597,000
	19,37,015	808,427,928

India usually exports 76 per cent of her total production. The rest is consumed within the country. But the per capita consumption is very low in comparison with other important countries of the world. It is 3 lbs. in India whereas it is 10 lbs. in U. K., 7 lbs. in Australia and 4 lbs in Canada. So there is great scope for increased consumption of tea within the country. The activities of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board which had been popularising by propaganda in India and abroad the tea-drinking habit of the people are worthy of mention. The intensive advertising campaigns initiated by the Board have already borne fruit and the people of India are inclined more and more to become regular visitors to the tea shops. The Board spends more than Rs. 20 lakhs on propaganda work in India. The activities of the Board also have borne fruit in several countries abroad specially in America and U. K. In 1934-35, the Board spent £50,000, in America and £11,000 in U.K. The work of the Board has now been taken over by Central Tea Board from 1st August, 1949. The main functions of this Tea Board are to bring about co-ordinated development and marketing of Indian tea and to organise tea trade on a long-term basis. It will also arrange for research, collection of statistics, fixing of grade standards, improving marketing of tea and bulk purchase on behalf of the government. In 1939, India and Pakistan exported 350 million lbs. of tea with the following countries :

U.K.	..	..	305 million lbs.
Canada	..	..	15 " "
U.S.A.	..	..	8 " "
Ireland	..	..	3 " "
Iran	..	..	5 " "

So the tea industry in India and Pakistan depends largely on export trade and earns foreign exchanges to the extent of more than Rs. 70 crores. There is further scope for the extension of export market in America, Egypt and Middle Eastern countries. Tea industry in India and Pakistan, no doubt, is in a prosperous condition and pays a handsome dividend every year to its shareholders. It has more than 5,000 plantations and employs more than a million labourers.

Seventy-seven per cent of the tea is obtained from Bengal and Assam. Southern India accounts for only 18 per cent. Assam produces more than 50 per cent of the production. The important producing districts are Darrang, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Cachar. In West Bengal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri account for almost the entire output of the province and Sylhet, Chittagong and Tipperah account for almost the entire production of Pakistan. Purnea, Ranchi and Hazaribagh in Bihar; Garhwal and Almora in U.P.; Kangra in the Punjab are other producing tracts of the Northern Belt. In Southern India, the major portion of the output is raised by Travancore, Madras, Coorg, Cochin, Mysore and Satara district of Bombay. But the most disquieting feature of the industry is that it is largely owned by the Europeans.

"The story of how India came to prevail in the tea trade of the world is both stirring and romantic." In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had a profitable tea trade with U.K. from China which had a monopoly in the production of tea. In the event of any trouble with China, lest the supply of tea from China should be stopped, an English botanist suggested that an alternative source of supply must be found out in India. He also drew attention to the natural possibilities that existed in India. Little however was done until 1834 when Lord William Bentinck warmly took up the matter. He appointed officers to proceed to China and collect tea seeds and expert Chinese labourers. In all three missions were sent and much money was spent unprofitably. One Mr. Robert Bruce discovered in 1832 that the tea plant was indigenous in Assam and Lord William Bentinck was unaware of this. It also took many years to convince the authorities that the Indian seed was really better than that imported from China. The first samples of tea grown on the government plantations in Assam were sent to England in 1838 and the first sale actually occurred three years later. It was not until 1852 when it was established that Indian tea was in a position to compete in the London market with China tea. Thereafter the progress of the industry was very rapid and so the government ceased its direct connection in 1866. Many private companies were then formed and barring one or two failures and depression, the tea industry has been passing through uninterrupted prosperity and progress which is still visible today.

Such progress of the industry was not accomplished easily. It involved much labour and many hardships on the part of the pioneers. They had to pass through many reverses as well. But the pioneers struggled on and today the result of their energy and enterprise is evident in the industry itself. The establishment, development and maintenance of tea gardens demand much labour, risk and foresight. The intelligent combination and co-ordination of all factors of production are indispensable for their success. Tea cultivation requires a warm and humid sub-tropical climate. The

soil must be deep and well-drained. It requires abundant rainfall of not less than 60 inches annually. It is generally successfully grown in well-drained slopes of hilly regions. The leaves are plucked by hands. So an abundant supply of labour is no less an important factor.

The first matter for consideration is the choice of a locality and site having all the natural advantage of tea cultivation. After the selection of a suitable area the houses are put up. A start is then made to clear the jungles and prepare the soil ready to receive the young plants. The plants are transplanted from nearby nurseries. Normally a tea plant is not in a state to give an economic yield of leaf until it is five years old. In the tea gardens, the shade trees are also grown to give shelter to the tea 'plants or bushes' from inclement weather. The leaves of these shade trees also provide valuable green manure. In a natural state, the plants generally grow to a height of 25 ft. to 30 ft. But for the convenience of plucking they are not allowed to exceed a height of 5 ft. or 6 ft. So in regular cycles, the tea bushes have to be pruned in order to keep the plants within this height.

After the passing of the period of development and extension, plucking of tea-leaf begins. Only the best shoots which mean two leaves and one bud are plucked. Care must be taken that none of the shoots is washed and overlooked. After the plucking, the leaves are weighed and spread out in withering shed until they reach a condition when they are ready for despatch to the factory. The withered leaves then pass through several machines and become ready for despatch either by rail or by steamer to the docks in Calcutta or Chittagong. The tea is despatched in aluminium-lined plywood boxes. So the plywood industry is intimately connected with tea trade. The shipment of tea in India falls into two classes: (a) Consignment direct from garden to London where teas are sold by auction in Mincing Lane. This practice is no longer in vogue and it stopped during the war. The British Ministry of Agriculture is now making 'bulk purchase' from India. (b) Consignment sold by auction in Mission Row, Calcutta. It is then distributed all over the country through dealers as well as shipped to countries outside U. K.

A great number of people find employment in this industry and so we can say that the industry offers good scope for employment. So it is desirable to have a clear picture of its establishment and personnel:

(1) There are purely agricultural workers. Their number in a tea garden is usually approximately one person for every acre of tea plantation. They hoe the soil, pluck the leaves and prune the bushes.

(2) The second class of employees are the overseers. They are generally selected from the cultivators. They supervise and record the works of the labourers after apportioning the work among them to be done each day.

(3) The mechanics, who have had some training

in the engineering yards, also find employment here. They are engaged in the simpler jobs of maintaining the factory machinery in working order.

(4) Then there is the clerical staff. The clerks are men of good general education. It is better if they have a special knowledge in accountancy and business methods. They attend to the book-keeping, store-keeping and issue side of the business. The work is not hard, but offers plenty of opportunity for a capable young man. Though the salary of this staff ranges between Rs. 20 and Rs. 130, a capable young man can reach to a position of responsibility by virtue of learning, experience and perseverance. In this connection it is to be noted that most of the employees in a tea garden receive in addition to pay and salary, dearness allowance, bonus or profit, provident fund facilities, free houses and fuel, good grains and other necessities at a cheap rate, servant's allowance, medicine and medical treatment.

(5) Medical men have also some scope for employment. A fully qualified medical man may be in charge of medical arrangement of a group of gardens. In such an employment he may expect a monthly salary of Rs. 600 and upwards. A less qualified man may remain in charge of a single garden and in that case he may expect to start on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. A single garden may have more than one medical man also.

(6) The responsibility for co-ordinating all the working arrangements of a tea-garden vests with the Manager. A successful manager is a man of many parts and considerable experience. He should possess a thorough knowledge of engineering, agriculture and accountancy. He should also be a man of tact and sympathy ready to understand the difficulties of the employees and should act in such a way that the interests of the garden and the welfare of the employees are not jeopardised in any way. No outside technical training is necessary for the post of a manager and any young employee of good general education can aspire to become the manager if he possesses special parts, foresight and intelligence. A good tea garden offers such a training ground. The manager of a tea garden can expect to earn a monthly salary of Rs. 300 and upwards.

(7) Above all is the Board of Management. The Board consists of a few directors elected by the shareholders. The Directors appoint from among themselves

one or two Managing Directors who are the whole-time employees of the garden. The Directors occasionally sit in a meeting and formulate plans and policy by passing resolutions and see if these are executed by the employees of the garden properly. A successful Board of Management enables the shareholders to earn handsome profit by way of dividend and the members of the Board get allowances and other remuneration in addition to their share of dividend.

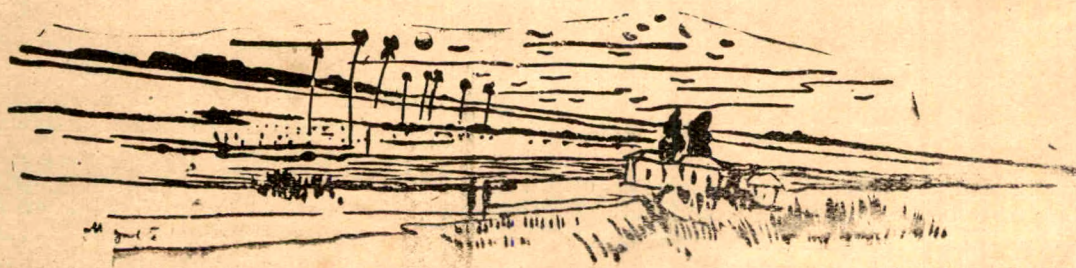
(8) Outside the tea gardens there was till August 1, 1949, one organisation known as Indian Tea Market Expansion Board of which we spoke earlier. This Board offered employment to young men as propaganda officers on various ranks, such as Sub-Inspector, Inspector, Circle Inspector, Asst. Superintendent and Superintendent. Any young man could begin his career as Sub-Inspector on Rs. 60 and by gradual promotion rise to the position of Superintendent. A Superintendent usually draws a salary of Rs. 500 and upward per month. Now we know the work of the Board has been taken over by the Central Tea Board. This new Board, in addition to above employments, offers further scope for employment as research workers, statisticians, etc.

(9) In the marketing and distribution of tea, tea-brokers play an important role. A tea-broker must be an expert tea-taster. The scope of earning in this line is considerable.

(10) A good tea-taster is largely in demand in the tea trade. No special technical qualification is necessary for a tea-taster. He can learn the art well provided he undergoes a long period of training as apprentice in a firm of tea-brokers or in a tea-buying firm. A tea-taster can easily earn a salary from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1200 per month.

(11) There is again the tea-blender. The tea-blending can also be learnt by a long course of apprenticeship in a large tea-buying firm. The packets of tea which are sold in the market seldom contain the produce of one district only. It is the duty of the blender and the tea-taster to blend the teas of different localities in varying proportions so that the mixture so created suits the taste of the tea-drinkers. A good tea-blender can get a starting salary of Rs. 1,000 per month.

(12) Lastly, the business of tea-dealers and exporters offers excellent opportunity for earning handsome money and any young man with initiative and energy can prosper in this line.



SOME ARTISTIC CRAFTS OF INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,

Deputy Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta

The superb artistic faculty of Indians has not only created forms of beauty in every sphere of life but has enabled them to present before the world even the articles of our everyday use decorated with designs of great artistic merit in a way eliciting admiration from all. The beautiful nature around has given them an impetus to create everything around them beautiful and to enjoy life in all its beauty and glory. This inner persuasion has been responsible for the creation of art treasures, which we admire and adore today.



Spittoon—Hyderabad Bidri

Courtesy : Indian Museum

By this inner artistic sensibility Indians of old have been able to contribute to the world in the domain of arts and crafts, things of beauty and artistic form. To express their inner urgings, artists of this

country like artists of other lands, had to take recourse to various media, some of which they had to invent and to perfect by long experience and practice. To make and decorate the articles of our everyday use they had to invent various forms of alloys. In recognition of this inventive faculty Dr. Benjamin Heyne in the *Asiatic Journal* for March 1817, remarked :

“The Hindus have since time immemorial, not only excelled their neighbours in the management of metals for useful and curious purposes, but are even acquainted with alloys unknown to our practical chemists.”

Not only had Indian craftsmen a strong inclination for invention to suit their own purposes, but had an infinite capacity for assimilating foreign crafts. One of such crafts is ‘Damascening.’

DAMASCENING

Damascening as the name indicates had its origin in Damascus, where it was practised to highest perfection by the early goldsmiths of that place. Later it was carried to India directly from Kabul and Persia. It means the surface ornamentation of iron, steel or bronze by the application of gold or silver. This principle of ornamentation of one material by another has been followed with much artistic success in the field of textiles, wood, horn and ivory termed under different technical names.

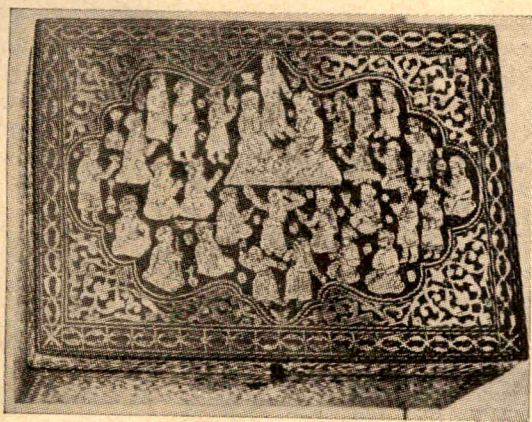
The art of damascening seems to have taken its origin from the ornamentation of swords, shields, daggers and other weapons of war. In ancient times when these were the only weapons of war due to the prevalent mode of warfare, the craftsmen had naturally a very busy time for their crafts as they were frequently required to ornament these weapons. With the modern character of warfare and change in the methods and materials of destruction, the demand for damascened weapons has naturally come low resulting in the decadence of this art and the craftsmen have diverted their skill to the ornamentation of articles for domestic use, such as huqqa bottom, spittoon, ornament box, surahi, spice and betel box, etc.

In true damascening the design is first chased on the surface of the article designed to be ornamented. Then very thin wires of gold or silver are made. With the completion of scratching designs on the surface, the wires are held by one hand within the grooves formed by scratching and lightly hammered by the other hand until the wires are made literally

to unite with the surface. After cleaning and polishing, designs in shining gold or silver appear on the surface.

Three principal forms of Damascening or Koftgari have been recognised as under :

(1) *Teh Nashan or Deep Koftgari* : In this case the outlines of the designs are very deeply engraved and thick wire of gold or silver is hammered within the grooves. When completed the excess material is filed down, cleaned and polished.



Damascened box with a dancing party on the lid
Courtesy : Indian Museum

(2) *Ordinary or Shallow Koftgari* : In this case as the name indicates the scratches made on the surface of the article to be ornamented are shallow and therefore do not admit of thick wire, gold or silver as in the case of *Teh Nashan*. The wire required therefore is very fine. Due to less amount of gold and silver utilised, the surface cannot be smoothened or polished as in the case of *Teh Nashan* without removing the gold and silver wire employed.

(3) *Dewali* : This is the cheapest form of damascening. In this case the surface of the article to be treated is smoothened with a file and afterwards with pumice stones. The pattern is then very lightly scratched on the surface and to effect thorough cleaning lime juice is sprinkled over it. It is then subjected to heat and gold leaf prepared in accordance with some preconceived designs is applied by light hammering and afterwards rubbed to cause the gold adhere to the portions of the design meant for it. In Rajputana, however, this craft is practised with slight modification in the sense that the applied metal is first made to adhere on the surface and the excess metal is subsequently removed by scratching to give the effect of wire inlaying.

"The manufacturers often take a great pride to form by a skilful inlay of the wire, verses from the Koran, spells, poetical passages, and prayers for good fortune and prizes at an exhibition. Thus a shield may contain an Arabic spell worn as a talisman by good

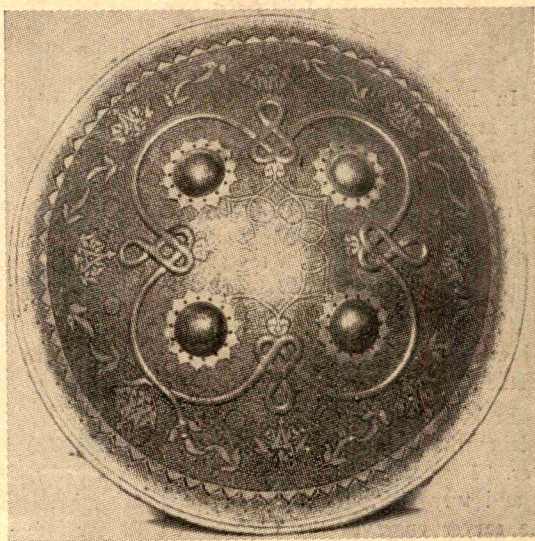
Musalmans for protection from all evils and cure for diseases which flesh is subject to."

Travancore has been known to have developed "a style of Koftgari of its own which consists of roughened steel with gold wire beaten into it in the form of floral designs of a strongly Dravidian style."

Gujarat, Sialkot, Jaipur, Alwar, Serohi, Lahore and Bidar have been recognised as the main centres of damascening work.

ENCRUSTED WARE

Closely associated with the art of damascening is the well-known art of encrusted ware of Southern India (Tanjore and Tirupati). A piece of silver or brass is first repoussed on a bed of lac with figures of Hindu deities. When this work is finished it is soldered, wedged or screwed on the plain surface of the vessel desired to be ornamented over which an outline of the repousse work is scratched which is subsequently chased until the required groove to hold the design is formed. There are two variations of this craft—the wares of Tanjore are in high relief while in the case of Tirupati wares the applied designs are smooth and on the same level with the surface. Generally plates and water pots are ornamented in this way.

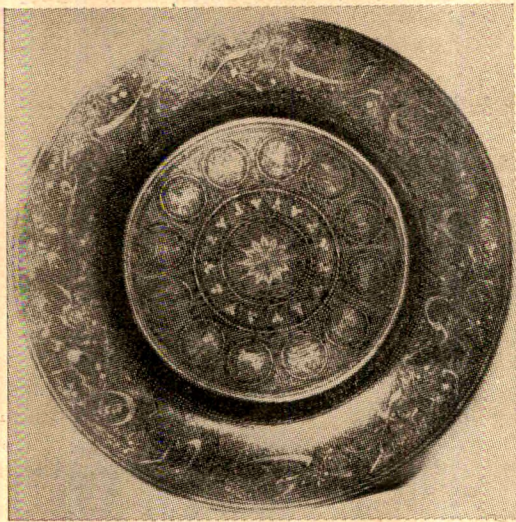


Damascened shield
Courtesy : Indian Museum

BIDRI WARE

It is a form of damascening. Birdwood recognises it as "the highest art practised in India after enamelling." The chief seats of Bidri manufacture are Bidar, Lucknow, Purniah and Murshidabad. In India, the art as the name indicates originated in Bidar which "according to tradition was founded by a Hindu King of the same name, four centuries before

the Christian era." It is said that one of the Hindu kings of Bidar invented this craft. Wares of this craft were used to hold flowers and other offerings for daily presentation to his household gods. Under Muhammedans this craft attained its present excellence and in Bidar it is now mainly in the hands of the Muhammedans.



Plate—Moradabad Bidri

Courtesy : Indian Museum

In Bidri the surface ornamentation is made by silver in the same way as is made in damascening but the metal on which these ornamentations are made is an alloy instead of pure iron or steel. As Birdwood has remarked :

"In Bidri the metal ground is a compound of copper, lead and tin (in required proportions) made black on the surface by dipping it in a solution of sal-ammoniac, salt-petre, salt and blue vitriol."

After the mixing of the alloy by melting, it is cast and moulded into the required shape desired to be ornamented.

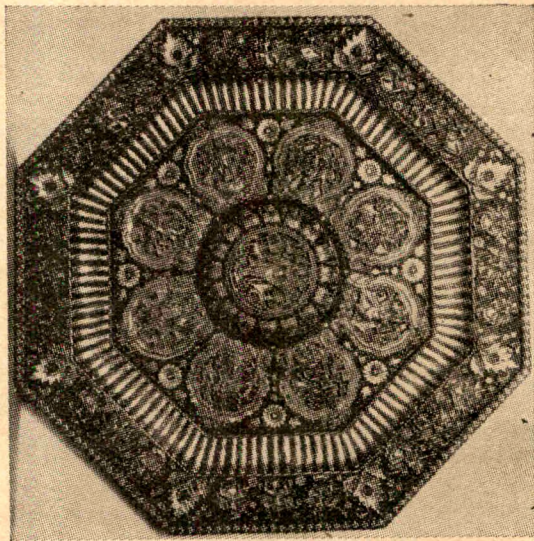
In Bidri we find a systematic process of divisions of labour under (1) moulder, (2) carver and, (3) inlayer. "The moulder prepares the alloy, casts the vessel and turns it to its proper shape with his lathe. The carver engraves the patterns on the surface of the vessel, and the inlayer designs the patterns, inlays the ornament of gold and silver, and finally colours and polishes the article." There is no special cast allotted to this craft—it draws craftsmen from all castes, both Hindus and Muhammedans.

As has already been pointed out there are four main localities of Bidri production and each locality has developed a special characteristic in design. In Bidar generally the patterns employed are floral in imitation of the poppy plant—a design which is successfully employed in textiles with great artistic suc-

cess. In this locality the craft commands an extensive sale due to the prevailing custom among Muhammedan families of presenting a complete set of Bidri wares to the bridegroom in time of marriage. "No dowry is considered complete, among the better class of Muhammedans unless a complete set of the Bidri ware, from bed-legs to a spittoon is included. The high prices often render it necessary for the father of a family to begin his collection years before his daughter is marriageable."

In Purniah two forms of Bidri are practised—one in which the design is deeply chased and the inlays of wire are securely made corresponding to the deep Koftgari work and the other in which the designs are superficially chased and the patterns are plainer and inferior in finish. According to Sir George Birdwood, the ornamentations of Purniah Bidri are sometimes of a Chinese character introduced by way of Sikkim or Bhutan. The floral ornamentations in Purniah Bidri are strictly conventional while the floral ornamentations in Bidri wares manufactured at Bidar are more or less naturalistic.

A form of Bidri (*Zarbuland*) is practised in Lucknow in which the design is raised above the surface. The method followed is the same as observed in ordinary form of Bidri with the exception that



Encrusted plate—Tanjore

Courtesy : Indian Museum

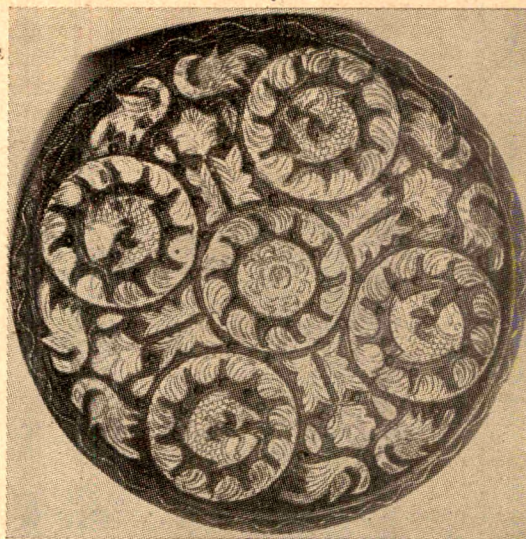
instead of chasing the designs on the surface beforehand the ornamental designs are embedded on the surface and chased afterwards. In Bidri wares manufactured at Lucknow fish motives are frequently employed for ornamentations.

MORADABAD BIDRI

A form of work known as Moradabad bidri is practised in Moradabad in imitation of encrusted bidri

work. The process involves in chasing or punching out designs deeply on the surface of copper or tinned vessels having the floral ornamentations in relief. The depressions thus formed on the surface of the vessel (desired to be ornamented) due to deep chasing and punching are then loaded with lac coloured red or black which is allowed to fuse by heat. The excess colouring matter formed by fusing is removed from the surface by means of sand paper or powdered brick. After the completion of the process, a brilliant design on black or red ground appears. This process in course of time has undergone considerable changes in the manipulation of alloys giving rise to the form known as 'Charakwan', in which the pattern is in black or other-coloured lac and the background is in brass or tinned brass. Various kinds of wares from pedestals legs to spice-boxes are turned out nowadays which command a considerable sale.

Some of the crafts mentioned above have immense possibility and can be utilised in making the articles of our daily usage decorated in a way which may at once capture our inner sensibility and may be refreshing to us after a day's hard toil. But what is required is artistic taste and a sincere desire to have around us beautiful things—things of charming shape and form and harmonious colour. In fact we shall have to create a craving for the thing beautiful and allot to artists and craftsmen their legitimate share of creating that atmosphere in which art can thrive—when there will be no necessity for the craftsmen to leave their



Lucknow Bidri (Zarbuland)
Courtesy : Indian Museum

hereditary profession for something which pays and keeps them alive.

References :

- Watt's *Indian Art*;
- Industrial Arts of India* by Birdwood;
- Journal of Indian Art*;
- Art Manufactures of India* by T. N. Mukerjee.

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ANIMATED MUSEUM EXHIBITS SHOW AMERICANS WAY TO HEALTH

THE Cleveland Health Museum is helping people of the United States and visitors from all over the world to a better understanding of the marvellously complicated machine that is Man himself.

Unlike many museums, the Cleveland Health Museum is a lively place. The public learns basic truths of health in a setting somewhat resembling that of a carnival. Visitors push buttons, ring bells, twirl dials and twist the cranks of some 4,000 mechanical and electrical devices designed to teach lessons in safeguarding well-being.

Because the body depends upon food, the Museum demonstrates the caloric value of a wide variety of fruits, vegetables and meats by displaying samples in a "Calorie Automat." The automat is a series of small glass-front cases through which the samples can be seen. By twisting knobs attached to the cases, the caloric value of each display may be seen printed on a small card.

Excessive smoking and consumption of rich foods is generally regarded as not conducive to robust health. The Museum invites the visitor to test his

lung capacity by blowing into the Vitalometer. If a spectator's blowing power is below a stated normal level, the decision is his to temper or not temper his habits.

A general lack of knowledge of tooth structure is believed to result in poor care of teeth. To show how the human tooth is built and how and why cavities in teeth occur, Museum authorities constructed a huge plastic "Transparent Tooth" exhibit. By pushing a series of buttons in proper sequence, the visitor can illuminate sections of the tooth to show the enamel, dentine, pulp cavity, cementum, periodontal membrane, bone, root, crown and gum.

To inform its visitors that the teeth should be brushed up and down with a vertical motion rather than crosswise, the Museum devised an exhibit in which a moveable hand with brush illustrates the vertical brushing technique. The display works only when the viewer turns cranks which operate the hand and brush. Children are particularly fascinated by the demonstration.

Correct body posture, or lack of it, can mean the

difference between radiant good health and chronic aches and pains. To emphasize this point, a "good posture" exhibit features a slumping plastic female figure that jumps to correct posture when a member of the audience steps on a treadle. The surprise of the spectators who participate in the demonstration helps to impress its health message upon them.



This transparent plastic male figure of Man permits the observer to see the bones, blood vessels and the precise shape and position of internal organs and the nervous system

The Museum wants all visitors to be conscious of the part the heart plays in their lives. As they enter the Museum's lobby, they see and hear a huge foyer clock which—aided by a hidden metronome—ticks out 70 heartbeats, instead of 60 seconds, to the minute. The "heartbeats" are ticked off to the accompaniment of a flashing red light. The visitor's own heart, he is told, beats approximately 100,000 times a day. He is told how to protect it.

Feet, too, have their place in the Museum's exhibits. A foot-weary mail carrier suggested that the human foot could be either man's best friend or his worst enemy, depending on how it is treated. Museum officials agreed and made special displays showing how the foot grows and functions and how properly fitted shoes can help keep it and its owner healthy and happy.

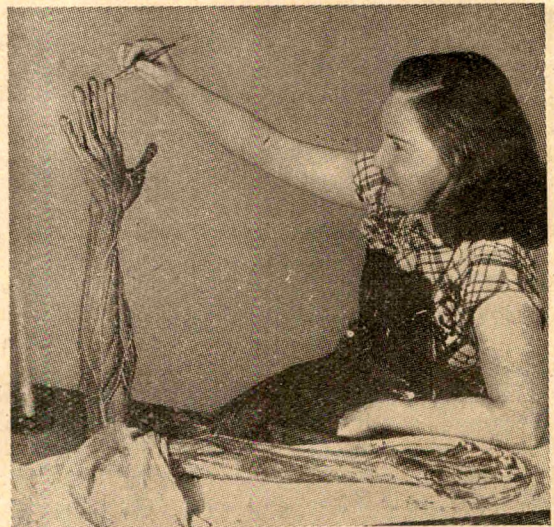
Hay fever sufferers, in the depth of their miseries, have the sympathy of the Museum's officials. By posting the daily pollen count on a bulletin board in front of the Museum and by making the information

available to press and radio, the officials suggest to sufferers the best time to take a seashore or mountain vacation to get away from the pollen in the air that causes hay fever.

One of the Museum's highlights is its "Wonder of Life" room, in which are shown the 100 Dickenson-Belskie models of human reproduction, designed to trace the birth process from the moment of conception to delivery of a baby. Based on X-rays of living persons and sculptured in three dimensions, the series is the work of Dr. Robert Latou Dickenson, a New York City obstetrician, and sculptor Abram Belskie. From the models, adolescents learn the story of natural birth and expectant mothers are prepared for their child-bearing. The Museum acquired the models in 1945 and retains exclusive rights for duplication and distribution of them.

Another of the Museum's outstanding exhibits is the "Transparent Man." It is a clear plastic male form through which can be seen the bones, blood vessels and the precise shape and position of the internal organs, as well as the nervous system.

The Museum opened its doors to the public in 1940 with Dr. Bruno Gebhard as its head and "Health Through Knowledge" as its motto.



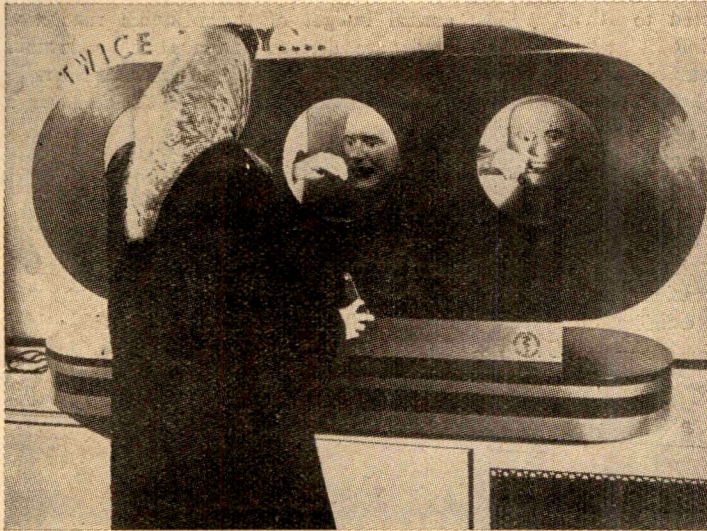
This young woman, an employee of the Museum and deft in craftsmanship, is working on a clay model of the arm which shows muscles, nerves, veins and arteries

Dr. Gebhard was curator of the Dresden (Germany) Hygiene Museum before 1937, when he became a voluntary exile from Germany. He came to the United States and helped arrange health exhibitions at the New York World's Fair, which opened in 1939. As technical consultant, he planned and designed most of the exhibits for the Hall of Man at the Fair.

The "Transparent Man," originally constructed in

ANIMATED MUSEUM EXHIBITS SHOW AMERICANS WAY TO HEALTH 127

the Dresden Museum, was one of the outstanding displays at the Fair. It had been brought to the United States by the Oberlaender Trust, a fund established many years ago to preserve German culture and folkways in America. It now is on indefinite loan from the Trust to the Cleveland Health Museum.



Teeth should be brushed twice a day with an up and down motion of the brush. This is the movement the young woman sees demonstrated as she turns the crank which makes the hands move in this exhibit

The idea for the Museum was first advanced in 1936 by the Cleveland Academy of Medicine. Civic groups lent their support to the idea and the late Elisabeth Prentiss, a fine arts patron, donated her Cleveland home and \$500,000 for the project.

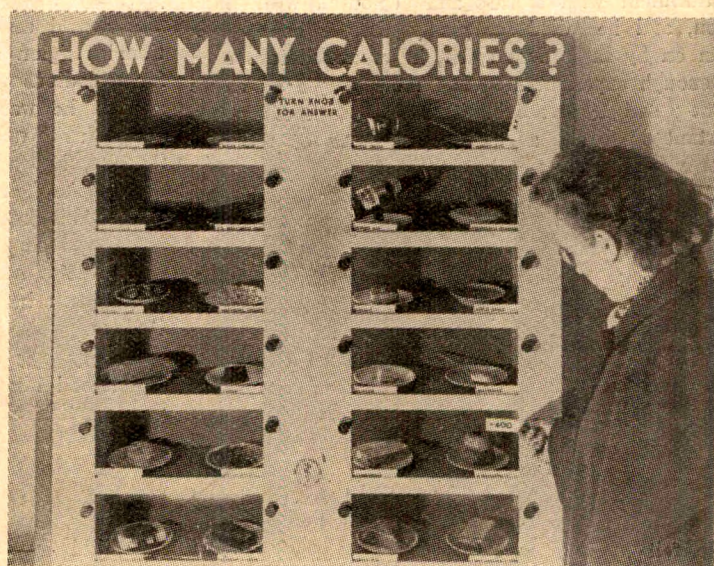
The Museum has operated on three principles of visual education: 3-dimensional models are more interesting than flat posters; by repetition of movement, animations make learning more permanent; and wherever possible, the exhibits should be constructed so that the visitor himself must make them work. The Museum's exhibits generally have had to be constructed rather than collected, and the Museum's workshops have become an integral and important part of its operation.

The influence of the Museum is felt many miles from Cleveland and, in recent years, has become international. In addition to loaning many of its own exhibits to schools, factories, conventions, department

stores and county and State fairs, the Museum's workshops have duplicated originals for museums in other countries, notably in Bogota, Columbia, and Mexico City, Mexico.

Another health museum was started at Dallas, Texas, in 1946 and many of the exhibits of the Cleveland Museum were duplicated for the Dallas organization. Plans are being made now for new health museums in the cities of San Diego, California, and Honolulu, Hawaii. Other cities such as New York and Pittsburgh are considering similar projects.

Many persons come to the Cleveland Health Museum to study construction of exhibits, displays, and museum management. They help carry out the Museum's aim of disseminating health education by returning to their own communities and constructing or planning museums of their own. Many of those who spend internships at the Cleveland Health Museum are sponsored by such organizations as the United Nations World Health Organization and the Rockefeller Foundation. Seven internes, representing Costa Rica, the Philippine Republic, Venezuela and



The "Calorie Automat" shows visitors the caloric value of a variety of foods

Columbia, studied exhibit construction at the Museum, during 1948. The Museum's guest register includes the names of visitors from nearly every country in the world and from all 48 States of the United States,

Dr. Gebhard, a member of the section on Scientific Museum, International Council of Museums, U. N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, hopes to see a chain of health museums in American cities. "Every city with a population of 250,000 should have one," he says.

The Museum's staff devotes much of its time to keeping its exhibits new and closely related to the latest advances in medical knowledge, but it also takes an active part in Cleveland's community-health affairs. Museum activities include radio health talks and publications of the *Museum News*, issued ten times each year to all members and subscribers. It also issues pamphlets giving a general picture of the Museum, its exhibits, and its activities.

An example of Museum-community co-operation came when, working together with a Cleveland newspaper and the Cleveland Welfare Federation, the Museum designed a series of popular exhibits on

geriatrics (old age) under the title "Live Long and Like It."

A hobby and handicraft show augmented the exhibit. Some 235 participants, all over 65 and some in their 80's displayed examples of their handicraft. The "Live Long and Like It" show was so successful that it has become an annual affair.

The annual budget of the Museum runs around \$80,000. Funds are derived from two endowments, membership dues from public-spirited subscribers, and outright contributions from individuals and corporations.

An estimated 60,000 persons visit the institution each year. They see, emblazoned over the pedestal on which the "Transparent Man" revolves, words spoken in Rome sixteen centuries ago by Saint Augustine:

"Man wonders over the restless sea, the flowing water, the sight of the sky; and forgets that of all wonders, Man is himself the most wonderful."—*USIS*.

—O:—

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

SHELLEY, an idealist and a dreamer, had a life that was turbulent with storm and coloured with high passion, and he died tragically before he was 30. Driven on by his ardent spirit, he crammed into each year enough experiences to last most people an entire lifetime; and he left behind him a wealth of poetry, important in itself, and giving promise of the still greater work he did not live to write.

It was Shelley's fate to be misunderstood. Those who knew him most intimately were able to appreciate the singular purity of his spirit, as well as the sincerity of all his motives; but many other people, to whom he was unable to open his heart, regarded him as a rebel who hated all restraint and whose mind was afire with all kinds of mad schemes to set the world aright. Even at school he was an unusual boy, unpopular with most of his companions; and his views so staggered the authorities at Oxford that he was "sent down" from the University. By this time he had published a volume of verse, and he continued to write with a felicity that never left him.

He fell in love with Harriet Westbrook, a girl of 16, whose father had kept a London coffee-house. The young people made an impetuous runaway marriage; and naturally enough both their families were horrified. It is little wonder that Shelley had the reputation of being an irresponsible youth; and this did not tend to make serious-minded people look favourably upon the poetry he published.

His first important work was *Queen Mab*, printed privately the year after his marriage. It contained rather wild attacks on what he regarded as conventional religion and morality, but it revealed his gift for melodious verse. Troubles crowded upon him. For a time he was tolerably happy with his child-wife, although she was incapable of appreciating his idealistic theories, but money difficulties kept increasing. His father, the heir to a baronetcy and a wealthy man, washed his hands of him, and it was a benevolent uncle who supplied him with money to live on. And then Shelley was suddenly carried away by another enthusiasm: he fell in love with Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin.

Mary was a girl of considerable culture, and understood him far better than Harriet ever did. It was genuine sympathy that had been missing from Shelley's impulsive marriage, and indeed Harriet had become neurotic and irritable; he left her and eloped with Mary Godwin. A little later, he managed to obtain an annual income from the entailed estate that he would have inherited with the Shelley title in due course; and since he was full of pity for Harriet, he made her an allowance and did everything else he could for her comfort.

And all the time he was writing his poetry; one of his greatest works *Alastor*, was produced at this time. While he was working on it, he believed he was going to die; and he threw all his fiery energy into its

composition. In this poem one can recognise his own life-story ; for the hero dies after a vain search for an ideal soul-mate with whom he might have perfect spiritual intercourse. Shelley's life differed from that of the hero of the poem in that he did find in Mary Godwin much of the perfection he had sought.

He had his moods of exaltation and despair. Once, in the depths of despondency, he said that his influence brought death to all those with whom he associated ; and the news that Harriet had committed suicide increased his depression and ill-health, although he knew her death to be directly due to a love-affair she had been having with someone else. He was living in a pleasant village by the side of the Thames at this time ; and he was putting some of his idealism into practice by his generosity to the poor. One day he arrived home without his coat, which he had given to an ill-clad stranger ; and this was typical of him, for he was wrung to the heart's core by the sight of suffering in others.

Now that he was free to marry again, Mary Godwin became his wife ; and they travelled to Italy in the hope that his health would improve. Poems continued to flow from his pen. He wrote *To A Skylark*, that aspiring ode which begins :

Hail to thee, blithe Spirit !

Bird thou never wert,

That from Heaven, or near it,

Pourest thy full heart

In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.

The *Cenci*, one of his finest works, is a verse-tragedy in five acts ; *Prometheus Unbound* was written in Rome, and owes its inspiration to some divine days of Spring which sent him into raptures. But again the shadow of death clouded his life ; he had heard that Keats had arrived in Italy in search of health, and had written a letter urging him to come and stay with him, but the younger poet was already nearing his end. The death of Keats has been immortalised in *Adonais*, one of the finest threnodies in the English language, which Shelley wrote in his sorrow.

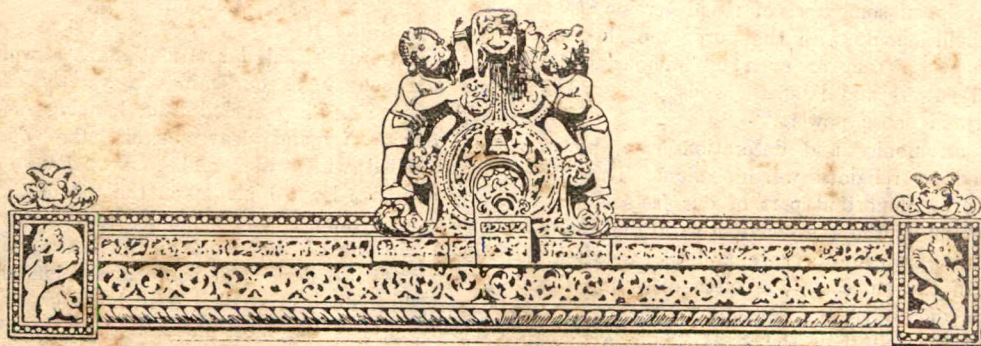
In Shelley's poetry we find his message to the

world. He believed passionately in a new order of things—an order in which loving-kindness is the mainspring ; and he believed that, by taking thought, man could expel all evil from himself. He once described poetry as "the record of the best and happiest



Percy Bysshe Shelley

moments of the happiest and best minds." And so he lived and worked, loved and suffered, hoping always that his ideals would be attained. His death was as tragic as that of his two contemporaries, Byron and Keats, and it came more suddenly than either. He was returning home from Leghorn by sea, when the small boat was swamped. His body washed up later, was burned on a great funeral pyre upon the shore, and his ashes were buried at Rome. But he did not live in vain, for the inspiration of his finest work is still a living thing in the world of letters and of human thought.

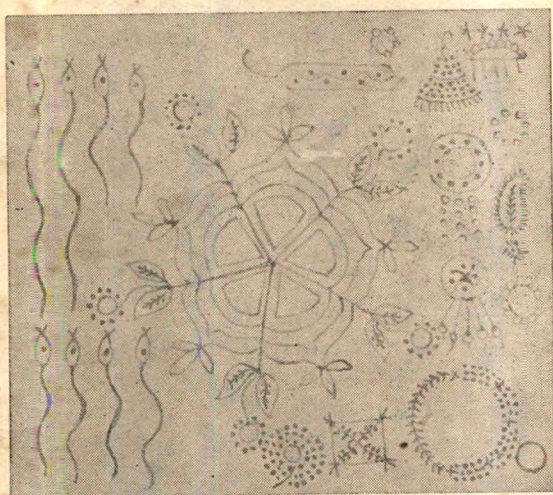


RITUAL DECORATIONS IN INDIA

By SHANTI SWARUP

(Illustrations by Ratna Swarup)

RELIGIOUS sentiments have always been not only one of the principal sources of artistic inspiration but have also provided the creative force for artistic productivity. This is specially true of India. Down



Nagapanchami Alpona

through the ages, in almost every sphere of artistic activity, whether it be painting or sculpture, music or dancing, religion has not only supplied the motive and material for them but has also been the sustaining force. To this very source, we owe the existence and development of the very interesting folk art of ritual decorations.

Before we had our gods and goddesses we had had faith in certain supernatural powers, who, we believed, could determine wholly or partly our fate. It was our belief, nay, it still is, that these supernatural powers, manifest in the sun and the moon, in fire, storm and rain, in flowers and animals, could be evoked or controlled through worship. The result was that we developed some sort of ritual ceremonies and artistic embellishments with the purpose of honouring them, of begging from or even of humouring those supernatural powers and later the gods and goddesses, who substituted those powers.

Ritual ceremonies and decorations, are, however, not confined to religious worship alone. They have now become an important part of our fasts and festivals, for example, those associated with the changing of seasons, the return of peace and plenty after the dark days of the monsoon, the birth of young shoots at the close of winter, the ripening of the paddy in Bengal, and the return of the great "King Mahabali" indicating the coming in of the month of harvest in

Kerala. The rituals and decorations play a significant role in our semi-religious ceremonies and on social occasions as well. Almost all the auspicious and family events, such as weddings, *griha-prabesh* (entering a new house), the naming ceremony of the child, or the coming of an honoured guest to a meal, or even the dawning of a new day are adorned and embellished with decorations showing an artistic skill which is both traditional and spontaneous.

Ritual decorations in India have, therefore, not grown up as an isolated phenomenon. They are essentially a part of our culture and very closely linked up with our religious and cultural developments.



Rangoli

The words 'ritual decorations' have a wide meaning and convey to our minds a variety of objects and activities. They include the hanging of festoons and *torans* of mango leaves across the doors, the *kalash* filled with water and *amra-pallavs* (mango-twig with five leaves) placed on the top of the *kalash*, lighted clay lamps, banana plants, flowers, incense and the decorating of the floors of the house with floral and geometrical designs of white and coloured powder of rice, lime-stone or chalk. It is, however, the last of these which is the most interesting and artistic part of the decorations. On each occasion of worship, fast,

festival or social event of a sacred nature the women-folk of the household set themselves joyfully to beautify and decorate the floors of the house and the courtyard with designs and patterns, executed slowly, carefully and religiously, in clear, fresh and white lines, "capturing something of the magic of tradition, something of the primeval freshness of simple beauty, something of the elan of aspiration and leaving it there to bless her home and to gladden the eyes of all who come and go."



Lakshmi Puja Alpona

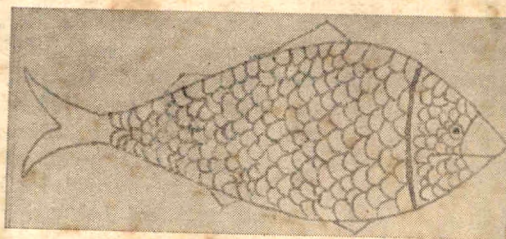
This particular kind of ritual decoration as a domestic art is practised throughout the whole of India, but in its most developed form, it is found in Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Maharashtra and Gujarat—practically along the entire coast line. It is not seen so well executed and in such variety in the interior of the country. It is indeed a queer fact that the art should have found the most fertile field only along the sea-coast.

Known as *alpona* in Bengal, *jhunti* in Orissa, *kolam* in the South, *rangoli* in Maharashtra and Gujarat, and *chowk* in the United Provinces and Bihar this art is entirely in the hands of the womenfolk of the country. Religion being the motive force for much that women in India do and also because of the artistic instinct innate in them, this art of decoration has almost been monopolised by our women and has come to be regarded essentially as a feminine art. Girls, when hardly six or seven years of age, receive

their first schooling in the art from the elderly ladies of the family. They soon become quite adept at it, and in their turn, teach them to their daughters and grand-daughters. Thus the art has continued and lived through ages. Very recently, the Kala Bhawan at Santiniketan has introduced this form of art as a subject of study in its arts curriculum. But that is an exception. It is a pity that nowhere else does it form part of the regular studies.

We must not however imagine that, since the art is passed down from generation to generation, it is a stereotyped affair. It is no doubt a traditional art and some of the designs are very much conventionalised, yet there is much scope for exhibiting talent and creative force. The girls who have the forms and contents of the designs in their own imagination, draw beautiful patterns and designs freely, without blindly following the designs and patterns of the elders. We can indeed discover in them artistic creations of great skill, executed with taste, variety and originality. Each individual pattern is, as Tapan Mohan Chatterjee says, "a true picture of the woman's heart—her desires, fancies and imaginations—a great worship of life unlike the dead ceremonial worship, alleged to be based on scriptures."

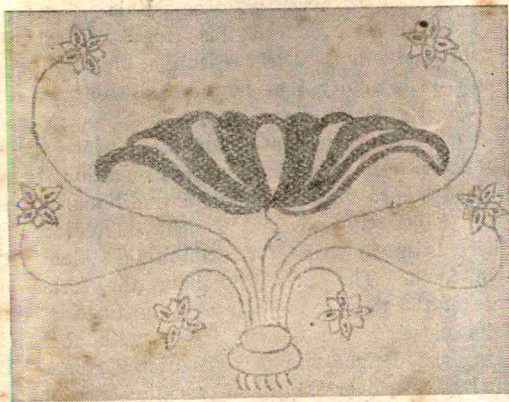
These decorations are generally executed on the plain surface of the courtyard or the floor of the house, which is usually of earth in our country or on the streets by the main doorway in Gujarat, Maharashtra and the South. They are also executed on low wooden seats—the *patas*—and over the rounded body of the *mangal kalash*, although on the latter the natural flourish of the designs is sometimes very much disturbed and they degenerate into mere geometrical designs.



Fish motif

The materials of our folk-artists are few and simple. Powdered rice, or white lime-stone or chalk or even flour, sometimes mixed with water producing an effect like that of white paint, is usually the only material. There is no need for brush even. The dainty fingers of the artists serve the purpose. Although white is the generally accepted colour of these decorations, other colours are also used on important occasions, to beautify the patterns further, by the more ambitious of our folk-artists. Broken bits of leaves supply them with green colour, marigold petals and powdered turmeric with yellow, powdered red

brick gives them the red colour and charcoal the black. In the South and in Maharashtra, minute particles of coconut husks and sand are also pressed into this artistic service.



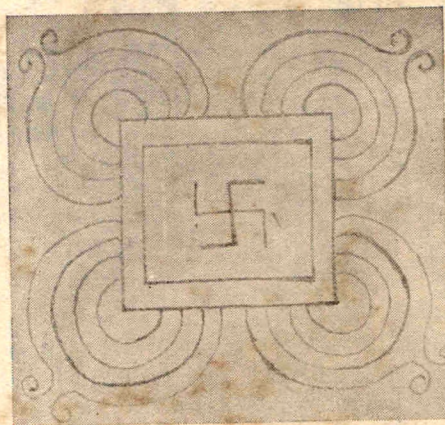
Lotus motif

Each piece of such decorations consists of two classes of designs, that is the ceremonial and the decorative. The ceremonial designs are traditional and always in keeping with the occasion that is being celebrated. In such designs figures of birds, fish, and animals, both real and legendary, sometimes with riders and sometimes without, the sun, the moon, the stars and chariots, combined into many pleasing arrangements have their places of honour. For example, on the occasion of the worship of Manasa, the goddess who presides over snakes in Bengal or on the Nagpanchami Day in other parts of the country, the Alpona and Rangoli designs and patterns must include figures of snakes. The most important festival in honour of Lakshmi in Bengal takes place in the month of Aswin or sometimes in Kartik (September-October) on the full-moon night. Paddy is regarded as the chief wealth and the symbol of prosperity and since Aswin is connected with the ripening of the early winter paddy, Lakshmi is regarded as the presiding deity of the crop and an elaborate form of decorations is executed for her worship. Charan or the foot-marks of Lakshmi, the goddess of Fortune, who is fondly believed to enter the house on this day and a creeper to represent the paddy are important motives of the alpona associated with this worship.

In the South, the girls make a "Shiva Peeth" *kolam* on Mondays, a "Kali Peeth" on Tuesdays, a "Swastika" on Wednesdays and "Lakshmi" *kolam* on Fridays. Conch-shells, gada, *gopads* (cow's footmarks) are important motifs of the ceremonial side of the Rangolis. The scorpion supposed to symbolise human sufferings figures in the *chowks* of the United Provinces and Bihar to ward off evil influences. The figure of fish, regarded as an auspicious object by the Hindus, is a very favourite motif and appears in almost all cases where water

is shown or where the different kinds of animals are depicted. In Bengal, the figures of the vermilion pot, *baju* (an ornament of the upper arm), *nath* (a nasal ornament), bangles, ear-tops are objects of *alpona*. decorations connected with the worship of married women. Some *alponas* involve as many as forty different objects before each of which a flower should be offered, and a song and a rhyme recited on important occasions. These designs though sometimes markedly crude and stiff are however interesting and surprisingly refreshing.

But the decorative part of these designs is most fascinating and a very real means of expression of the heart's uplift towards Beauty. On the occasion of the reception of a distinguished guest, the place where the guest sits and dines, on the occasion of weddings, the place used for standing by the bride and the bridegroom, on the occasion of religious worship, the place where the idol is to be worshipped, or on the coming of a new dawn, the courtyards are decorated with beautiful patterns and designs, which are not just traditional but lovely creations of the artist's mind unfettered by any convention or rules or ritual decorations. The designs are mostly geometrical or floral but superbly executed. The girls vie with one another in excelling the other's works and create many beautiful works of art.



Rangoli

There is an endless variety of geometrical patterns which must have originated in the simple enjoyment of lines and forms. Some of the designs are very simple, just a network of lines, but very cleverly and artistically done. Sometimes, colour-effects are introduced to enhance their beauty. On auspicious occasions clay-lamps glow in the centre of them and in the South they are filled in with brightly coloured flowers and leaves.

It is in the execution of floral designs, however, that the richness and glory of this art is to be seen at its height. Motifs taken from the plant-world are handled with exquisite taste and skill. Proportions and details are carefully portrayed, and in

In almost every instance the artist's admirable observation of Nature is evident, while at the same time the artist adapts the design with perfect freedom to the nature and shape of the decorative field. The lotus, India's national flower, is in every part of the country, a very popular motif. Besides being the symbol of the divine seat, the lotus is also the Tree of Life and of

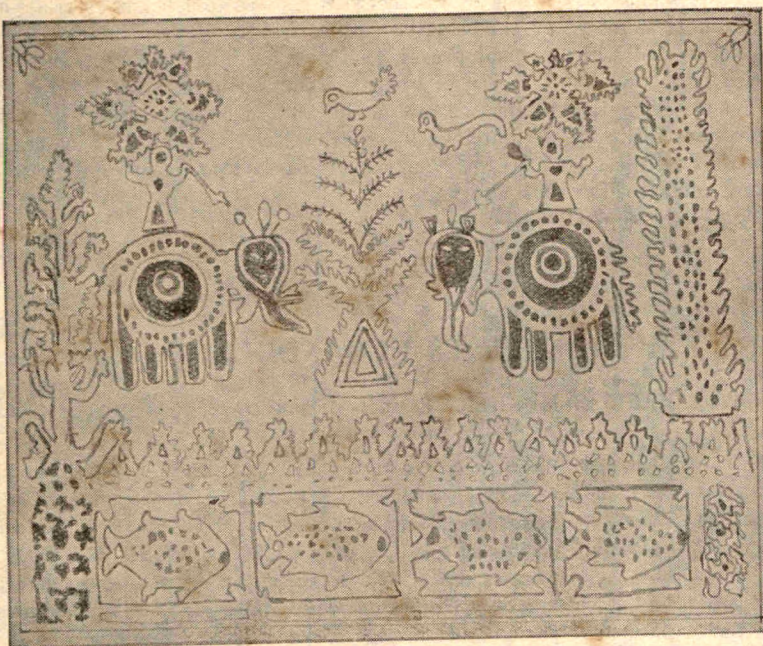
many variety and colour as possible and make designs of rare charm. The golden age of Kerala history was when the great and good king "Mahabali ruled the land." He symbolises prosperity and every year in the month of the harvest, Kerala celebrates one of the loveliest festivals known as Onam. It is said that even the gods were jealous of the popularity of this King

and cast him down to the nether regions. But so deep was his people's sorrow that Mahabali was allowed to visit them once a year to gladden their hearts with his presence. So every house in Kerala wears a gay and festive appearance when Onam comes again, and beautiful Kolam designs filled with richly coloured flowers are everywhere in abundance. During the Deepavali week, the Gujarati girls make thousand and one Rangolis with a variety of designs and colour schemes, both inside the house and on the streets, in the night time for the town-folk to see and rejoice in the morning.

Apart from festivals, in Maharashtra and in the South, it is a daily ritual for the ladies of the house to make *rangolis* and *kolams* in the courtyard and on the ground outside the house by the threshold. They sprinkle fresh

Good Fortune. Many beautiful and intricate designs of the lotus are drawn and differently interpreted, so much so that they do not always appear to be the strict representation of the real lotus we see every day, but they are fine works of art by themselves. The lotus is particularly designed to adorn the standing place for the newly-wedded couple and to provide a place of dignity for the idol to be worshipped.

cow dung on the recently-swept ground and make designs of *kolam* and *rangoli* with white powder of rice, or lime-stone or chalk. No particular design is prescribed. The girls draw pleasing floral and geometrical designs from their imagination and display real artistic power.

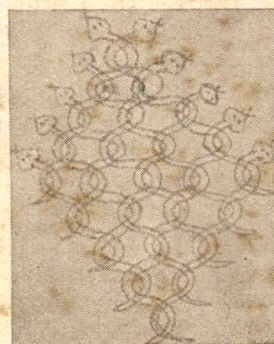


Alpona



Besides the lotus, flower motifs with an infinite variety of designs and colour schemes can be seen. Creepers with graceful curves are a very favourite source of inspiration and there is always room for the artist to show her artistic ability in ornamentation.

Among the Malayalis, there is an interesting form of decoration on festive occasions by making a model of a gay flower-bed with white powder and cocoanut husks on the ground of the outer courtyard by the main doorway. It is called *phook kolam*. The Malayali damsels fill it with beautiful flowers of as



Nagapanchami

The most obvious characteristic of this folk art is the note of simplicity and spontaneity. Inspired partly by religious ideas and spiritual experiences and partly by the natural artistic sense in women, it is the

purest and the most sincere form of art. Although there is a complete absence of perspective values and other aesthetic devices, known to the modern artists, it has an appeal and charm which only a genuine work of art can convey. To some people including some of the learned art-critics this art appears somewhat grotesque and aesthetically unpleasing. Perhaps they have never known what real beauty is. It seems as though a complete enjoyment of beauty is only possible for some of us when we are confronted with a work of art which is at least superficially related to our own notions of artistic beauty, and even the slightest deviation from our visual impressions tends to make an otherwise real work of art appear as artistically inferior. But this is putting false values on art. Fine

arts or artistic beauty can by no means be standardised or always moulded to suit any one type of human culture or artistic sense. Socrates taught us that virtue may be acquired, why not then, the aesthetic sense of enjoyment of a work of art which does not always favourably respond to our set emotional sensations although for no lack of intrinsic merit on its part. However, whether one chooses to label it as grotesque or childish, the cult of Beauty is ever there to cheer us, and provide the nearest thing to a pure pleasure. The art of ritual decorations as practised by our women, is no doubt a highly-developed domestic decorative art—an art which is as vital in nature as it is sincere in expression. Indeed, it not only pleases but also stirs.

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BENOY SARKAR AS A PIONEER IN NEO-INDOLOGY

By PROF. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

BENOY SARKAR (1887-1949) is one of the most celebrated and creative thinkers of modern times. His ideas and ideologies are best expressed in the category of *Sarkarism*. *Sarkarism* is today a familiar expression in the world of India's scholarship.

"With the solitary exception of Mahatma Gandhi," observed the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, "there is hardly any other living leader of thought in India to whose name *ism* has ever been applied. Seldom do we find such a wide recognition of one's worth in one's own life-time. Benoy Sarkar is one of the few in the world to-day who have achieved such eminence."

A renowned German paper, viz., *Sozialwissenschaftliches Literaturblatt*, once remarked:

"Prof. Sarkar reminds us in many ways of our Oswald Spengler on account of startlingly many-sided erudition and intellectual flexibility with which this scholarship traverses in a powerful manner all the regions and epochs of human culture."

One of the most striking and epoch-making contributions of Benoy Sarkar lies in the field of Indology. The cardinal message of Sarkarism is:

"Humanity is in short essentially one, — in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of historic race-prejudices. The *elan-vital* of human life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilising the innumerable world-forces."

This is the fundamental thesis which Benoy Sarkar seeks to establish, in its diverse aspects and varied forms, in all his works from the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Vol. I, 1914, pages 770 to the *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (1941, pages 704).

Probably the most dominating postulate in the minds of the scholars and writers is that there is a fundamental

distinction between the East and the West, which, in the opinion of a extreme race-culturist like Kipling, "shall never meet." It is usually supposed that the Occident stands for politico-positivistic type of life and thought whereas the Orient represents the mystico-metaphysical type of living. Prof. Max Muller was one of the great pioneers of this theory of alleged difference which is perpetuated in his *India: What Can it Teach Us?*, published in the 'eighties of the last century.

"The main trend of his thesis was to indicate that India can teach nothing but the sublime speculations of an other-worldly character, the psychology of the soul, the ethics of retreat from the struggles of life and the metaphysics of the Infinite."

Ever since that time this theory of alleged difference has been dominating the thoughts and writings of social thinkers and culture-historians in the East as much in the West, and this unobjective approach lies at the bottom of all pseudo-history and pseudo-science of the 19th and 20th centuries. Even the intellectual giants almost invariably accepted this theory of alleged East-West difference as the first postulate in thinking. Almost every Indian scholar of the 19th and early 20th centuries fell victim to it, and flattered by the seemingly appreciative words of men like Max Muller, Bloomfield, Paul Deussen, loudly preached at home and abroad that India's special genius lies in her spirituality. Vivekananda, Abhedananda and Rabindranath were some of the loudest exponents of this view-point which is advocated even to this day by a host of scholars among whom Huxley and Radhakrishnan may be easily mentioned.

This traditional view of Indian culture was effectively challenged, perhaps for the first time, in the world of science and letters by Benoy Sarkar whose *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Vol. I, 1914, pages 770)

is a great landmark in the evolution of Indology, or marks the beginning of *Neo-Indology*. The book is complete in three volumes (pages 1370) and together constitutes an effective counterblast against the widely circulated news and views on Indian culture. Its reaction on the academic world has been very powerful. Though the old ideas and idols are still maintaining their sway, yet they are gradually losing ground under the tremendous pressure of the powerful forces generated by the author of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (1914).

The general tendency of Benoy Sarkar's writings is to oppose the thesis that seeks to indicate that India is predominantly religious and spiritualistic, while Eur-America is essentially politically-minded and materialistic. That the voice of the East is the voice of religion and the voice of the West is the voice of secularism is one of the most important targets of attack of the Sarkarian school of philosophy and sociology. Prof. Sarkar ruthlessly exposes the inherent weaknesses of such speculations and mercilessly analyses the psychology that prompts such a theory. Even the intellectual giants commit the grave fallacy of enunciating the cult of "East is East and West is West," simply because they lack the proper sense of historical perspective and fail to conduct the comparative method, epoch by epoch and item by item. In his *Futurism of Young Asia* (Leipzig, 1922, pages 410), Benoy Sarkar complains of three principal fallacies committed by Western scholars in the application of the comparative method to historical and sociological problems and data.

"In the first place, they do not take the same class of facts. They compare the superstitions of the Orient with the rationalism of the Occident, while they ignore the rationalism of the Orient and suppress the superstitions of the Occident. They compare the thoughts and activities of the higher intellectual and economic grades of the Occident with those of the illiterates and paupers and half-fed masses of the Orient. But intellectual fairness demands that mentality and morality should be compared under the same conditions of temperature and pressure."

"Secondly, the Eur-American sociologists do not apply the same method of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident. If infanticide, superstition and sexuality for instance have to be explained away or justified in one group of races by historical criticism or by anthropological investigations and so forth, these must be treated in the same way in the other instances as well.

"In the third place, the Occidental scholars are not sufficiently well-grounded in comparative chronology. They do not proceed to the work of striking a balance between the claims of the East and the West, age by age, i.e., idea by idea and institution by institution in a time-series."

These three fallacies which Benoy Sarkar indicates above, are very largely vitiating the world-scholarship in the present century. These fundamental fallacies are committed in comparative culture-study not only by the Eur-American scholars and intellectuals, but also by the general run of Indian and Oriental scholars and researchers on an extensive scale.

On the strength of his own investigations and researches Prof. Sarkar draws the following equations to indicate the approximate socio-cultural identities and similarities between the East and the West:

(1) East (down to 1300 A. D.)=West (down to 1300 A.D.) institutionally as well as ideologically.

(2) Renaissance in the East (1400-1600 A. D.)=Renaissance in the West (1400-1600 A.D.).



Benoy Kumar Sarkar

(3) 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. The Asian Renaissance produces fine arts, but no new positive science worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine societal differentiations between the East and the West are perceptible as yet. We may then institute the following two equations: (a) Asia in positive science (1600-1750)=Europe in positive science (1400-1600), but (b) Asia in socio-economic life (1600-1750)=Europe in socio-economic life (1600-1750).

(4) 1750-1850. The Industrial Revolution in the West creates a new civilisation, the "modern mind." East and West differ substantially for the first time. Thus Asia (1850)=Europe (1750).

About 1850 the East is behind the West by nearly a century in technocracy, economic institutions and general culture. That go-aheadness is still preponderantly prevalent in the West *vis-a-vis* the East. But this superiority of the West over the East for a period of a century or so, does not entitle the race-culturist to pro-

pound the jingo-cult of fundamental difference between the East and the West or different sections of humanity. The remarkable successes and achievements of Europe during the 19th century do not supply the norm by which to express the character of Western civilisation or the rate of her progress through the ages. In the philosophy of Sarkarism such terms as "Unchanging East" as opposed to "Progressive West" are senseless superstition and they were born of the sentimentalisation or poetization of the alleged "superior races." But scientists must not forget to place them in their historical setting and read them in the light of the perspective. Of course, Sarkar is acutely conscious—perhaps more conscious than anybody else—of the existence of differences in superficial particulars, in social conventions and modes of external expression which are due principally to language, economic status or grade of material development, and temporary political vicissitudes. But

"This," argues Sarkar, "must not be magnified into the alleged bed-rock of a science for the classification of races according to the mentalities, views of life, or the so-called ideals of culture."

It is against such a general background that Indian culture has got to be studied. It is generally believed by the classes and the masses that the Indians are ethical and religious, while the Eur-Americans are materialistic and worldly-wise. But Prof. Sarkar vehemently opposes such an estimate as it has practically no foundations in the world of reality. He holds, on the contrary, that the Indians are no less practical and positivist than the Eur-Americans, and the Eur-Americans, are no less moral and spiritual than the Indians. This dictum of fundamental equality between the East and the West is the soul of the science of *Neo-Indology*.

It is, as Sarkar repeatedly points out, only after the successful political-cum-industrial domination of the East by the West that the alleged difference was first stated and since then grossly exaggerated. During the 19th century the Occidentals had become the masters of "this world" and it is they who have studied life and institutions of the subject Orient in their extremely chauvinistic attitude. It is these scholars again who have constantly dinned into the ears of the Orientals that the latter's special genius lies in the cultivation of the soul. As pupils and imitators, the Indians also began to take pride in demonstration of their intrinsic superiority over the Westerns in such terms as the following:

"Well, the philosophy of Europe and America is rooted in the enjoyment of the senses. You Occidentals are wedded to the interests of this little thing men call earth. But Hindu philosophy is grounded in self-restraint and self-sacrifice. We cultivate other-regarding ideals, our goal is renunciation, and our interests are absorbed in the Infinite and the Hereafter."

This is obviously the psychology of the slave. It is just natural and human that in such speculations and fancies, a subject race, a militarily impotent people, is bound to seek consolation.

Thus situated, the people of India, nay, of the entire Orient, became to the Eur-American observers the standing example of slothful passivity and pessimistic indifference to life. Arguing the past from the degenerate present, the scholars of Europe and America began to interpret the whole previous history of the Hindus as a record of inertia, inactivity, subjectivism and other-worldliness. This interpretation has been perpetrated for the world in the writings, however meritorious on their grounds, of Max Muller and the numerous Indologists who have followed in his wake. The mesmerized Hindus understood that probably the West was thus eulogizing the East. The scholars of India also followed suit, and began to bring into prominence some of the quietistic passages of the *Upanishads* and Buddhist *Dhammapada* to the exclusion of other exploits of their ancestors. The Hindus of this period entirely misunderstood the spirit of the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Vedanta*, etc. and popularised a false doctrine of *Maya* or "world as illusion" without understanding the sense or context of the original propounders. This is the only period (1757-1905), in the Sarkarian philosophy, during which the Indians had been false to their traditional genius in fostering national industries and international commerce, false to their age-long natural capacity for co-operating with other races in the building up of the world's sciences, arts, and philosophies.

"The brightest period of world-history," observes Prof. Sarkar, "has been the darkest period in the Indian."

But, thanks to the ideas of 1905, India once again entered upon a creative period, a period of revolt and reconstruction.

Pragmatically speaking, there have been and there are philosophies and philosophies both in India and Europe. Mysticism and other-worldly attitude have flourished as much on Indian as extra-Indian soil, along with the development of positivistic and materialistic leanings on both the theatres. Generally the West is identified with violence, militarism and positivism. But in Sarkar's critical philosophy and comparative culture-analysis, this traditional attitude to Western culture is absolutely fallacious. Mysticism of diverse denominations has flourished very luxuriantly on the Occidental soil. The cult of the Infinite, the Absolute and the Eternal, has indeed a formidable tradition in the Western world. Let us take a few instances from the history of the West.

The very first mystical speculations on the European side were embodied in the teachings of Pythagoras. He believed in the transmigration of the soul and preached the esoteric doctrine of numbers. He was a vegetarian and believed in general abstinence and ascetic mortification of the flesh. Plato's idealism also was mystical as much as was the monism of contemporary *Upanishadists* of India and *Taoists* of China. Thirdly, the other-worldliness and pessimism of Jesus are undeniable. His political slogan was: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Such extreme "non-resistance" was

probably never preached in India. In India Gautama the Buddha could simultaneously function, and actually did function, as a religious organiser and a great statesman. Most of his followers were energists and active propagandists. There are many instances of Buddhist monks organising themselves into military orders in the medieval history of China, Japan and India.

Fourthly, Plotinus (third century A.C.), the greatest neo-Platonist, was a mystical pantheist. Next, the monasticism, celibacy, nunnery, notions about "the world, the flesh, and the devil," "the seven deadly sins," etc., of Christianity had been practically universal in the Western world throughout the Middle Ages. A slight acquaintance with the religious history of Europe will immediately drive us to the conclusion that the other-worldly passions and practices in the West had too deep and extensive sway to be explained away as accidental, imported or unassimilated overgrowths. Spiritualistic "self-assertion" was the creed of many a transcendentalist denomination in Europe during the Middle Ages. In Europe the priestly organisation was more unified, and more powerful than its counterpart of the then India. If we are absolutely ignorant of European history, we can deny this bit of factual tradition of the West. To the English Puritans, even music and sports were taboo. The painters of the romantic movement in Germany fought shy of women and preached that all artists should be monks. Hartmann, the philosopher of the *Unconscious*, is an inveterate woman-hater, and a confirmed pessimist. His pupil, Mainländer, in the *Philosophy of Redemption*, has outdone the master. According to him, the movement of all beings is not the will to live but "the will to die." The guide of them both, Schopenhauer, had propounded "the denial of the will to live." The race of Emersons and Thoreaus is not yet a thing of the past in Eur-American tradition.

"Even the 'international Jew' of the twentieth century," says Prof. Sarkar, "is almost universally sticking to the old *mores*, folkways, *sitten*, customs or *acharas*, no matter under what geographical, climatic, political and economic conditions he may be functioning. The Jewish priest exercises his sway as mightily in the urban pattern as in the rural. The Christians of Eur-America are no less subject to this despotism of customs and ceremonies than are the Jews. The most scientific and the most capitalistic Christian families of the world have not yet been able to bid adieu to their most primitive birth-death-marriage *samskaras* (ceremonies). No dose of hyper-urbanisation has succeeded in serving as an effective solvent of the old and medieval *mores* in the Christian world. The Christians of no denominations, Roman Catholic, Greek Church or Protestant, have yet renounced the *samskara* of baptismal ceremony in order to demonstrate their modernism and acculturation to the industrial economy or the scientific attitudes to nature and the universe. Italian like other Catholic boys and girls at the age of 7—9 still observe the *samskara* (ceremony) of the holy communion. This is as common in America as in Europe. Marriage continues still to be a religious ceremony among Christians and Jews in spite of the almost universally introduced legal compulsion as regards civil marriage. Either before or after the registration of marriage at the government or

municipal office church marriage is solemnized in every decent family. No amount of modernisation in capitalistic *mores* has succeeded in militating against the survival of religious marriage even among Protestants. Among the Roman Catholics of France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Rhineland, the U.S.A. and Latin America the feeling continues to prevail that a mere civil marriage is abominable like companionate marriage, trial marriage and so forth, and is alleged to imply virtually prostitution."—*Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (1941, pages 339-342).

How is it possible, asks Sarkar, to maintain, in the face of these solid bits of factual history, that pessimism and mysticism or transcendentalism is the product exclusively or distinctively of the Orient, specially of India?

At this stage one might easily suggest that Occidental mysticism and other-worldism are the result of her contact with Eastern countries, specially India. But again Prof. Sarkar argues:

"This is not necessarily due to the migration of ideas or institutions from the East to the West, and *vice versa*; because this cannot be proved by positive historical evidence in many instances. Most of these indentities are really independent growths or accidental convergences and point to the fundamental unity of the human make-up. Indebtedness can undoubtedly be traced to foreign sources in certain incidents. But the very fact of their naturalisation and assimilation to the conditions of new habitat indicates, again, the essential psychological uniformity of mankind."—*Futurism of Young Asia* (1922, page 108, Leipzig).

Let us now critically examine the other side of the shield. Usually India is associated with other-worldly leanings, pessimism, mysticism and so forth. But Prof. Sarkar at once challenges this fundamentally wrong estimate about India which is to him as much materialistic and spiritualistic as the West.

The wars of the Rig-Veda are too well known to every student of India's socio-religious history. In that celebrated Indian work a substantial portion is devoted, among others, to the discussion of the various means and methods of war and aggrandisement. The *Rishis*, pragmatically viewed, were the last persons to preach or cultivate *Ahimsa*.

"If the *Rishis* of ancient India," says Prof. Sarkar, "knew anything, they knew burning, killing and fighting."

This heightening way of saying things should be taken, of course, not in a mathematical, but human manner.

The first Indian Napoleon, Chandragupta Maurya (4th century B.C.) had a regular standing army of 60,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants, and a multitude of chariots. A race which can organise such a vast fighting machine and beat back the mighty Hellenic forces was not certainly over-religious or unpractical mystics. Such vast armies have not been exceptional in Indian history. According to a Portuguese observer, Krishna of Vijayanagar (1509-30 A.D.) in South India commanded an army of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides camp-followers. One of the smallest armies of the Hindus has been that of the Andhras in the Deccan.

It had only 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 100 elephants. India has been active through the ages in her militaristic and positivistic career which is discussed at remarkable length in Sarkar's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, pages 270).

In the power of political organisation the Indians would appear from an objective analysis of comparative history to be more brilliant than, or at any rate, as brilliant as the Europeans.

"It is true," observes Sarkar, "that on various occasions *pax-sarabhaumica* (peace of the world-empire), the Indian analogue of *pax Romana*, was achieved within the boundaries of India. In fact, only once did Europe witness the formation of a unitary state with the size and area of the Maurya Empire (322-185 B.C.). This was the Roman Empire at its zenith, during the second and third centuries A.C. Neither the heterogeneous conquests of Napoleon acquired the dimensions of the Tuglak Empire of the fourteenth century or of the Mughal Empire of the eighteenth. In terms of population and area, even the less extensive Gupta Empire of the fifth century, the Vardhana Empire of the seventh and the Chola Empire of the eleventh were barely approached by the Empire of Charlemagne."

Wherein do Indian ideals then differ from European?

Let us proceed to analyse Hindu secularism or positivism a little more deeply in the light of objective history. All through the ages the Hindus have been famous to foreign nations principally as materialists. As discussed at considerable length in Sarkar's *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, pages 725), the dawn of human civilisation finds the Hindus (Dravidians and Aryans), captains of industry and entrepreneurs of commerce in touch with the Pharaohs of Egypt. The mummies of the Egyptians were wrapped in muslin imported from India. It is also believed that the textile craftsmen of Egypt dyed their cloth with Hindu indigo.

Secondly, Hindu commerce with the land of Euphrates was more intimate and direct. As early as about 3000 B.C., the Hindus supplied the Chaldaean city of Ur on the Euphrates with teakwood. The Assyrians also, like the Egyptians, got their muslin from India. From the tenth to sixth century B.C. the Assyro-Babylonian trade of the Hindus seems to have been very brisk. It was through this Indo-Mesopotamian trade that the Athenians of the sixth century B.C., came to know of rice and peacocks.

Thirdly, Hindu soldiers joined the ranks of their Iranian fellow subjects when Xerxes led the memorable expedition against Greece (480 B.C.), and the bones of many a Hindu must have been mixed with the dusts of Europe at Thermopylae. This was probably the first direct contact between the Hindus and the Greeks.

In international politics the Maurya Emperors of

India were the "allies" of the Hellenistic rulers of western Asia, Europe and Africa. They succeeded in giving a unified administration, financial as well as judicial, to extensive areas of India in that distant past. Under them centralisation marked every department of governmental machinery as sufficiently evidenced by Megasthenes and Kautilya.

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, the Kushans of northern India promoted trade with the Roman Empire by land, and the Andhras of southern India had touch with Rome by sea. The balance of trade was in favour of the Hindus, leading to considerable "drain" of gold from Rome to India. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* constitutes a permanent proof of the highly commercial and materialist genius of the Hindus.

In fact, with the fourth century A.C. really commence the foundations of a "Greater India" of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan on the East to Madagascar on the West. The romantic story of this tremendous expansion of India has found its proper place in Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* (London, 1912). The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were certainly not metaphysical dreamers, intuitionists or unpractical idealists. The same process of India's secular "acculturation" went on right up to the eighteenth century in a most prominent manner.

The long-continued international trade of the Hindus points to their thoroughly commercial and practical capacity. Some of the ancient ships could accommodate 300, 500, 700, 800, and even 1,500 passengers. In the fifteenth century A.D., the Hindus, according to Nicolo Conti, could build ships larger than the Europeans, capable of containing 2000 butts and five sails and as many masts. One of the Hindu ships on its way to the Red Sea, in 1612, was 153 feet long, 42 feet beam, 31 feet deep, was of 1500 tons burden. The English ships of that date were 300 or 500 tons at most. The city of Murshidabad was brighter and more sanitary than the London of those days according to Clive. Baltazar Solvyns, the French observer, wrote even in 1811 that the Indian sea-going vessels were more durable and elegant than those of the English and the French.

Thus it is quite evident that the Hindu or Indian civilisation has been all through the fleeting centuries of history highly materialistic, practical and positivistic. "If Hindu civilisation" questions Sarkar, "has not been materialistic, one wonders as to what is materialism. In what particulars did the 'Greek view of life' differ from that of the Hindus? Let the Dickinsons and Huntingtons answer."



NETAJI ON MAHATMAJI

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI and Subhas Chandra Bose worked for long through foul weather for the liberation of the Motherland and up to the last they bore love and esteem for each other both in agreement and in disagreement and it would be a blunder to assess the feeling of Subhas towards Mahatmaji from the single aspect of his opposition to the latter in All-India Congress affairs. Here it would seem to be a systematic hostility to Mahatmaji's programme based on caution and moderation as opposed to advocacy for rough and ready action impelled almost in every case, by a careful study of international affairs. Mahatmaji while demanding complete independence would be satisfied with Dominion Status and Subhas would brook no compromise on this point. Mahatmaji would like to depend more on spiritual force while Subhas, a stern realist, would give the material world its due share and refuse to accept many of Mahatmaji's declared views on life, on the methods and means of attaining political freedom. He would refuse to accept non-violence as an end in itself, at most he was prepared to give it a chance as a means to an end.

Perhaps Subhas could not overcome the bias of his first interview with Mahatmaji, of being dissatisfied with the cloudy haziness that encompassed the different stages of Non-Co-operation Movement and his heart yearned for more light to be convinced of the efficacy which might lead to the ultimate goal. Subhas would always wonder at the steps taken by Mahatmaji at a particular period or on particular occasions which militated against his declared views on the subject. He demanded a more clear-cut programme, which would be understandable to all, no matter whether it was going to be accepted by the majority or not. It is hazardous to suggest that his antipathy towards Gandhism and "Gandhites", as Subhas "for want of a better term", would be pleased to call them, grew out of his failure to reduce the influence of Mahatmaji in the Congress circles or to dislodge him from the position which he had held since his emergence in Indian politics. It is similarly hazardous to suggest that whatever antipathy had Mahatmaji towards Subhas was to the growing influence of the latter in the Congress and his persistent and increasingly stronger opposition to Mahatmaji in the sphere of politics.

There is one difference between the two in respect of their individually expressed opinion about the one against the other. While Subhas never lost his restraint in his criticism of Mahatmaji, Mahatmaji seems to have lost all control over himself when he heard of his "own defeat" in the open election of the Presidentship of the Tripuri Congress. He was beside himself with anger and he had on the issue of subsequent events, drafted the resolution of the All-India

Congress Committee purporting to expel Subhas Chandra from the Congress. On the whole, it was a relation of mutual tolerance, of love and esteem and a good deal of affection on the part of Mahatmaji so long, as in the opinion of Mahatmaji, Subhas behaved.

If Subhas was sometimes harsh upon Mahatmaji, his views, at other times, were mellowed down by expressions of deep love and esteem. He would not spare the devout followers of Mahatmaji and would complain of their inexplicable subservience to him. Mahatmaji, as it seemed to Subhas, was a bundle of contrasts. While it was easy for him to comprehend the role of Deshabandhu, the case was quite different with Mahatmaji :

"In many ways he is altogether an idealist and a visionary. In other respects, he is an astute politician. At times he is as obstinate as a fanatic; on other occasions he is liable to surrender like a child. The instinct, or the judgment, so necessary for political bargaining is lacking in him."

Here Subhas is in accord with Deshabandhu who held the view that

"The Mahatma opens a campaign in a brilliant fashion; he works it up with unerring skill; he moves from success to success till he reaches the zenith of his campaign—but after that he loses his nerve and begins to falter."

Subhas also accused Mahatmaji of allowing the opportune moment slip away and start the same movement at some other date, particularly when the enemies of India had become fully posted with the methods and possibilities of the movement and had sufficient time to guard against or checkmate the progress of the movement. He has also openly accused Mahatmaji of 'bungling' and 'blunders' and of obstructing the progress of the independence movement at odd times. His grievance was that having failed to carry conviction Mahatmaji would often coerce his opponents to accepting his views by threat of retirement and some such device. Wherever there was the merest chance of his proposal being rejected or even altered, Mahatmaji would refuse to accept any responsibility in the matter and would go the extreme length of withdrawing all his support and even the support of his adherents.

While appreciating some of the features of Mahatmaji's daily life and dress, Subhas sometimes severely criticised the baneful influence which his insistence on a particular mode of living had exercised over the common man and its deleterious effect on Indian political movement. In discussing the causes of the downfall of India in broad outline, Subhas held that Mahatmaji had indirectly contributed to the continuance of the defects and also added confusion in many of its aspects. Asks Subhas, "After all, what has brought about India's downfall in the material and

political sphere?" His analysis brings to him the following answer:

"It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural—her indifference to modern scientific development—her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment engendered by her latter-day philosophy and adherence to Ahimsa (non-violence) carried to the most absurd length."

The downfall was due to the neglect of the material side of life and too disproportionate a stress on the 'spiritual and intellectual' side of it. The following passage expresses the views of Subhas:

"India can boast of a very ancient culture and civilisation, but one must admit that we have not been able to preserve what we constructed, owing to our comparative inefficiency in the art of preservation. Moreover, I do not think that we developed the material side of life—the arts and crafts—as much as the ancient Egyptians did. Our emphasis was not on civilization but on culture; not on the material side of life but on the intellectual and spiritual."

Considering the *pros* and *cons* of such a way of living and thinking, Subhas says:

"Owing to our superior thought-power, we could hold our own against invaders from outside even when we were vanquished physically for the time being—and in course of time we could also absorb the outsider."

And about the disadvantages:

"On the other hand, emphasis on the intellectual and spiritual side, caused us to neglect the development of science and let us remain comparatively weak on the material and physical side of life."

But India had had her 'glorious periods' of existence when she was able to extort admiration of the world, and the causes, according to Subhas, were:

"The glorious periods of our history were, when we were able to strike a golden mean between the demands of spirit and matter, of the soul and the body—and thereby progress simultaneously on both fronts."

There must be an attempt for synthesizing the different forces, and its neglect results in weakness both of the body and the mind:

"Owing to the inter-relation between the soul and the body, the neglect of the body not only weakens a nation physically, but in the long run, weakens it spiritually as well."

And the result was:

"India at the present moment appears to be suffering not merely from physical weakness but from spiritual exhaustion as well—the inevitable result of our neglecting one aspect of life. And if we are to come to our own once again we have to advance simultaneously on both fronts."

According to Subhas, Mahatmaji had only succeeded to create more confusion and had failed to achieve the amount of success which his enormous popularity and huge following would justify. Subhas has adduced a number of points which have individually and collectively contributed to such failure:

"He has failed because the strength of a leader

depends not on the largeness—but on the character—of one's following," and if there was want of what is meant by 'character', Subhas again accuses Mahatmaji for the deficiency:

"Consciously or unconsciously, the Mahatma fully exploited the mass psychology, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. But in doing so, the Mahatma was using a weapon which was sure to recoil on his head. He was exploiting many of the weak traits in the character of his countrymen which had accounted for India's downfall . . ."

i.e., helpless resignation to fate and unshaken belief in the supernatural, neglect of science, and a host of other causes already related. In 1920 Mahatmaji would be treated not as a political leader but a religious preceptor or *guru* as well and the numerous followers of Mahatmaji were prone to "regard everything that he said as gospel truth without reasoning and arguing and to accept his paper *Young India* as their Bible." Mahatmaji's daily routine was translated into action in many homes and many people "gave up eating fish and meat, took to the same dress as the Mahatma, adopted his daily habits like morning and evening prayer and began to talk more of spiritual freedom than of political Swaraj."

There are many instances where this imitation had been dragged to ridiculous end, inasmuch as in the face of Mahatmaji's protests, "in some parts of the country the Mahatma began to be worshipped as an *Avatar*."

In political conferences and discussions the preachings of Mahatmaji permeated the very fabric and in April, 1923 at the Jessore Provincial Conference the goal of Swaraj was accepted as a spiritual one. Still amusing things would happen:

"In 1922, when the writer (Subhas) was in prison, Indian warders in the service of the Prisons Department, would refuse to believe that the Mahatma had been cast in prison by the British Government. They would say in all seriousness that since Gandhiji was a Mahatma, he could assume the shape of a bird and escape from prison."

There are other instances where Mahatmaji's personal views on non-violence militated against the views held by his countrymen and there was widespread resentment against his act of omission or commission. Mahatmaji's silence on the martyrdom of Jatin Das who—his demand for better treatment as an under-trial political prisoner in comparison with the ordinary criminals having been refused by the Government,—went on hunger-strike in the Lahore Jail and died after 63 days on September 13, 1929, evoked deep despair in the mind of the political workers of India. It was strange that such a great sacrifice could fail to produce any impression on Mahatmaji. Still more surprising is Mahatmaji's statement, in reply to a question from a close friend of Jatin Das, to the effect that

"He had purposely refrained from commenting, because if he had done so, he would have been forced to write something unfavourable."

Similar was the attitude taken by Mahatmaji in connection with the death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh and his two associates of the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Mahatmaji was at the time in negotiation for a political truce with the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and was requested from all quarters to make the execution of these martyrs an issue with the latter. But Mahatmaji would not identify himself even by an expression of sympathy with the revolutionaries in India, and refused to go so far and ultimately the condemned prisoners were hanged on March 23, 1931, and that on the eve of the Karachi Congress. The feeling of the younger section of the people ran high and to a considerable section of the youths it was freely talked that Mahatmaji "had betrayed the cause of Bhagat Singh and his comrades." But there were other matters which in all seriousness should be treated as grave political issues having nothing to do with ethical standards. In support of his argument Subhas cites two instances:

"The Mahatma and his followers would not countenance the boycott of British goods because that would engender hatred towards the British. Even so intellectual a personality as the celebrated poetess (one time President of the Indian National Congress and the first Indian Governor of the United Provinces in the new dispensation), Srimati Sarojini Naidu, in her speech at the Gaya Congress in December, 1922, condemned the Swarajist policy on the ground that councils were places of 'Maya' (which means an illusion or something false that charms and tempts), where Congressmen would be tempted by bureaucratic overtures."

In analysing the other causes of failure of the Mahatma, Subhas enumerates:

"While he understood the character of his own people, he has not understood the character of his opponents. . . his policy of putting all his cards on the table will not do. We have to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and in a political fight, the art of diplomacy cannot be dispensed with. He has failed because he has not made use of the international weapon, because the false unity of interests that are inherently opposed is not a source of strength but a source of weakness in political warfare."

The last but not the least, in Subhas's views an extremely important factor was

"because he has had to play a dual role in one person—the role of the leader of an enslaved people and that of a world-teacher, who has a new doctrine to preach. It is this duality that has made him at once the irreconcilable foe of the Englishman, according to Mr. Churchill, and the best policeman of the Englishman according to Miss Ellen Wilkinson."

In spite of what has already been said, Subhas holds that Mahatmaji has been endowed with the best gifts of nature and he acquired the rarest qualities of a leader by self-culture. It was simply a matter of course that his influence has come to stay from the day he liked to enter Indian political arena.

There is something both in the physical and mental make-up of Mahatmaji combined with

instinctive sense of reality which marked him as a leader of men with outstanding abilities. Mahatmaji admirably fulfils the needs of the time, the saviour of downtrodden and impoverished India.

"His simple life, his vegetarian diet, his goat's milk, his day of silence every week, his habit of squatting on the floor instead of sitting on a chair, his loin-cloth,"

on the physical side and on the mental, his "asceticism, his adherence to truth and his consequent fearlessness" have all "combined to give him a halo of saintliness."

"His loin-cloth was reminiscent of Christ, while his sitting posture at the time of lecturing was reminiscent of Buddha." In the choice of language he has always in his mind the calibre or capacity of the ordinary man of the street. He will seldom use a word that is difficult of comprehension for the lay public. About words with difficult concept he will give his own interpretation so that people may find it reflected in the mirror of his own intellect.

"When he talks to them about Swaraj, he does not dilate on the virtues of provincial autonomy or federation, he reminds them of the glories of *Rama-rajya* (the kingdom of King Rama of old) and they understand. And when he talks of conquering through love and *ahimsa* (non-violence), they are reminded of Buddha and Mahavira and they accept him."

The effect on the mass has been tremendous and nobody on earth has enjoyed popularity or has wielded so much influence continuously for such long years. Even if he is not in the forefront or has temporarily withdrawn from public gaze, everybody would anxiously await to hear 'what Mahatmaji says.' In fact, he is never out of public mind and the whole world from the ignorant to the most intelligent, from the socially persecuted to the religious questioner would follow him with correspondence and it must reach him because the Indian Post offices have instruction to deliver to him all letters addressed to Mahatma Gandhi, India.

"Wherever he may go, even the poorest of the poor feels that he is a product of the Indian soil—bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh"

and this is the secret of his enormous influence on the people of India.

Further,

"Through ascetic discipline he had equipped himself for a life of suffering and during the period of his apprenticeship in Indian politics, from 1914 to 1920, he had been able to gather round him a band of loyal and trusted followers."

No doubt it was a great advantage to Mahatmaji that he was able, more by example than by precept, to gather 'round his head a halo of saintliness which was of inestimable value to him in a country where the people revere the saint more than the millionaire or the Governor.' It was not through miracle, not through chance that Mahatmaji created this unique position for himself which has been of inestimable value to India. He was, as everybody having the

barest knowledge of Mahatmaji knows, in his youth greatly influenced by "the teachings of Jesus Christ and the ideas of Tolstoy", but he advanced over these two by applying these principles in practice in his own life and bringing them to the level of practical politics with the masses of the people. It was a triumph of non-violence over violence, the violence of British Imperialism demonstrated through the batons and bullets of the myrmidons of law and order. It was a great achievement which kept men calm and patient in the face of violence of the worst type, where human nature would only be too glad to retaliate however feebly and ineffectively that might be. Mahatmaji's conception of applying 'non-violent non-co-operation' in the field of wider sphere of Indian political agitation and "not for remedying local grievances, but for winning national freedom" was really grand and its effectiveness was "well-nigh demonstrated that it was possible to paralyse the civil administration of a foreign Government thereby and bring the Government to its knees."

It was a still greater intellectual feat to choose the right moment after a careful survey of political events covering nearly a quarter of a century and to come out with an irresistible force that would brook no opposition from any quarter or from any group of politicians that had held the field so long. This is how Subhas has written about the emergence of Mahatmaji with his programme of 'non-violent non-co-operation':

"In 1920 India stood at the cross-roads. Constitutionalism was dead; armed revolution was sheer madness. But silent acquiescence was impossible. The country was groping for a new method and looking for a new leader. Then there sprang up India's man of destiny—Mahatma Gandhi—who had been biding his time all these years and quietly preparing himself for the great task ahead of him. He knew himself—he knew his country's needs and he knew also that during the next phase of India's struggle, the crown of leadership would be on his head. No false sense of modesty troubled him—he spoke with a firm voice and the people obeyed."

In another place Subhas has beautifully put the position of the Mahatma at the beginning of the first mass struggle which Mahatmaji had been going to launch:

"Throughout the year 1919, lightning and thunder had raged in the political sky of India—but towards the end of the year the clouds lifted and the Amritsar Congress seemed to herald an era of peace and quiet. But the promise of Amritsar was not fulfilled. Once again the clouds began to gather and towards the end of 1920 the sky was dark and threatening. With the new year came whirlwind and storm. And the man who was destined to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm was Mahatma Gandhi."

In another context Subhas recalled the services of Mahatmaji with deep gratitude. He held that but for Mahatmaji India would still have been rolling in quagmire and morass of indecision and internecine strife. Says Subhas (Bangkok, October 2, 1948):

"No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom—but they did not fight all together. . . . The lesson that we have learnt from this painful chapter of Indian history is that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy, they will never be able to achieve their independence, nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquire it."

Even after the British had been marching forward acquiring new territories each day, there was not the slightest indication of the rest combining together and offering resistance to the enemies. There was a lull for a considerable period during which the foreigners could find ample time to consolidate their position in India. With some it became crystal clear that if further time was allowed, it would be difficult to shake off the stranglehold of the enemy. Subhas in tracing the development of political consciousness of the Indian people resulting in mass movements against British imperialism says:

"It took long time to open the eyes of the Indian people. Ultimately, in 1857, they woke up and they then made a concerted attack on the British in different parts of the country. . . . When the fight began the British were easily defeated at first. But two factors accounted for our ultimate failure. All parts of India did not join in the fight; and what is more significant, the technical skill of our army commanders was inferior to that of the commanders of the enemy forces."

Then after the "First War of Independence" people were coaxed and cajoled and assurances of equality with the Britishers in India and good government came forth. There was again a lull and all that remained of political agitation was petitioning and protests. There was practically no clash worth the name with the ruling authorities in India till the tragic events of Jallianwallabagh. The people "remained stunned and paralysed" as the effect of brutalities perpetrated on both the law-abiding citizens and the law-breakers alike and it was apprehended that political agitation would never be able to raise its head again. There was literally a debacle in the field of politics. Says Subhas:

"Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left and the Indian people, though their hearts were burning with indignation were groping in the dark for a new method and new weapon of struggle. Just at this psychological moment, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied round his banner. India was saved. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence. Ultimate victory was once again assured."

And this is how, according to Subhas, Mahatmaji has served India and brought a marvellous change in the outlook of her people:

"For twenty years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation, and with him, the Indian people too have worked. It is no exagger-

ation to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle, India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single life-time under similar circumstances."

The efforts of Mahatmaji, his tact, resourcefulness, his unique influence over the masses have made Congress an organisation of the masses which under his direction has assumed a position of respect throughout the world, and a cherished place in the heart of the Indian people. No sacrifice, in the name of the Congress, is too great for a political worker, and it infuses courage and self-confidence whenever the national tri-colour guides them to a struggle. In the following passage Subhas enumerates Mahatmaji's contribution towards the Indian people and their great organisation:

"Since 1920 the Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable pre-conditions for the attainment of independence. They have, first of all, learnt national self-respect and self-confidence—as a result of which revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts."

By itself it is a great achievement but contribution of a greater import is the creation of a new Congress :

"Secondly, they have now got a countrywide organization which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a countrywide political organization representing the whole nation—the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty—the last War of Independence."

In another passage Subhas has dilated upon this subject and his observation is characteristic of his incisive mind which scans every detail of a subject and helps him in coming to a sound conclusion :

"The year 1921 undoubtedly gave the country a highly-organised party-organization. Before that, the Congress was a constitutional party and mainly a talking body. The Mahatma not only gave it a new Constitution and a nation-wide basis—but what is more important, converted it into a revolutionary organization. The tricolour national flag was adopted all over the country and assumed great importance. Uniform slogans were repeated everywhere and a uniform policy and ideology gained currency from one end of India to the other. The English language lost its importance and Congress adopted Hindi (or Hindusthani) as the lingua franca for the whole country. Spontaneously, Khadi became the official uniform for all Congressmen. In short, all the features of a modern political party became visible in India. The credit for such achievements naturally belongs to the leader of the movement—Mahatma Gandhi."

Subhas, as also his admiring countrymen, is grateful to Mahatmaji for giving the present shape to the Congress and placing sacrifice above long purse and high connections in one's claim for leadership. This is what Subhas writes :

"The Indian National Congress of today is largely his creation. The Congress Constitution is

his handiwork. From a talking body he has converted the Congress into a living and fighting organization. It has its ramifications in every town and village in India and the entire nation has been trained to listen to one voice. Nobility of character and capacity to suffer have been made the essential tests of leadership, and the Congress is today the largest and the most representative political organisation in the country."

Subhas asks himself as to how it was possible for a single man to achieve so much in an incredibly short space of time. It was by "his single-hearted devotion, his relentless will and his indefatigable labour." Of course, the time was propitious and Mahatmaji was the creator of such circumstances, of making the mind of the masses receptive to his ideas and preachings. In him two contradictory interests have merged and that is the source of his great strength. Says Subhas:

"The time was auspicious and his policy prudent. Though he appeared as a dynamic force, he was not too revolutionary for the majority of his countrymen. If he had been so, he would have frightened them instead of inspiring them; repelled them, instead of drawing them. His policy was one of unification. He wanted to unite the Hindu and the Moslem; the high caste and the low caste; the capitalist and the labourer; the landlord and the peasant. By his humanitarian outlook and his freedom from hatred he was able to rouse sympathy even in his enemy's camp."

Mahatmaji's 'policy' in other occasions has been deemed superb. It was intended to impart solemnity to the event, to inculcate self-respect in the masses and to capture the imagination of the public. It would always try to fall in line with the tradition of India while the demonstrative aspect of the issue was never overlooked. As particular instances, amongst a host of others, two may be cited to illustrate the point. These relate to his dress and to the Dandi March for Salt Satyagraha. So far as Mahatmaji's 'loin-cloth' is concerned, it was treated as an emblem of India's poverty and made him akin to the poorest people of India. And he would not eschew the loin-cloth even when he had been visiting the Buckingham Palace to meet Their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and the Empress of India. Besides the moral that the 'loin-cloth' or the habitual dress of Mahatmaji carried with it, it had had its demonstrative side. Subhas entertained some misgivings about the advisability of visiting Europe in his characteristic dress. But on a second thought he came to the conclusion that "on this occasion he did the right thing in adhering to his favourite dress." The reply that Mahatmaji jocosely gave to a questioner is remarkable for its subtle humour and for its deep satirical import. Said Mahatmaji, "You people wear plus-fours, mine are minus-fours." Continued Mahatmaji :

"If I came here to live and work like an English citizen, then I should conform to the customs of the country and should wear the dress of an Englishman. But I am here on a great and special mission, and my loin-cloth, if you choose so

to describe it, is the dress of my principals, the people of India."

Mahatmajī's countrymen together with Subhas Chandra "feel proud that he stuck to the dress of his principals and even attended the Buckingham Palace with it."

The famous 'Dandi March' of Mahatmajī inaugurating contravention of the Salt Laws is a measure that has very little parallel in the history of projects undertaken to rouse the imagination of the masses and to have the progress of the 'March' relayed throughout the world. Subhas has recorded his high appreciation of the method in which the disobedience of the Salt Laws was undertaken and the way in which it was carried all along its course till Mahatmajī was clapped into prison.

"At the time the Government were sceptical about the effect that the march would produce and they were not inclined to take him seriously. The Anglo-Indian papers began to write taunting articles and the *Statesman* of Calcutta in a leading article wrote to the effect that the Mahatma could go on boiling sea-water till Dominion Status was attained. This scepticism was also shared by a section of Congressmen."

and it may be said that their number was legion. But very soon the whole character of the campaign changed and presented a very serious outlook. It was

"an event of historical importance, which will rank on the same level with Napoleon's march to Paris on his return from Elba or Mussolini's march to Rome when he wanted to seize political power."

It had the desired effect and the demonstrative side of the movement was fully exploited. The scheme in its detail was well thought out and Mahatmajī's trek on foot was an example of great foresight. Because

"the march on foot enabled him to rouse the entire countryside through which he passed and it also gave him to work up the feelings of the country as a whole."

This was very judicious for the simple reason that

"if, on the other hand, he had taken the train to Dandi from Ahmedabad, arriving there the next day, he would neither have been able to rouse the people of Gujarat, nor would he have had enough time to work up the entire nation."

The effect was tremendous on the public inasmuch as

"while the Mahatma was marching from village to village, an intense propaganda was carried on in the neighbourhood asking the people to give up service under the Crown and to prepare for the non-payment of taxes, which would be started before long. At every step the Mahatma received an unexpectedly warm welcome and that made the Government realise that the coming campaign would be a much more serious affair than they had thought at first."

Respect for Mahatmajī burns undimmed throughout Subhas's political career and even when Mahatmajī had taken an extremely unreasonable and hostile

attitude towards Subhas, the latter would ever think of the former in terms of great respect. When after his victory in the presidential election over his rival, Mahatmajī issued a most sarcastic and unbecoming statement against Subhas, it was a remarkable feat of patience on his part to maintain a high dignity and hold Mahatmajī in high esteem. He would say :

"I do not know what sort of opinion Mahatmajī has of myself. But whatever his view may be, it will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man."

It is true that Subhas sometimes criticised, and that very strongly, Mahatmajī for introducing high ethical principles of his own into the common plane of politics. It was to an extent incomprehensible to the ordinary people who would confuse politics with religion. Yet Subhas knew that such resurgence of spiritual awakening is concomitant to political upheavals in dependent nations and India is not the solitary instance in the long chain of events in history.

"It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy, it was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people. He was then followed by the fighter and the hero—Garibaldi, who began the march to Rome at the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland, too, the Sinn Féin Party, when it was born in 1906, gave the Irish people a programme which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Féin Party—that is, 1916—the first armed revolution in Ireland took place."

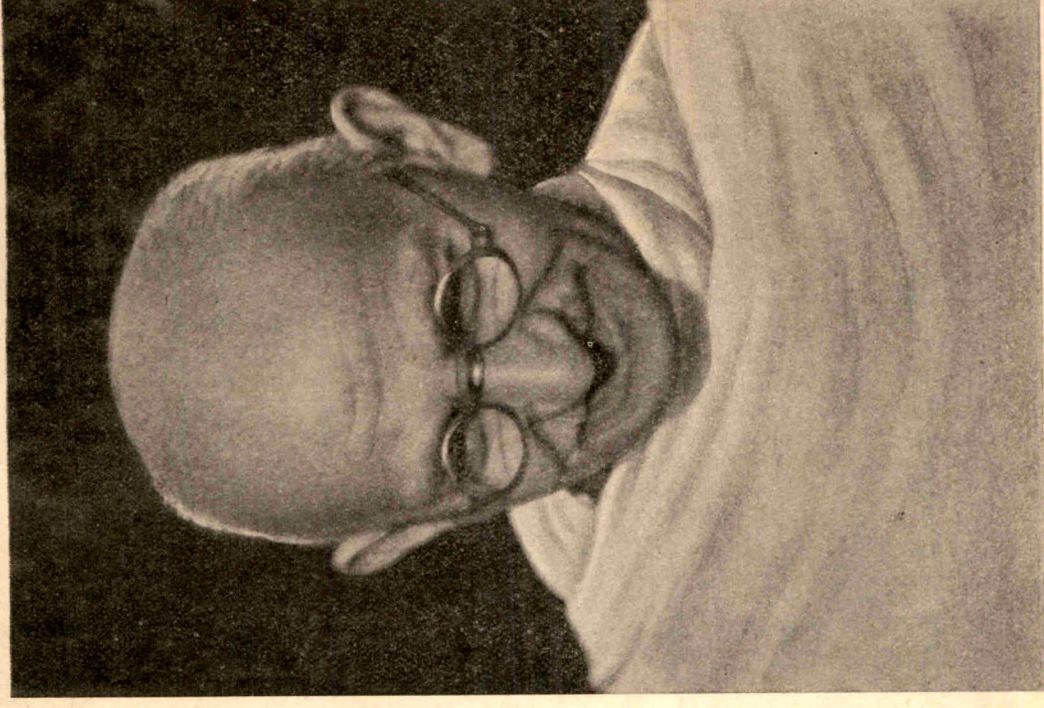
And one who had studied history with such care and scrutiny could not rest content with a mere spiritual revolt against oppression and Subhas staked everything to raise an army armed to the teeth to supplement the movement carried on inside India with the weapon of non-violence.

But even then Subhas would not forget Mahatmajī and would pray, on July 6, 1944, for blessings and good wishes of the "Father of our Nation" so that he may succeed in his mission. It was his idea "that Indians at home had everything that they need for the final struggle but they lack one thing—an army of liberation." Perhaps it was destined that Subhas should play the part of Garibaldi or de Valera in India and he fully prepared for the task beginning with his training as a unit in the University Training Corps in his younger days.

It was not in a mood of levity that he called Mahatmajī, the "Father of our Nation" because he follows it up with the statement that

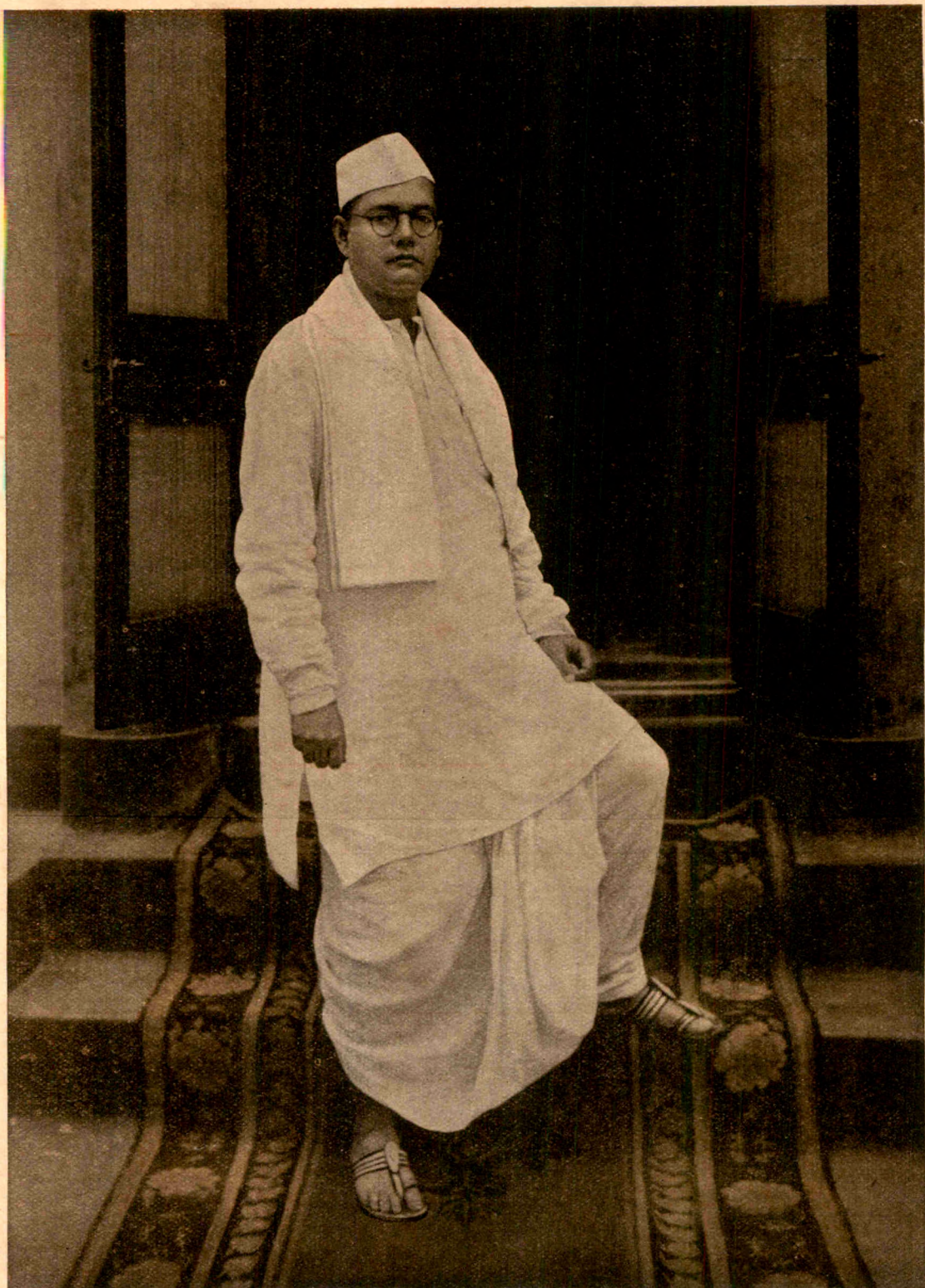
"Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty."

In spite of all his differences with Mahatmajī, he had been one of his most ardent admirers. He had



FATHER OF THE NATION

अक्रोधेन जयेत् क्रोधं असाधुं साधुना जयेत् ।
जयेत् कदर्यं दानेन सत्येनालीकवादिनम् ॥



NETAJI: OF FREEDOM'S BATTLE

“न अस्य क्रोधः प्रसादश्च निरर्थोऽस्ति कदाचन”

had the courage of conviction to say publicly that he did not believe in non-violence while others would cover their feeling with a cloak and parade before Mahatmaji as exponents of his favourite views. Much capital has been made of his differences with Mahatmaji and opportunists in the political fields, persons pitching themselves against him for personal reasons or political grouse would try to influence the high and mighty in the Congress and create difficulties in his way. From 1921 onwards, save on one or two occasions, Mahatmaji and his devout followers have held the Congress machinery under the palm of their hands and it was very easy to cite instances of his antagonism to Gandhiji or Gandhism to a judgment against him. However, he maintained great dignity in his relations with Mahatmaji and it may be said about this aspect of his life that he was more sinned against than sinning. Here, as in nowhere else, he maintained a high standard of independent thinking and as time will wear on, it will become evident that but for his sturdy opposition, untouched by any selfish taint, the level of opposition to British imperialism might have sagged at times entailing serious efforts and huge sacrifices in future years to raise the level of enthusiasm. His services will be recalled with gratitude by his countrymen who will be able to weigh issues dispassionately when the cloud of controversy will have been lifted by time and things can be seen in their true perspective.

It was with feelings of deep anxiety that Subhas awaited every news emanating from Mahatmaji's quarters after his sudden release from prison on May 6, 1944, on grounds of health. He was sincerely glad that it

"pleased Providence to restore you to comparative health, so that 388 millions of your countrymen may still have the benefit of your guidance and service."

With a heart filled with deep emotion he poured forth on the microphone :

"For Indians outside India, you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. In all their propaganda before the world, they give you that position and the respect that is due to that position."

Even the domestic differences that affected Indian politics failed to produce any adverse effect outside the country because

"for the world-public, we Indian nationalists are all one—having but one goal, one desire and one endeavour in life. In all the countries free from British influence that I have visited since I left India in 1941, you are held in the highest esteem as no other Indian political leader has been, during the last century."

Some might think, in view of his differences with Mahatmaji on certain points, that Subhas was not competent enough to fully appreciate the greatness of Mahatmaji; but it is also to be remembered that Subhas was above all such pettiness and says :

"Each nation has its own internal politics and its own attitude towards political problems. But that cannot affect a Nation's appreciation of a man who has served his people so well and has bravely fought a first class modern power all his life."

Subhas gives his own appreciation of Mahatmaji's services to the nation and his contribution to India's struggle for freedom :

"The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letters of gold in our national history for all time."

Let the people of Independent India bury the hatchet and remember with pride and gratitude that these two opposing patriots, Mahatmaji and Netaji, with all their differences, have contributed more than anybody else to the breaking of the shackles that held India in bondage for centuries.

Bande Mataram ! Jai Hind !!

—:O:—

THE BACKGROUND OF INDONESIAN LIFE

By R. C. BHATIA

THE term 'Indonesia' now stands for a conglomeration of about three thousand islands—big and small—with a population of about seventy millions and an area of over 730,000 sq. miles. This term was first used by a German ethnologist. He strangely enough included Formosa, the Philippines, Malaya, Madagascar in addition to the Netherlands East Indies into it. The term, however, caught the fancy of inhabitants of the last-named area. It became more popularly known since the launching of their own government by the name of the Republic of Indonesia, after August 17, 1945, in accordance with the clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

The main islands included in Indonesia are : Sumatra, Borneo, Madura, and Java. Java is described as the greatest centre of Indonesian culture and civilisation. There are some special reasons for this. Java has large areas of low plains and its terrain favours large-scale irrigation. There are abundant rice crops and many orchards in this part of the country. It is also the most densely populated island in the country. Covering only about one-eighth of the total area, Java combined with Madura has a population of about fifty millions. Indonesia is rich in raw materials, natural resources and minerals, particularly oil.

Out of the seventy million Indonesians, sixty-three millions are Muslims, two millions Christians, two millions Chinese and a million and a quarter are Hindus; but all of them have so blended their original faith with the interests of their country that they proclaim the same fundamental basic unity to the outside world. The Muslim population in this country is miles apart from any religious fanaticism. Although in the major part of the country, life is covered by liberalism in thought, in certain parts of Java animism is also prevalent. The Red and White colours in Indonesian banner represent courage and sincerity respectively.

The Indonesian Republican capital Jogjakarta is the Headquarters of the Nationalist revolution which has shaken the foundation of the 350-year-old Empire, but the pace of life there as in the rest of Indonesia is amazingly slow. The reason for this is that Indonesians are rather easy-going and care-free persons. But although Indonesian nationalism cannot completely shake off its birth in an unindustrialised area yet the people possess great determination to stick to their ideals.

Radio Jogjakarta, the two and a half kilowatt overseas 'Voice of Free Indonesia,' is run by about three dozen persons—half of them being women—announcer-commentators whose average age is 24. They write their own scripts and broadcast them in English, Dutch, French, Hindustani, Urdu, Arabic, Chinese and Turkish.

Among the political parties the Republican Socialist Party is in power. Other parties are the Socialist Party of Indonesia led by Dr. Shariar, the Communist Party led by Dr. Sharifuddin, the Nationalist Party and the Labour Federation. The Masjumi, a loosely-knit Muslim organisation of social, religious, and cultural organisation, occupies a prominent position in Indonesian life.

INDONESIAN STAGE ART

'Sandiwara' is one of the most beloved stage art performances in Indonesia. The attraction towards dramatic art has existed in the country for centuries. 'Sandiwara' stage play has greatly influenced the exchange of Indonesian thoughts from contemplative to dynamic. But the recent changes brought about in the mental conditions of the people from static into dynamic have led to the development of 'Kutoprak' stage plays. It is simple in structure but offers enough artistic satisfaction to the common man. This does not mean that 'Sandiwara' stage plays have been given up. It has its modern variations, legendary, historical and dramatic art-plays exhibiting different episodes and eras. The general Javanese stage arts are almost devoid of a concrete reality.

Indonesia also had its glorious days in the past. At one stage in her history, she was the centre of learning and culture. She had reached a level of high

civilisation much earlier than the rise of Europe. The back of the Indonesian culture is still strong although it is lying dormant. Its simplicity, plasticity and spirituality can help build a much richer culture and give expression to a more colourful and variegated civilisation.

INDIAN-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

Traces of Indian-Indonesian intercourse are found in the organisation of small democratic communities in the villages known as 'Desas'. The headman of each village, as in India, is elected according to the prevalent conditions and the tribal laws in vogue. The impress of village self-rule is still to be found in an abundant measure. The mode of worship in Indonesia is also similar to India; they worship the forces of nature under the open sky.

Early in the Christian era, the beginning of Hindu immigration to Indonesia is noticeable. This helped in shaping the cultural development of the country. Princes from Hindu dynasties of the Kalingas and the Pallavas laid foundations of certain kingdoms in Java. One of the rulers of the Sailendra dynasty from Bengal erected the greatest of all monuments in Java known as the Borobudur.

Indonesia felt the first spell of Buddhism by a prince from Kashmir in 420 A.D. Islam went to that country from Arabia in the 12th century, but its progress was on peaceful lines.

THE DUTCH IN INDONESIA

The Dutch in Indonesia came to the country as traders in 1598 like other imperialist powers. It is a true maxim however that the flag follows trade. In the beginning, they exercised full sovereignty over Batavia only, but when the Indonesian states began to crack up, they gradually took advantage of their weakness and strengthened their hold over the entire Archipelago. Familiar with having suffered from the Dutch misrule and exploitation for centuries, the Indonesian National movement took advantage of the intervening period between the Japanese surrender and its re-occupation by the Allied troops to declare freedom for the country. This was done by Dr. Soekarno two days after its surrender on August 17, 1945. A 17-member cabinet was set up.

Since then the Indonesian struggle for freedom from Dutch Imperialism has seen many ups and downs. These developments are too fresh in human memory to need any recapitulation. Recent developments have indicated how strongly Asia and the world feels about the affair. It is not going under any circumstances to allow the hands of the clock to be put back. It may be possible for the Dutch to suppress temporarily the upsurge of nationalism in that country, but the Dutch must remember that suppressed nationalism has a tendency to burst out with redoubled vigour.

September 9, 1949

BONN REPUBLIC

BY PROF. K. C. PETER, M.A., LL.B.

THE ALLIES NO MORE ALLIED

ON May 7, 1945, Germany admitted defeat and surrendered. The Commanders-in-Chief of the four victorious divisions vested all powers in the Allied Control Council for Germany by June first week. There lay Hitler's Germany, beaten and strengthless, beckoning for mercy. For two whole years, the Occupation forces had their way in war-hit Germany. Then, in London, the Council of Foreign Ministers met in December 1947. The atmosphere was asphyxiating. The Allies were no longer Allied, their alliance had begun to backslide already. Suspense was in the air. The three Democracies—America, France and England—decided to let go their zonal frontiers and create Western Germany. Russia said it is putting the clock back; hence, her violent opposition to the idea. Anyway on March 20, 1948, the Allied Control Council met again. The Allies had risks and responsibilities of victory to bear. In the session, Britain and America tried to expose certain Soviet stratagems in their unwashed nakedness. Tension was heightened to battle fury. Marshall Sokolovsky staged a walk-out. Without Russia, the talks went on. The river of mutual antagonism in spate, sliced through Germany carrying half of it downstream, to be drilled into shape in Russia. Germany was cut in two; Russia kept the Eastern portion and Western Allies the remaining big slice. In reality, the two Germanys were like the plus and minus of things. Eastern Germany looked a honeypot in between the paws of the Russian bear. Its rulers were mere pawns moved by the master-minds of Kremlin.

HERMANN PUNDER, EHARD, AND ERICH KOEHLER RUN 'INTERIM GOVERNMENT'

The Finanzrat, the Economic Council, took concrete form by the second week of February, 1948, in West Germany. It was a legislative functionary, brought into being by English General Robertson and American General Clay in collaboration with the heads of the provincial governments and the centre. Its function was not only to open up sources of public revenue, but to frame laws for Germany's economic regeneration. A High Court too with wide powers was set in motion. Soon after war's end, the French-British-American combine had the objective of helping sickly Germany to her feet. Hundred and four elected members sat in on this council; they had in mind nothing of Nazi economics with the mailed fist in

the background. Hermann Punder, chief of the six-men executive committee, proved equal to the task. The council of states, having two members from each State, had in the chair Dr. Ehard. The Economic Council unanimously elected grey-haired Dr. Erich Koehler to the presidium. Thus the original democratic idea of Federation of German States got into form. Democracy in Germany was getting into stride. But the stupefying fact, exclusion of East Germany, remained a dead weight in the way of accomplishing the ideal German Republic.

CONSTITUTION ON THE LEGISLATIVE ANVIL

As a help in national revival, the Bank of Germany (Bank Der Lander) was established. With hundred million Reichsmark capital at its back, it did external and internal banking business for woe-racked Germany. Now more and more territorial units willingly entered the Federation. And democrats and republicans of all shades and colours lent the Federation wholehearted support. By July 26, 1948, the Allies, benefited by joint consultations, let out a communique expressing the desire of eleven States to compose a 'Constituent Assembly. It was an *idee fixe* of the Western Allies to give Germany a free constitution. The constitution-making body called Parliamentary Council, had 65 elected members, of whom 30 represented British zone, 20 American, 15 French. On party lines, the Social Democrats won 27 seats, the Christian Democrats an equal number and the rest less than five. Despite the tension between the dyad of forces, Communists picked off only two seats. Bad society, the three occupying Powers knew, is not something to be sighed over; but to change it is the imperative need. New Germany shall not be allowed to mature in the womb of old society. Totalitarianism shall go root and branch. It must be stamped out. The nascent Germany must be a Republic in which the people govern themselves. Germany must strike out a new path for herself.

CONSTITUTION MAKING, A HARD GRIND

It would have been a misnomer to call the constitution-making body, the Parliamentary Council but for the fact that the constitution framed will have no bearing upon East Germany. It sat in session on the first day of September with the head of Christian Democrats, Dr. Konrad Adenauer presiding. Constitution making is a hard grind. Soon the various commit-

tees were get-going with the task. Already the constitution was on the legislative anvil. The Council decided not to make this charter of liberty a museum of out-dated clauses that have outlived their usefulness. Between the Federal Centre and Units, an inebriated wrangle for power was on surface. Moreover, Britain, France and America agreed to disagree over the basic nature of the constitution. The French wanted the Residuary rights to reside in the Units. America advocated the Centre to be all-in-all in power, with the units having none. Britain held that the other two Allies are wrong and that the 'golden mean' between the two is the best. Indecision proved disastrous. The Council made bold to brave through the crisis. The Germans were rapidly emerging from the stupor of defeat. The fast-tempoed, high-pressured, emotionally upset Germans refused to be coaxed and cajoled into accepting any constitution dropped from above. The hoopla of West Germans didn't cut much ice with the controlling powers. Yet, the Council boldly included Berlin as a 12th State in the Federal fixture. The military Governors were about to veto it. Then things took a sharp turn.

ALL FREEDOMS SAVE QUADRIPARTITE CONTROL

On the other side of Germany, remarkable things were happening. There were moves to enable red infiltration to the west. The military governors of the western Allies tightened their belts for action. The people in west Germany in a tantrum. They thought that they had been made puppets in the democratic doll-dance with strings tied on to the nimble fingers of western Allied powers. The military governors released the final draft of Occupation statute which empowered the occupation forces freedom to do practically anything. The people resented to have their tongues tied, mouths gagged, and voice silenced. They were afraid that military authorities may have them manacled. The constitution-making made quick strides towards completion. On May 5, 1949 the Draft Constitution saw the light of the day. After four years of gestation, the Bonn constitution resulted. It was styled in quiet elegance. Surprisingly enough, the military governors accepted it. Now the parliament had freedom to guarantee all freedoms to the people. The Rights-of-man long beaten down and trampled over, had the long-looked-for resurrection. The Germans were restored to human dignity, their inalienable birth-right. On May 23, the constitution was ratified by the Sovereign Assembly and was proclaimed. The Germans were free except for the Quadripartite control by the High Commission which rested on Western Allies' pleasure to raise. Now the emergence of a Democratic Germany seemed to be only a matter of time.

PURPLE PATCHES IN THE FREEDOM-CHARTER

The constitution had West Germany in the van of World progress. The Assembly passed the constitution by 53 votes against 12. Prevention of supreme power from passing on to one single person, or better, prevention of Hitlerism is facilitated by article 58 of the constitution. The federal structure takes more after the United States of America than any other country. The residuary powers rest with the units, with Federal authority pushed down into a strait jacket. The constitution provides two chambers and adheres to strict separation of powers. With judiciary above politics, justice is guaranteed to the ordinary citizen. Extraordinary courts are rendered impossible constitutionally. Death sentence and illegitimacy of children are ruled out as injudicial. Attention may be drawn to the fact that thirty per cent of German children were born outside wedlock in pre-1939 days. Conscription too is made illegal. The preamble of the constitution clearly says, that it holds good only during the transitional stage. The western Allies want it to serve only as a sign-post for the future.

BERLIN AND BONN AT LOGGERHEADS

In the meanwhile Russia ushered an Eastern German Government into existence. On October 8, 1949, the East German State was inaugurated with a declaration that the People's Council will hereafter be the People's Parliament. And the Communist veteran, Otto Grottewohl has taken charge as Premier. In the meeting, the Bonn Republic was the recipient of repeated scoffs and jeers. Russia looks like a drunken bully, cannoning his way and trampling down everything in his path, calling it wisely and nicely Sovietization. High-pressure, full-steam activities of corrupt trouble-brewers didn't work well in West Germany. In the last four years East Germany and West Germany fought many a tense see-saw battles. The Sovietites are feuding, fighting, and fussing, and all against Western Democracies. Gambling for big stakes, the Soviet statesmen bellow and bull-charge at U. S. and U. K. They threaten to close in and step up the pressure on western zone. On the other hand, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the first leader of the Fourth Reich, the Bonn Republic, hates the British as much as he hates the Nazis. He wants Germany to have a place in UNO and freedom for Germans to shape their own destiny. After an interview with him Willie Frischauer writes, "German extremists are usually not grateful to their peace-makers. As Neo-fascism joins forces with unvarnished Hitler-worship, as German industrialists use the dismantling issue to get popular support, as German generals write the best sellers of the day, a new menace is growing that may force the world a third time to call halt." What will happen in the future remains in the lap of gods.

THE TRUTH ABOUT EASTERN PAKISTAN

By BASUDHA CHAKRAVARTY

EASTERN Pakistan is to India more or less a puzzle. Not even to the West Bengalee, even the original East Bengalee who has not been to East Bengal after partition or indeed been there without any pre-conceived notion, can correctly describe East Pakistan as it is today. For that is the only province in that State where any considerable number of Hindus still remain, where some of those who migrated from the province have returned and some others will not return. That is a province about which reports are bewilderingly conflicting, where conditions are stated to have again become normal and are at the same time described by many as intolerable. Such blatant contradictions have been noticed even in statements by such a supposed authority as the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, Sree Sitaram. While on a tour of East Pakistan, he said, he had found it a land of the milk of human kindness. Soon after he said, what he had seen in East Bengal had made him sick at heart.

The present writer would make the rather strange submission that both these statements were founded on truth. In the dialectics of communalism Eastern Pakistan is a perfect lesson. There is no simple truth regarding her, no over-simplifying the result of the impact of history upon her delicate, sensitive and carefully-woven texture of soul. The course of events that led to her being sliced away from Bengal to be part of a new State had its origin far outside. The theory of "two nations" had not been thought of in East Bengal. All the same it worked its way there and rent asunder the fine fabric of society that had been formed by feudalism. But feudalism had over-stayed in East Bengal as elsewhere and the theory of "two nations" eminently fitted into the social disequilibrium that had already occurred. For feudal power was vested overwhelmingly in the hands of Hindus while Muslims felt humiliated by that power. Now, feudalism was on the decline and Pakistan was a promise of deliverance from the communal domination it had come to connote.

Its demand arose on the basis of the two-nations theory. Establishment of Pakistan has been on a Muslim majority basis. Yet the demand for exchange of population from the more militant section of the Hindu community would re-inforce by the theory of two nations. It derives strength from talks that Pakistan is a Muslim State. What is operative, however, is that it is a State for, of and ruled by the Muslims with other communities permitted to stay on perpetual sufferance. These communities are supposed

to be under the State's tolerant, even benevolent, protection.

This is the experience to be got out of a visit to East Bengal after it has settled down and is concerned to announce, as it announces by a notice at an important Dacca cross-road, that it has come to stay. During the first days of Pakistan things were very much as before. For changes wrought by history are quantitative before they become qualitative. While they are quantitative, they take time to reveal themselves. During the first days of Pakistan there was a general desire to avoid the impression that things were no longer what they had been. The exuberance that had followed the announcement of the achievement of Pakistan had worn out before the formal establishment of the State. Now is the second phase whose consequences are being felt.

Psychological inability of the minority community to reconcile itself to the position described above arose fundamentally out of the bewildered realization that Pakistan is the result of the recognition that Hindus and Muslims are two separate entities, that this is a State where the Muslims as such must rule. That, let it be conceded at once, primarily accounts for the large-scale exodus. It is frankly speaking a bar to non-Muslim loyalty to the State which it would need the State's special effort to remove. But the State may and does call for loyalty for its own sake and not be condemed if it does not feel called upon to make a special effort to get such loyalty.

Also from the position that Pakistan means Muslim rule flow such excesses in behaviour as have often been shown to be responsible for the alienation of the Hindus. Such excesses are facts, though one may call them, if one likes, isolated instances. They are a part of the general lawlessness that is often an accompaniment of a major political change. That the public at large do not condone such excesses hardly mitigates the harm they do; for mere passive or oral sympathy is useless and such public opinion finds no organized or effective expression. Police protection against such lawlessness is notoriously lacking due both to corruption and inefficiency. And the general run of Government officials have not even in the changed political text outlived the communal complex with which possibly they had, in course of their official duties, to come more in contact than the ordinary public.

Very possibly similar difficulties are experienced by the minority community in what many Pakistanis somewhat undignifiedly if also falsely call "Hindu-

stan". But we are here discussing the situation in Pakistan, and it is high time the tendency to cover one's own fault by finding fault with others should be curbed. And the fact remains that India has not admitted the "two-nations" theory so that the minority there has no reason to feel itself apart from the body-politic and the majority cannot, at least officially treat the minority as apart from itself.

In Pakistan again the Hindus have very naturally lost the monopoly position they used to occupy in trade and commerce, and often the unsympathetic attitude of officials operates to their additional disadvantage. Another disadvantage is the attempt deliberately made to set the native language to a Muslim pattern in order to express Muslim individuality, but often on the express plea that Muslims can have nothing in common with Hindus.

Altogether then the majority and minority communities in Pakistan despite the prevailing will for mutual adjustment, find themselves powerless against what is increasingly revealing itself as the inexorable will of history. The majority accept the position as something beyond their control; the minority finds itself adrift on the uncharted course of migration. Migration has been on a scale large enough; the spirit of migration has been more widespread still. In face of the establishment of Pakistan on the basis that Hindus and Muslims cannot together form a State on equal terms, Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan do not see their way to a composite nationality. And the fact very probably was that Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah did not desire a composite nationality for Pakistan. Not that he desired non-Muslims to leave the State; he wanted them to live as a protected minority. That is not a position conducive to composite nationality. Composite nationality is indeed ruled out by the very fact that the ruling party in Pakistan is a mono-communal organization. Though it is not to be assumed that had the original proposal to convert the Muslim League into a National League been carried out, Hindus would have joined it in any large number; yet it would have been regarded as a State that would lead towards inter-communal integration. Now the State policy is apparently against integration—very probably because it is thought that to bring in outside and possibly not fully dependable elements would weaken the basis of State solidarity.

For such apprehension, it must be admitted, there is reason. For Muslim nationalism on which Pakistan has been established does offer little scope for integration to non-Muslims, as it does not own the tradition of the Indian nationalist movement which has nourished non-Muslims to the last. It does not own, let alone draw any inspiration from, the ideological atmosphere of Indian nationalism.

Though Mahatma Gandhi is supposed to be as much respected in both the States, Pakistan declines to permit the playing of *Ramdhun* records in public

places like cinema-halls. Meetings to remember Gandhiji on anniversaries of his birth and martyrdom are attended by Muslims but not organized by them. There is, of course, no question of remembering lesser leaders of Indian nationalism though Pakistan claims to have been inspired as much by anti-imperialism as present-day India has been. These are mere statements of facts and there is no question of praise or blame. These facts prove that the Hindus rest on an ideological background different from the Muslims. So it is as difficult for them to enter a composite nationality there as for Muslims to admit them to such nationality. Accompanying this difficulty is the difference in cultural outlook where the individuality of Muslims wanting to preserve itself almost by exclusiveness is pitted against the cultural superiority complex of the Hindus and is lending itself to changes in literary forms and educational curricula. Prejudice plays at least as large a part as reason in the Hindus' unadaptability to these changes.

So, that is the political-cum-psychological position. That determines the basis of State and society in East Bengal today. Yet transcending it are the people among whom traditions of age-long neighbourliness are still at work. The new political set-up impinges on that tradition almost on class lines. The people as such feel that the Hindus' right to participate in the corporate life of the community is a matter of course. So while factors stated above are at work and have led to a major change in the communal complexion of political life, no similar change is offered by the life of the people. All are freely moving about and getting on with one another almost as much as before. Hindus perform their *poojals* and do not feel they are inconvenienced in any way. Even in remote villages *kirtan* is sung at dead of night and Muslims are not conscious about there being anything novel or remarkable, far less objectionable, about it. Inter-communal social life in the villages continues almost much as before. Social and cultural meetings are being held in common; athletic clubs where popular interest converges more surely than elsewhere are of mixed composition, and any suggestion that they may be otherwise would cause surprise. So it seems, almost despite unfavourable State policy, that the people are on the way to resume inter-communal integration. Only it is known that some people have left, and the reasons are not quite clear. Pakistan pleads that those who are leaving do so because they won't live here unless they can dominate: they are not ready to live on equal terms with Pakistanis. Their migration from Pakistan was necessary to end the domination of those who want only to dominate—a final vindication of the position taken up and asserted by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

So, it would be true to say that trends of official and popular policies are not the same in East Bengal, and they even run somewhat counter to each other.

That is because official policy is derived from immediate political expediency while the popular attitude, though not uninfluenced by political conditions, is unable to detach itself from the background of the inter-communal neighbourliness of generations. Official policy is exclusive even in that it guarantees protection to the minority; for by that guarantee it declines to recognize the minority as part of the nation. It has as its basis and strength in the Muslim intelligentsia which is still a rising middle class that is anxious to protect its security by exclusiveness against what it considers to be the former Hindu monopoly. Official and popular attitudes are at variance with each other leading to contradictory estimates of the position in East Bengal.

On a final assessment then of the establishment of Pakistan from the point of view of its basic nationalism, the largest Muslim State in the world, as Quaid-e-Azam rejoiced to call it, is firmly wedded to its political and cultural destiny determined by Muslim nationalism. That, it should never be forgotten, has itself been determined by history. No grudging or grumbling over it will, therefore, do. At the same time no State can in this century be run on theocratic lines. Economic and scientific laws are as much operative here as elsewhere. Economic and social forces come steadily into play. The demand for an equalitarian society grows. Those who are in power resist it and it is exactly they who bank upon a mono-communal national polity. To admit other communities into it is to imperil the *status quo*. So they must be kept at arm's length and though not oppressed, not trusted either.

But the popular movement for a democratic social order has no difficulty in admitting all communities as fellow-travellers. The communal question does not arise there at all. Anyone agreeing with the ideal can easily fit himself into the national entity envisaged under it. That seems a good prospect for

the minorities provided they can align themselves unreservedly with the State. For efforts are bound to be made and are being made in Pakistan as elsewhere to stifle the people's movement as inimical to the State. So, as yet it is regarded as a matter solely for the major community. Association of the minority community with the movement is thought to be harmful to it, apart of course from the pure communist and socialist movements which are still the responsibility of specified groups. Incidentally it may be unsafe for the minority community itself. That itself suggests that the minority is far from integration with the Pakistani nation. Integration would run almost *pari passu* with the orientation of the monolithic character of the State into a People's State where the question of community would cease to be relevant. It would be difficult as long as the religio-nationalist basis of the State and the need to preserve the same remain the sheet-anchor of those who now constitute the ruling party. But economic and social forces are, as has been said before, operative here equally as elsewhere. It will not take long to live down the present phase of nationalism. World forces will sweep down here as much as elsewhere, and who knows? That will at once make possible and demand the minority's final reconciliation with and permanent loyalty to the State. The only way now for the minority is to let the dead past bury its dead, and to help the operation of forces which in Pakistan as well as India have been working towards establishment of a Government of the people where naturally religious considerations will be out of place. Such an approach will draw an immediate response from the general consciousness of inter-communal neighbourliness that has been the product of uncounted centuries. But how many among the minority will be content to live in that hope? How many indeed can work thus for a People's State? On the answer to that question depends the future of the Hindus of Pakistan.

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✓ RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

By NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

RESEARCH in education is almost a thing unknown in our country, not because our system of education is perfect and we do not require it, but because we have not yet been able to make education vivacious, all-engrossing and indispensable for the growth of our life. The foreign power that controlled the destiny of the people up to August 14, 1947, bestowed step-motherly affection and spent scant money on education. It knew, in the words of Tolstoy, that "the strength of a despotic government lies in the people's ignorance" and as such tried to "spread darkness in the name of enlightenment."

Now that the responsibility of shaping the future of the country has developed on ourselves, it is time that we should pool our brains, devotion, energy and sincerity of purpose for making our motherland rich and glorious, noble and powerful, lofty and prosperous in all respects. And education is one of the most potent factors in the regeneration of a nation.

NEED FOR RESEARCH

Education may be looked on as a process through which social and cultural heritage is transmitted to

young children so that they may fit in society and give their best to the general fund of human civilization. Herein lies man's superiority over animals. A human child profits by the experience, wisdom and cultural advance of his forefathers, whereas a kitten or a cub has no wealth of the past preserved for it. A human babe inherits this rich treasure. But unlike worldly wealth it cannot be possessed by virtue of birth or law of inheritance; it has to be acquired through a process of endeavour or *sadhana*. The Department of Education is entrusted with the noble task of devising ways and means for making this *sadhana* a success for the children of the soil.

The aim of the educator is to develop the latent abilities of the educand to the fullest extent. But as the abilities differ in quality and quantity in individual children, a single method of instruction or a particular course of study cannot be suitable for all. The teacher has therefore to assess the children's merits or abilities which are determined to a large extent by heredity and environment—'nature and nurture' in the words of the psychologists—and prescribe accordingly.

For the well-being of a child the efficiency of the educator is no less vital than that of a physician. But the latter's treatment of bodily ailment is visible and so spectacular, while the mental growth of a child as a result of the former's influence and longdrawn process is slow, gradual and imperceptible. As professionals, both require specialised training but while it is imperative with the physician, any graduate having no idea of child psychology or technical knowledge in methods of teaching would be considered qualified enough to be a teacher in a secondary institution in our country. As to the basic qualities of primary school teachers the less said the better.

Stressing the necessity of investigation and scientific research in the field of education an educationist observes :

If we conducted our medical and engineering services and our industrial production with the same slipshod carelessness, the same disregard for precision of thought and language, the same wild and reckless play of sentimentality or class prejudice or material interest masquerading as principle with which we carry on our public discussions about education, most patients would die, most bridges would fall down and most manufacturing concerns would go bankrupt.

Systematic, courageous and uncontaminated thinking about national education touches our national salvation.

—Sir Fred Clarke: *The Study of Education in England*, London, 1943, quoted in R.A.C. Oliver's *Research in Education*, 1946.

Teaching is a difficult job. As a physician should be thoroughly conversant with the human physiology, functions of organisms and their reactions to outward and inward stimuli, a teacher should know similarly the nature and peculiarities of children characteristic at different periods of age; he should be familiar with the currents and cross-currents of desires and tendencies that

crop up in the mind of children as they advance in years; he should be able to visualise the colourful pictures that little children paint with their unbounded imagination and love of roamings in the land of the clouds. Mind is subtler than body and various are its freaks and foibles. The most essential qualities of a teacher are therefore *knowledge* of children and love for them. The truth has been beautifully said: To teach John Latin the teacher should know both John and Latin.

This knowledge has to be acquired by a careful study of children, by experiments and observations. Unless the knowledge is factual, derived from a study of our children in our environments, we cannot be sure of success so far as the development of our children is concerned. Are we not stuffing our brains with facts of educational experiments conducted in other lands? Have we assessed the needs of our children by diagnostic tests? No. Ours is a quack-like and groping-in-the-dark method.

PROBLEM FOR RESEARCH

A child is an interesting study and when it is subjected to the process of education it faces numerous problems. Teachers have to find solutions to these. A child is born, we are told, with a 'cast of mind'. Is it determined by heredity, so that it is fairly stable and permanent? Is it not susceptible to modifications by the influence of environment? What are the effects of different environmental circumstances on the development of child's interest, e.g., of city life as compared to country life, cultured home condition and slum home condition, vicinity to big industry and agricultural farm?

As to curricular subjects there is ample scope for investigation on the following lines: Is there a correlation between literary and scientific-cum-technical subjects? Do art and handiwork, music and dancing grow a more refined tendency in children than harder subjects such as mathematics or geography? How do memory and power of comprehensions wax and wane in children? How can the defects of examination be removed or a better method introduced? Do physical activities or study of poems, or lives of great men, stories of adventures, sublimate the adolescents' energies and feelings which would otherwise manifest themselves in less desirable channels. How can the character-building functions of education be developed? How much leisure children have and how do they use it? How do they form their moral standards, their vocational or literary ambitions, their ideas of political, economic and social problems, their attitude to their culture—past and present—to their religion, race and sex? How could their attitudes be properly guided? These and a host of similar problems await tackling by educational investigators.

NEED RECOGNISED

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education a Central Institute of Edu-

cation has been established at Delhi. Explaining the functions of the institute, Maulana Azad, Minister in charge of Education, said:

It will turn out teachers who will be model teachers for provinces, but over and above all these, this institute will be a research centre for solving new educational problems of the country and will be a beacon light for the training institutions of the country. The problems facing the institute will be how to correlate the different systems of basic education, how to reform the present system of examination and how to mould the primary education of a child so that he is given full opportunity to develop his individuality and also equip himself to keep abreast of world affairs. This and similar other problems will come before the institute and it will have to find ways and means of solving them.

—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 21-12-47.

The move is in the right direction. What is needed is the multiplication of such problem-solving institutions by establishing one educational research institute in each province and the widening of their scopes. As geographical, climatic, economic and cultural conditions vary in different parts of India, the most competent body to offer solution to educational problems peculiar to parti-

cular areas would be a provincial research institute manned by educational experts.

The English Education Act of 1944 has set up a National Foundation for Research in England and Wales with the support of the Ministry of Education, the local educational authorities, universities, teachers and others. The Education Act has given the Ministry of Education and local educational authorities powers to conduct and aid research.

A similar move is a necessity in our country. Universities have got much to do in this respect. The field of education here has not been measured with any definite object of adopting scientific measures or introducing courses of study in keeping with the abilities and requirements of children. Measurements of intelligence and accomplishments, preparation of scales and standardised tests of children of various age-groups, practical research to find out solutions to different educational problems, educational clinic and guidance for parents and such other activities are necessary for making the learning process lively, effective and broad-based on realities of life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BAPU—THE MOTHER: By Manuben Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 56. Price twelve annas.

A delightful picture of Mahatma Gandhi emerges from the pages of Manuben's diary, who as we know was in closest association with Gandhiji during the last, and most important, period of his life.

MR. GANDHI: THE MAN: By Millie Graham Polak. Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Bombay 2, 1949. Pp. 146. Price Rs. 6.

Most people are overwhelmed by the personality of a great man; and there are indeed few who can draw a picture of their personality without being biased one way or the other. One of those in whom this freedom is evident is Mrs. Millie Graham Polak, who was in close association with Gandhiji all through the stormy days of the South African campaign. This was also the formative period of Mahatma Gandhi's great social and political experiments.

Mrs. Polak has drawn a singularly beautiful picture of Gandhiji as a man. There are incidents which show not merely the depth of his strength of character, but also reveal the lighter and more human side of his life.

The book was originally published in England in 1931; and the present edition is an Indian reprint of

the same. Although published so long ago, we believe the book has not only not lost in value, but has gained added interest when Gandhiji is no longer with us, and we yearn to know more about him so that we can love him instead of merely admiring his greatness.

KEY TO HEALTH: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pp. xxvi + 83.

Long ago, Gandhiji wrote a book on the management of health. This was then translated into English. But it has now been superseded by another which Gandhiji wrote during his incarceration in 1942. The present booklet is an English rendering of the original Gujarati by Dr. Sushila Nayyar.

Those interested in nature-cure methods will find the book instructive, while others, who are interested in Gandhiji himself, will find revealed here another interesting aspect of the very complex personality of the great master.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

KURAL: *The great book of Tiruvalluvar. Selections from Books I and II with English translation and Notes by C. Rajagopalachari.* Rochouse and Sons, Ltd., Madras. Price Rs. 5.

The earliest Tamil poetry, and the best known of the *padinenkilkanakku* ("the 18 treatises in short metres"), of the post-Sangam period is the Kural,

containing 1330 distichs. The name will be known to all who are interested in Indian literature, and there may be existing translations in modern Indian languages available. But the present publication from the distinguished pen of "C. R." will make it available easily to all English-knowing persons and is therefore welcome to both Tamilians and non-Tamilians. The classics which have stood the test of time will be found to contain advice and instruction even for an age full of hurry and bustle. The occasional notes by way of explanation and comment are characteristic of "C.R." by reason of their brevity and appositeness.

The first two books of *Kural*, dealing with 'Dharma' and 'Artha' have been thus rendered easily accessible to those who do not know Tamil. There are many shrewd observations regarding statecraft, and the reviewer cannot be wrong in associating the selections with the experience of the translator. The second book was translated by him in 1935, but later experience may have found room for revision.

Regarding the observations in the preface that the book is one of the oldest of extant Tamil books, that it is generally accepted as belonging to a period anterior to the second century A.D., and that the translator does not accept the "theory" that Tiruvalluvar was a Jain—it may be noted that Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that "the author was a Jain well-learned in the works of Manu, Kautilya and Vatsyayana." There is no sign of any year as the time of publication.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA: By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. University of Madras. 1949. Pp. 157 and plates. Price Rs. 10.

One of the most welcome signs of national awakening in this country is the interest which Indian scholars have been taking in increasing numbers in the fascinating history, not only of their motherland, but also of the lands beyond influenced by its immortal culture. Not very long ago Dr. R. C. Majumdar published a series of authoritative works bearing on the history of the Hinduised kingdoms of Champa, Suvarnadvipa and Kambuja. And now we have another scholarly work on the Hinduised empire of Sri Vijaya (with Sumatra as its centre) from the pen of the well-known South Indian historian Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. At the beginning of this book the learned author, while emphasising the wide divergence of views at many points of his story, declares it to be his aim "to present the whole subject as simply and as cogently as the (imperfect) nature of the sources and the incomplete knowledge of facts permit." No one can deny that this attempt has on the whole been very successful. Indeed every page of this book bears witness to the qualities which we have learnt to associate with the distinguished author—complete mastery of material (including, in this case, a thorough knowledge of the latest and most important French and Dutch authorities), sound judgment, unfailing courtesy in dealing with literary opponents and last but not the least, lucid and effective expression. It is obvious that such criticisms as we have to offer in a scholarly work of this kind can refer only to minor points. We could thus have expected illustrations of at least some of the figures described with such tantalising fullness in the chapter on Sri Vijaya art. Instead we are treated exclusively to a set of illustrations of some newly discovered antiquities of distant Borneo, which according to the author bear affinity to the art of Sri Vijaya. Again, while one may doubt the author's view (p. 60) of derivation of Javanese Siva-Buddha

syncretism exclusively from Gauda, it is somewhat disappointing to find him silent about the probable influence of Bengal upon Tantric Buddhism in Indonesia (p. 109). It is also permissible to differ from the author's verdict (p. 105) that Sri Vijaya art was "distinctly South Indian in its original," though one need not necessarily commit himself to characterise such a view with Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Suvarnadvipa, Vol. II, p. 331) as "an obsession."

U. N. GHOSHAL

WHAT IS PSYCHOANALYSIS?: By Ernest Jones, M.D. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The small volume is a reprint after twenty years of the book published under the same title in the Benn's series. Dr. Jones is the accredited leader of psychoanalysis at the present time. His original contributions did a good deal in firmly establishing psychoanalysis and spreading it all over the world. Abundant references to Jones' articles are found in Freud's writings. The volume is a brief presentation of the fundamental concepts and postulates of psychoanalysis, viz., The Unconscious, Repression and Conflict, Sexuality, Dreams, Errors in and Disorders of mental functioning. The applications of psychoanalysis to medicine, education and other important fields of Sociology, Anthropology, etc., have been treated in a separate section. Students of these sciences will find enough materials in this section to stimulate their thoughts and they will certainly learn to look at their respective problems from a completely different angle. A brief history of the development of psychoanalysis has also been given. The advances that have been made in the theories and practices in the last twenty years and the new fields that have been brought under psychoanalytical studies have been incorporated in the Addendum with brief critical comments. Melanie Klein's and Karen Horney's contributions have been noted and Prof. Flugel's valuable studies on the application of psychoanalysis to sociological problems have been appreciated. Every intelligent man will find the book stimulating and useful.

S. C. MITRA

DISCOURSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVAT GITA: By Sri Mangal Charan, B.L. With a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. To be had of Sri Tarakeshwar Nath, Advocate, Englishganj Road, Patna. Pp. 266. Price Rs. 2-8.

This posthumous work is a collection of thirteen discourses on the Gita dictated by the author to his devoted colleague, Advocate Indradeo Narayan of the Arrah Bar. It discusses the evolution of the Universe, the mysteries of life and death, immortality of the soul and other topics treated in the Song Celestial. In a long Preface of twelve pages Sri Mahavir Prasad, Judge of Patna High Court and younger brother of the author, observes that the devout author was an ardent student of the Gita lifelong. He heard from the author himself how the latter once surprised Swami Bhaskarananda Saraswati, the eminent Pandit of Benares, with his scholarship. This Swami was considered an authority on the Nyaya School of Hindu Philosophy. When the author went to him to pay his respects both happened to discuss an aspect of the Nyaya. In the accidental discussion the author displayed so much grasp of the abstruse subject that the learned Swami was simply amazed. Some other interesting incidents of the author's life are also narrated in the Preface.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan looked through the manuscript and encouraged the publisher to bring it out. In his Foreword he remarks that the book is a "work of

fundamental value and contains the mature reflections of a mind steeped in the spirit of our ancient scriptures." He further adds that the author gives us in this volume "not the comments of the Acharyas, but his own independent reflections." Discourses begin on the second chapter of the Gita and end on the fourteenth. Some of the Sanskrit terms coined by the author bear marks of originality. A chart of evolution discussed in the sixth discourse is appended. A picture of the author is given. Though the book is sold at cost price, its printing, paper and get-up leave much to be desired.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HOMEOPATHY IN INDIA : By D. K. Choudhuri. *Homeopathic Publicity Society, India, 1-B Bankara Street, Calcutta. Pp. 8. Price four annas.*

Homeopaths in India who since the days of Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar have been almost without recognition by the State in India have yet played a part in ministering to the relief of this disease-stricken country. They hope that better days are ahead of them; the small booklet gives expression to such a hope. The intrinsic merit and the cheapness of treatment under this system are great recommendations. We commend this booklet.

R.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

SHASTRIYA PARIBHASAKOSH (The English-Indian Dictionary of Scientific Terminology) : By Yashwant Ramkrishna Date, B.A., LL.B. and Chintaman Ganesh Karve, B.A., Editors of "Marathi Encyclopaedia", "Marathi Lexicon", "Dictionary of Idioms and Proverbs", etc. *Maharashtra Kosha Mandal Ltd., Poona. Crown 8 vols. Pp. 18+630. Price Rs. 40.*

Ever since India came into close contact with England about two hundred years back her languages as every other aspect of her life and culture came to be immensely influenced by the West. New ideas came in along with new objects and Indian languages had to give expression to them. This process involved borrowing many European words and coining numerous new terms in different provincial languages. It has greatly enriched these languages though apparently no system has been followed in introducing new words, different words having occasionally been used by different authors at different times and in different languages. It is true that certain words have come to be fixed in particular languages for the more popular of the ideas. Sporadic attempts have also been made in different parts of the country from about the seventies of the last century to systematise the use of technical terms in the provincial languages. But it is a pity that records of these attempts—not to speak of words coined by individual authors from time to time and scattered in various works—are not easily accessible. One would therefore be glad to accord a hearty welcome to the publication under review which has collected and arranged Indian equivalents of English words of Science taken in a wider sense framed by various scholars for different regional languages, especially Marathi. Under each word it gives equivalents suggested by different scholars. It is admitted that no discrimination was made in selecting the equivalents on the basis of propriety and accuracy. So there are terms which might appear to be not quite appropriate. No reference again has been given to sources from which the terms have been taken. It is not therefore possible to ascertain the extent of their use if any. The introduction *inter alia* gives an

account of the work already done in this connection in Marathi with a passing and rather scrappy reference to the work in other languages. The systematic and valuable contribution on the subject made by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta ever since its foundation in the nineties of the last century has not unfortunately found any mention here. It may be pointed out in this connection that Raja Rajendralal Mitra, the famous Indologist, took the lead in this matter in Bengal as far back as the seventies when Poet Tagore in his younger days came to be associated with it and we have reference to governmental efforts earlier still. But all these are minor defects which do not minimise the importance of this valuable publication which will be useful to people using any of the modern Indian languages as the terms are all Sanskritic and it has now been generally accepted that Sanskrit should be the common basis all over India in framing new words, especially of a scientific and technical nature.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

HARICARITA : By Paramesvara Bhatta. Edited by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya. *The Adyar Library Series, No. 63. Price Rs. 5.*

We have here a handsome edition of a small interesting poem of 253 verses dealing with the story of Krishna. The main interest of the poem lies in the fact that the *Vakyas* of Vararuchi, used in South India for calculating the position of the moon day after day, have been utilised seriatim at the beginning of the verses of the poem. Five of the *Vakyas* have been made use of in two verses each so that the total number of verses in the poem is five more than the usual number of *vakyas* a list of which has been appended to the edition. The edition is based on a solitary manuscript belonging to the Adyar Library. Unfortunately this does not mention the name of the author and the work has been tentatively attributed to Paramesvara, a member of the learned and well-known Bhatta family of Payyur, who has referred to a work of this name as his composition. Much credit is due to the learned editor who has not only reconstructed in many places the text of this rather artificial poem but throughout added a Sanskrit commentary which is much helpful in following the text which is not always very clear. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has given in the Preface and the Introduction, an account of the manuscript material and a learned discussion about the date and authorship of the work.

Chintaharan Chakravarti.

ENGLISH-BENGALI

SIR GOOROODASS CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME : Edited by Anathnath Basu. *University of Calcutta. 1948. Pp. viii+334. Price Rs. 10.*

The birth-centenary of Sir Gooroodass Banerjee fell on 1944. To commemorate this, the present volume has been recently published. The volume contains some excerpts from the writings and speeches of Sir Gooroodass including his famous Convocation addresses. Contributions of many reputed scholars and savants have enhanced the value of the volume.

In the English section, Prof. Priyaranjan Sen has dwelt on the life and work of Sir Gooroodass. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Profs. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Joygopal Banerjee, to

name only a few, have dwelt on the various aspects of his life and character. Prof. Sarkar has specially narrated Sir Gooroodas's connection with the National Education movement since the Swadeshi days. Among those to whom the National Council of Education owed its inception Sir Gooroodas was the foremost. The National Education movement drew largely on his constructive genius.

The Bengali portion is enriched with a collection of the contributions of such stalwarts as Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya, Haraprasad Sastri, Rabindranath Tagore and Hirendranath Datta, who wrote at different times on Sir Gooroodas. It is very pleasing to remember even today that Rabindranath gave Sir Gooroodas the epithet of *Samajpati* in his *Swadeshi Samaj*, which means that the ideal self-sufficient community which the Poet wanted to set up, would have for its leader a man of the stamp of Gooroodas. Some other scholars have discussed in their valuable papers the different aspects of the man that he was. Certain incidents of his life jotted down by Gourimohan Mitra are interesting and instructive reading. The perusal of the volume will help the reader acquaint himself with most of the important events of his life and the time in which he lived.

BENGALI

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BHARATBARSHER SWADHINATA JUDDHER ITIHAS (1st Part): By *Sukumar Ray*. Published by *Orient Book Company*, 9, *Shyama Charan De Street Calcutta*. Pp. xv+154. Price Rs. 3.

This is a history of Indian's struggle for independence in fifteen chapters from the Sepoy Mutiny (misnamed) in 1857 to Jalianwalabag slaughter in 1919. Unlike an ordinary history written for schools it is a book containing almost forgotten, unwritten and unknown chapters of the national struggle. It must be the credit of the author that he touches every phase of known movements in the country during these ninety years of the British domination. The great revolutionary Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee has written an Introduction to this volume. The book deserves to be widely read by our young men.

BANGALI: By *Prabodh Chandra Ghosh*. Published by the *Commerce Dept., City College, Calcutta*. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 2-4.

The author in seven chapters has discussed in this small volume, the various problems and aspects of the Bengali race and life. He quotes many authorities both Indian and foreign in support of his

contentions. Although the author is careful about the subject-matter of the book, he has not shown sufficient caution for the expressions and as such some may consider him to be an emotional writer. As the book has been composed in a spirit of ardent patriotism, it is indeed a pleasant study. Maps of Bengal in different periods (1660, 1730, 1905, 1912 and 1947) and a few census figures at the end have made this small volume informative. The book deserves a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PRAVASI KI ATMA-KATHA: By *Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi*. Distributors: *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi*. Pp. 643. Price Rs. 8.

This is not only an interesting autobiography of one of the most devoted servants of the noble cause of ensuring self-respect for the Indians overseas, specially those who have settled down in South Africa for scores of years, but also an authentic history of that cause and, consequently, collaterally of an aspect of our epic, non-violent fight for freedom. The canvas, therefore, is too crowded with events and individuals to present an artistic self-portrait of the author, who incidentally is one of Gandhiji's creations of heroes out of clay. But its human note is so evident that the story of Swamiji's life reads like a romance. A full-length index at the end would have been very helpful because, without it, the reader fails to keep track of the personalities and problems covered in the book. The general make-up of the publication has left very little to be desired.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ANURADHA: By *Dr. M. O. Suraiya* (of "Jogeshwari"). Printed at the *Vismi Sadi Press, Bombay*. 1948. Velvet-cover. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 7-8.

This finely printed and richly bound small volume is an adaptation in verse of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The hero and heroine—both deep lovers—were not fated to wed, death intervenes and it is a pathetic, sad love-story. Dr. Suraiya, with his facile brain, saw in it an incident, which could be applied to two incidents happening in Vraj, a thorough orthodox Hindu district, and in spite of being a Muslim he has been able to write about it with the intimate knowledge of a Hindu, born and bred. Mr. Bakshi's Introduction is a model one and gives all the interesting details of Dr. Suraiya's admirable performance.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



India, Our Motherland

This month, on the twenty sixth of January to be exact, India will proclaim herself a sovereign democratic Republic. Our sacred motherland, the cradle of history's major civilization is renescent to-day. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

The term 'secular state' is often misunderstood because the word 'secular' has various meanings, and unless the special implications in the particular context in which it is used are made abundantly clear, it is bound to give rise to misgivings. In the absence of such clarification, we are left to think that the word 'secular' may be understood to mean 'non-ecclesiastical or non-theocratic.' We do not for a moment think it has any reference to its other implication *viz.* 'that which is opposed to the religious or the spiritual.' We cannot subscribe to the view that a 'secular state' is indifferent or antagonistic to essential spiritual values, merely concerning itself with materialistic aims. We are glad Pandit Nehru has made an important observation in his Address to the U. S. Congress. He said: 'Material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.' Political emancipation and the achievement of the material means of satisfying human wants at the cost of those higher ideals will degrade man into a selfish opportunist, and lead the nation away from the path of righteousness. No state can ignore the ethical and spiritual welfare of its people. For man is rooted in divinity and his spiritual hunger cannot be satisfied by a soulless humanistic ethics, however lofty. 'True religion and true morality,' says Mahatma Gandhi, 'are inseparably bound up with each other. Religion is to morality what water is to the seed that is sown in the soil.' If a change of heart has to take place in every one—rich and poor, official and non-official, the producer and the consumer, — it can come only through a broad conception of Vedantic morality. w

The growing spirit of secularism, much in evidence in other countries, is finding a fertile soil, in our national life.

Our sense of values are changing for the worse day by day. Fascinated by the achievements of science and the advancement of economics and industry, we are likely to throw off, in a frivolous manner, our firm allegiance to those great truths and ideals of religion and spirituality that have been the lifeblood of our national culture and civilization. The calamitous consequences of such disavowal are obvious. It is well-known that the great nationalist upsurge in India was the outward expression of her soul-force to meet the challenge of alien brute-force which threatened to undermine everything that she held precious and sacred for self-fulfilment. If democracy means government of the people, by the people, for the people, a secular State need not necessarily remain supremely unconcerned with the spiritual welfare of its people. If the State, which

is the collective expression of its people, keeps itself aloof from the deeper problems that concern directly the fundamental inner being of the individual, it will be impossible to cure the nation of its spiritual malady which is at the root of the anti-social and anti-national tendencies.

Nations like individuals, when faced with crises in their history are saved by the power of strength derived from national ideals they have assiduously cherished and followed.

If religion, revitalized and re-adjusted to our present needs, has to play its part in shaping our national life and endeavour, it will not do to regard it as merely a personal or private concern of the individual. The multitude look up to their leaders for inspiration and guidance, and follow them with implicit faith. As such a great responsibility lies on the leaders of New India. The history of the world shows that the more far-sighted the leaders and the greater their reliance on moral and spiritual values rather than on mere economic or physical power, the more successful have they been in leading their followers to the desired goal. An ideal State is very much alive to its responsibility in building up the foundations of personality of the individual. 'Man-making' and 'character-building' are not to be left to the individual as his personal or private affair. The State, being a powerful human institution, should create for every worthy citizen the requisite social, economic, and political conditions indispensable for his perception and creative pursuit of the essential values in life, *viz. satyam, shivam, sundaram* (Truth, Goodness, and Beauty). The State should ensure absolute freedom of worship to its subjects, and protect them from persecutions, internal or external.

Prospects

The New Review observes :

With the birth of Bharat on January 26, the peoples of India will review the past with mixed feelings; elation at having achieved independence from Britain with the co-operation of Britishers, regret at the country's partition and at the fissional development in the body politic, uncertainty about the working of the Constitution, anxiety over political unity, social stability and economic progress.

Indo-Pakistan relations are as bad as could be, short of a shooting-war, the Kashmir problem has been given no solution and has not even been put into suitable equations, the imbroglio over linguistic provinces is daily worsening, and is growing into a challenge to Sardar Patel's talent; conditions in trade and industry remain in a parlous state in contrast with the American economy which in 1950 will at its worst be as good as in 1949.

The Congress party in power has lost much of the glamour it gathered during the national struggle, and

is made to bear the blame for all economic and social ills, though it has, on the whole, maintained order in the country with remarkable success. It is now being challenged from the left by a numerous but shaky coalition, and from the right by the return to politics of the Hindu Mahasabha which is daily growing in numbers and vocal power.

The codification of Hindu laws and customs brought grist to the Mahasabha's mills. There is an anomaly in the Constitution. Cultural autonomy is guaranteed to minorities, but not to the Hindu majority. It seems to have been taken for granted that the majority would be truly represented in the Assemblies by the sheer play of universal suffrage. This is a misapprehension of popular democracy; politicians are not necessarily representatives of a culture, elected as they are for all kinds of reasons. Would it not have been preferable to provide for cultural boards that could speak authoritatively on matters religious and moral, even if they were granted no more than a consultative voice? Such boards could easily be set up by organised religions nor would it be impossible for others to do likewise.

The present anomaly is glaring. The State is explicitly secular, consequently incompetent in religious matters, and indiscriminating among religions. Yet its assemblies are made to legislate on animal sacrifices, religious excommunications, sacramental marriages, at any rate as far as the majority is concerned. If the secular state is allowed to ignore the core of the doctrine and the cultural autonomy of the majority and to ride rough-shod over the convictions and feelings of the masses, will the guarantees the minorities are given in the Constitution be proof against the initiative of secularists? Moreover, can reforms on points which have a religious as well as a civic aspect be carried out, if they are not backed by the spiritual authorities of the groups directly concerned?

It is strange that cultural autonomy has not been given much attention. Some special officers have been nominated as government patrons of certain minorities, but they can hardly be taken as substitutes for cultural boards. It is stranger that Hindus have left Hindudom in the hands of politicians. Nobody can argue that past elections were as good as a referendum on the substance of the Hindu Code Bill. The Congress Command seems to have been ill-advised when offering to stand or fall by the vote on the bill. They will only add to the list of still-born bills and rouse Hindu opposition. Hindus may desire and seek reforms, but the parliament of a secular state is by definition a non-Hindu body unqualified to reform Hinduism. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*

Red China

The same *Review* observes :

The picture in present-day China is grey in many places, dark in many others, a blurred picture in which lights and shadows are constantly changing. It would even be hard to single out the main lines. If we keep to economics, which is the basis of communism, what has so far been developed in China is not the orthodox brand of Leninism, as could be suspected from the denunciations of Mao-Tse Tung by Trotskyists. The regime is called New Democracy; its programme includes land distribution, rationalising of industry and commerce, fostering of co-operatives, development of unions between workers and between peasants, and plans for the nationalisation of industries. So far, no collectivisation of farms, no suppression of private capital, not even graded income tax or food-rationing.

On the other hand, Chinese communists proclaim Marxism as their fundamental philosophy and they are working up their Red faith into qualities not unusual with communist apostles: selfless devotion to the Cause, discipline, incorruptibility and resignation to untold hardships, concern for the masses, qualities which commonly go with religious fervour but which democracy rarely enkindles. Religious-like dogmas are inculcated with indoctrination techniques: study circles, discussion groups, self-criticism, public confessions, all of them features of a revivalist movement. Thanks to such country-wide techniques, the communists introduce discipline, co-operative effort, fidelity in administration, concern for the masses among the intellectuals and respect for the intellectuals among the masses, universal awakening of political consciousness and the sabotaging of the face-saving tradition.

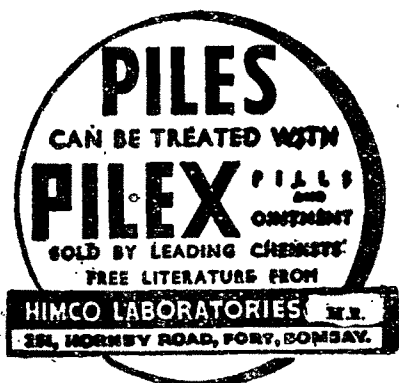
The Kuomintang collapsed owing to its cupidity and stupidity, cupidity at all levels and stupidity in ignoring the masses and their feelings. It is by the reverse method that the Reds gained the upper hand.

RED TANGLE

Not that communists will find it easy to rally the people in any permanent way. Many opportunists jumped on the Red bandwagon at the last moment, even generals who had fought communism passed over to Mao-Tse Tung's party with their personal armies. Will Mao-Tse Tung be able to absorb such a kaleidoscopic crowd of supporters? In any case, with China's overpopulation, scarcity of certain natural resources and poor communications, can the Red leader raise the standard of living or even prevent further deterioration early enough to forestall a popular reaction? Will not the reaction be hastened by the 'special services' which are as intolerable as the worst of the Kuomintang agents ever were.

NO EARLY RELIEF

What can be regarded as certain is that Mao-Tse Tung's regime will last quite a long time. It has a grip on industrial workmen, landless labourers, and especially on intellectuals who in China as in other countries are the most vocal and vociferous supporters of Marxism. Whether the peasant sector and the industrial section of the party, the old red guard and the ex-nationalist generals will pull together is unpredictable in that country where things do not regularly happen according to rule. China remains suspicious of whatever is foreign. Russia herself will have to go slow and quiet. America and American ways are at a discount, even more than all western democracies. What are the non-communist countries to do? Britain favours early recognition of the Red Government because of her large trading interests. The U.S.A. is hesitant; among the



She was, besides, the inspiration behind the short story "Ligeia" and the poem "Annabel Lee." And yet, neither in his life nor in his love, neither in his habits nor in his occupations, neither in his hopes nor in his fears, was normality ever a constituent. Alcohol and opium held him fascinated; he alternately drank himself to oblivion and solaced himself with laudanum.

After a brief agitated interval at New York where he made the acquaintance of Washington Irving and William Cullen Bryant, Poe settled down at Philadelphia for five years (1839-1844), easily the most peaceful and fruitful session of his terror-driven, wasted life. *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* came out in 1840, "The Gold Bug" and some of the Dupin stories came out one by one, each a marvellous essay in detection, while his essays in criticism gave him a certain standing among his contemporaries. But Poe was not the man to flirt with success for long. He would be drowned, and nobody could help him! Emasculated by the corroding sense of his own fatality, he dreamily took off from the hard ground, he claved somnambulistically into the air, he wildly flew at shadows, he moaned melancholy tunes, he spiralled uneasily in mid-air, he suddenly gravitated to the ground and crashed into atoms. From Philadelphia to New York was a mad shift, made worse by Virginia's consumption and lingering agony.

Fame and poverty kept house together; spectres hovered above, and tragedy was, as it were, round the corner.

Virginia withered, Virginia died; and relieved at last from Virginia's strangely powerful hold, Poe embarked on wilder courses than ever. Intermittently the disturbed sky brightened for a brief second or two—there were lightning flashes—but all was lowering darkness again. Making a final frantic effort to redeem himself, Poe got

engaged to Mrs. Shelton, but it was no use; a few days later he was picked up inexplicably delirious near a saloon in Baltimore, and died soon afterwards of pneumonia in his fortieth year. The fitful fever of his life was spent at last, and Poe was now gathered into that "hollow vale" and its eternal rest.

Such a life as Poe's was in all conscience a nightmare mixture of tragedy and futility, itself a blend of the macabre, the grotesque and the arabesque. Normality and actuality repelled him—he knew them not—and he therefore minimized them into zero and cantered into the regions of abnormality, unreality. Says Professor C. M. Bowra:

"For Edgar Allan Poe and for Gerard de Nerval, the other world was always the real world, and actual phenomena a source of trouble and confusion which they refused to accept. The result was a search, conscious or unconscious, for some anodyne which should enable them to maintain their dreams."

In his life Poe found the anodyne in alcohol, in opium; in his art, he found it in the determined contemplation of dying beauty, in the vivification of charnel-houses and torture-chambers, in the laborious elaboration of crime and detection.

Poetry, according to Poe, is concerned, not with Truth, but with Beauty (as though Truth and Beauty were contradictories!)—especially Beauty that must die. Thus the most suitable, the most poetic, of all themes is the death of a woman who is adored but dies in the full flush of her beauty and bathed in all the radiance of her lover's adoration. A long poem, then, is a contradiction in terms; consistency of tone can be maintained only over a poem of 100 lines or less—or in a

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story that can be read through at a single sitting. And rhythms, now nervous and mild, now aggressive and bold, should fuse into a jet of melody that incarnates the tragedy at the heart of all supremely beautiful things.

While all this may very well be an authentic summing-up of Poe's own practice as a poet and literary craftsman, it rather empties of significance the world of art and reduces it to a ghost-gallery devoid of life and even of beauty. For the beauty that Poe manages to evoke is but a pale bloodless beauty, a mere simulacrum of the rich seething beauty in God's wide world. "The Raven," Poe's most famous poem, is a technical achievement of a high order; it creeps into one like an infection, and the fever waxes with each stanza till one comes to the very last :

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting—still is sitting

On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;

And his eyes have all the seeming of a Demon's that is dreaming.

And the lamp-light o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor;

And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor

Shall be lifted—nevermore !

Then, suddenly, the spell is broken; the ague is gone—and one returns to life, and sanity, and health. Poe's remarkable technical gifts as a poet were nevertheless largely thrown away because he would not—perhaps he could not—come to terms with ordinary reality.

Poe's stories, again, granted all their excruciating power and craftsmanship, hold little commerce with the flesh and blood of actuality. Ideas are pushed to their logical conclusion; formulæ are inflated into persons; moods are evoked with a terrifying vividness and particularity; complicated problems are posed and solved with a pontifical solemnity—but, although they stimulate our interest, although they extort our admiration, they never overwhelm us. In stories like "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Pit and the Pendulum," "Ligeia," and "The Black Cat," detail is added to detail with an uncanny astuteness, the "tone" is preserved with a diabolical consistency, and the contours of this crepuscular and sinister world are made to stand out in all their poisoned clarity before our awed, unbelieving eyes. Afraid or contemptuous of the familiar, the traditional, Poe sought refuge in the ugly, the fearful, the bizarre. Trafficking with terrors, he exchanged the pulses of humanity for the phantasmagoria of Lucifer's dream-kingdom. And yet what astounding craftsmanship has gone into tales like "The Assignment," "The Cask of Amontillado," "MS. Found in a Bottle" and "A Descent into the Maelstrom." Poe is rather like the ingenious inventors of our own day who mobilise all the resources of their trained intelligence towards the construction of more and yet more destructive weapons of war.

As the creator of M. Dupin and as the author of "The Gold Bug," Poe holds his own against scores of recent practitioners in the genre.

But even here Poe's emirance is subject to an important qualification. "The detective story, as created by Poe," says Mr. T. S. Eliot, "is something as specialised and as intellectual as a chess problem; whereas the best English detective fiction has relied less on the beauty of the mathematical problem and much more on the intangible human element." M. Dupin is apt to assume that life is a simple rule of three, but there are undreamt-of accidents—there are vast imponderables—there are unpredictable spurts of circumstance, and these must for ever

defy the mere logician in search of Truth. Modern detectives like M. Hercule Poirot and Inspector Maigret, Father Brown and Lord Peter, are more in the Sergeant Cuff, than in the Lecoq-Dupin-Holmes, tradition. Poe, as usual with him, as was inevitable with him, went the whole way when he invented the story of detection, and by pumping in too much of ratiocination emptied it of human significance.

Poe and critic of poetry, daring experimenter and innovator, master of the macabre and the grotesque, wanderer between the physical and supraphysical realms, flawless craftsman and adroit thinker, wayward genius and devotee of Beauty, the elements were so mixed in Edgar Allan Poe that he was fated to become yet another of the "inheritors of unfulfilled renown," one of the anguished, intoxicated denizens of the world of poetry and art. He suffered intensely, his fragile nerves were keyed to an unbearable pitch, but as his suffering was often self-forged and his nervous tension but derived from his exotic sensibility, Poe surfeited himself with diseased abnormality and soul-destroying despair, and presently he loomed immense, a severe hooded figure, the Laureate of shadows and dank chambers and improbable possibilities.

He created a world of his own, a nightmare dream-world that not seldom glows with the poignancy of authentic tragedy. As a creative writer he blazed the trail in many directions, but what he achieved himself fell short of the promise held out by his extraordinary gifts. His flaw-fissured personality no less than his ingenious inventions and striking achievements inevitably created a legend that for a time overflowed the bare truth and almost threatened to engulf it. But the danger is past. It is now possible to evaluate Edgar Allan Poe with a greater approximation to the truth of things and to hail him, in the centenary year of his death, as a very considerable artist in prose and verse and as a pioneering and powerful force in modern literature.

The Indian and Pakistani Press

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Three notable recent trends in Indian journalism are, (a) the formation of certain groups of newspapers owned by one person or one organisation or company, (b) the establishment of some comparatively high-class weeklies, and (c) the change of the attitude of the nationalist press from that of critics of the State (the late British Government) into almost unconditional supporters of the two Governments of India and Pakistan. Of the first trend, I may refer to the Birla group of dailies composed of the *Searchlight* of Patna, *The Leader* of Allahabad, and the *Hindustan Times* and its allied papers of Delhi; the Goenka group of dailies—the *Indian Express* of Madras, and the *National Standard* of Bombay; the Dalmia group of dailies and weeklies headed by the *Times of India* of Bombay, and the journals constituting the Dalmia group at Lahore and Karachi in West Pakistan; and the Free Press group owned by Mr. Sadanand, or his company, including the *Free Press Journal* and its Sunday edition *Jyoti* of Bombay, and the allied papers of Madras. There are similar groups owning journals in the Indian languages, as for instance, the *Janmabhoomi* group of dailies and weeklies in Bombay. Reference to the Dalmia group in Pakistan has already been made in connection with the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, and the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi, the latter now merged in the former, and issued simultaneously from both places, under the Lahore paper's name.

The second trend, namely the establishment of several fairly high class weekly journals, has been a prominent


feature of Indian journalism since some time before the attainment of independence by the country. The most prominent of these are the *Republic* of Calcutta, the *Spark* of Patna, *Thought* and *People* of Delhi, *Hindustan Weekly* of Lucknow, *Swatantra* of Madras, *Blitz* (weekly and twice-weekly), and *Forum* of Bombay, and some others. Of the Calcutta weekly journals *Republic*, started in 1949, seems to have made the greatest impression on the public of the province. And Mr. Arthur Moore's *Thought*, and Shri Firoze Chand's *People*, are both notable additions to the weekly press, at Delhi. Patna also justly boasts of the oldest English weekly in India—the seventy-four years old *Behar Herald*, at present a well-edited organ of the Bengalis in the province. *Shankar's Weekly*, at Delhi, stands in a class apart, and is the best for presenting cartoons of current affairs.

The third new development in the Indian press, is its attitude towards the Government of the country. Until the 15th of August, 1947, the vast majority of Indian newspapers, in the Indian Union and Pakistan, were bitterly hostile to the then British Government, and their only business was to trounce and traduce that Government. The position was then easily understandable, as the Indian pressmen had no alternative to being what they were, and the only competition amongst them was as to who could sail closer to the wind without bringing oneself within the clutches of the law. When journalists were sent to jail for offences like sedition, and allied ones, they were then hailed as heroes, and, escorted to and back from jail with all the paraphernalia of a formal procession.

All of a sudden the Indian pressmen found themselves (on the date of the transfer of power, the 15th August, 1947) transformed by force of circumstances beyond their control, from sedition-mongers into loyalists, and loyalists they have, broadly speaking, remained since then till now.

The result is that even the constitutional opposition, through the medium of the press, has practically disappeared both, from India, and Pakistan, and almost every action of the two Governments now finds an almost unlimited measure of support in the Indian and Pakistani press. The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, India's Communications Minister, recently declared at a press conference at Allahabad: "It was the duty of the press at this critical juncture to speak out fearlessly what it honestly felt, and point out mistakes and misdeeds of the Government. The press should take a bold attitude if it wanted to prevent India from going the China way. People were more afraid of the Government today than they were before. It was surprising that newspapers which in former days said things outspokenly, whether the Government liked them or not, should now be so tame. The country needed a strong opposition party."

It would thus appear that by and large the Indian press had abdicated, at present, its real function of acting as constitutional critics of the State. A correct appreciation of this aspect of the situation will, it is hoped, lead, before long, to some solid improvement in the attitude of the press towards the Government of India, and also of that of Pakistan.






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future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Tea Industry in India and Pakistan

Arnold Whittaker writes in *The Asiatic Review*, July 1949:

Assam produces more than half the total crop of India and Pakistan. Assam was the first area to be developed, and was followed by planting in the Himalayan foothills in 1842, in the Surma valley in 1856, in Darjeeling during the next two years, and by 1874 in the Western Doorgas. In South India commercial planting had begun in 1853, but development was slow and nearly two-thirds of the total acreage under tea was planted after 1900.

The industry, which has now an annual crop of almost 600 million pounds is a comparatively modern one. Its development is a tale of British enterprise and endurance, for it has survived economic adversity and lived through a political revolution—albeit a peaceful one. It has achieved a remarkable measure of autonomy in that much of the legislation which governs its production and exports, the recruitment of its labour forces and the marketing of its product was initiated by the industry itself. Its critics say that the Government was merely the agent for the industry; its friends say that it provides a perfect example of the harmony which should exist between Government and industry generally. That this tradition is continuing with entirely new governments in power and in an entirely changed political climate suggests that practical men on both sides find that the method works.

THE CHINA TRADE

The tea industry was established in China many centuries before the Christian era. By the ninth century A.D. there was an impressive volume of literature on the growth of the plant and the technique of tea drinking. Tea had all the medicinal and gastronomical virtues imaginable but of special interest to me the twentieth item on the list given in a Chinese manuscript now in the British Museum which runs: "It strengthens the use of due benevolence." As your lecturer I can only hope that the Royal Society of Arts brew distils this quality for its audiences.

The dominance of the China tea industry had two unfortunate effects on the development in India. First, the fact that the East India Company had the monopoly of the tea trade with China caused that company to discourage any tea venture in India. In 1813, however, Parliament curtailed the company's powers in India and served notice that the China monopoly would end in 1833. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck, who had been appointed Governor-General in 1827, appointed a committee to submit "a plan for the accomplishment of the introduction of tea culture into India and for the superintendence of its execution." The very wording of that injunction shows the determination and farsightedness of its author—accomplishment and execution strike the note. That committee set about its business so thoroughly that the facts it established launched the tea industry with surprisingly few misadventures. Secondly, although Lord Bentinck's committee quickly found beyond all doubt that the tea bush is indigenous to Upper Assam, a scientific commission set up later became obsessed, as did many other members in the Government, with the merits of the China plant; and when the Government of the day started to clear jungle in Dibrugarh they rejected "the degraded Assam plant" for the China variety imported with great

difficulty and at enormous expense. Another obsession that only the Chinese knew how to manufacture tea was more quickly abandoned when the first—and last—contingent of Chinese labourers specially imported ended their journey in jail for rioting, arson and theft.

EARLY DAYS IN ASSAM

As early as 1815 a British officer (Colonel Latter) had reported that certain of the hill tribes in North-east Assam made a drink from wild tea growing in the hills. In 1923 Major Robert Bruce took a trading expedition to Sibsagar and found wild tea; the seeds from which were collected by his brother, C. A. Bruce, in the following year and planted in the Commissioner's Garden at Gauhati and in Bruce's own garden at Sadiya. In 1825 this Society of Arts offered a gold medal—or fifty guineas—"to the person who shall grow and prepare 20 lbs. of good quality tea."

Mr. C. A. Bruce was appointed the first Superintendent of Tea Culture in Assam in 1836. In 1838 the first shipment of manufactured Indian tea was ready. It consisted of eight chests, about 350 lbs., which were sold in January, 1839, in the Mincing Lane auctions at prices ranging from 21s. to 34s. a pound. In 1839 Upper Assam was brought under British control and the Government transferred its main tea-growing interests in the following year to the Assam Company which appointed C. A. Bruce its first Superintendent.

The company ran into difficulties for disease took a heavy toll of its managers and their labour forces. Clearing this heavy jungle was costly although 2,500 acres were under cultivation by 1841 and 29,000 lbs. of tea were produced. By 1847 the company was on the verge of bankruptcy when a change of management and increased cultivation of the despised Assam variety pulled the company through to the dividend-earning stage by 1852. This successful example was followed by other companies; and by 1859 there were more than fifty private enterprises producing tea. The degraded Assam plant had come into its own. Today all the tea-producing countries outside China and Japan are seeking Assam strains for their finest commercial teas.

THE WAR YEARS

From these beginnings grew the industry which is, outside China, the largest producer of tea in the world, employing 1½ million persons and housing over 3 million. I like to think that the shades of Major Bruce and his brother, who, with their teams of labourers used to hack their paths through the jungle in search of tea bushes, often in danger from the Burmese invaders who had dispossessed the local Ahoms, have seen in 1942 their successors building roads and bridges through the jungles of the Naga Hills to repel another invader from Burma—the Japanese. In 1942 the Indian Tea Association called for volunteers from its British managers, doctors, Indian staff and labour forces to build airfields from which supplies were to be flown to China: to build camps and roads along which were coming exhausted refugees fleeing from the Japanese in Burma; to keep roads open through the monsoon and for transporting stores for an army which finally was to drive the Japanese from Burma. And to answer this call there came the garden labour contingents numbering at one time 96,000 men, each contingent fully equipped with its own transport and medical supplies and its own jungle clearing tools. Out of the "degraded Assam plant" came the resources which helped to fly

supplies to China and which helped to defeat the enemy of the homeland of tea—surely one of time's odd revenges.

HEALTH ON THE PLANTATIONS

The development of this industry would have been impossible without a continuing and on the whole successful fight against disease. In 1949, penicillin, the sulpha drugs and paludrine have become household words and their success a popular story. But to maintain a labour force of 1½ million persons in the field—you will forgive this somewhat martial language—was an unremitting struggle for the doctors and the managers. Now the British planter has a health record better than his contemporaries in England; but only fifty years ago a newspaper could describe the planter's diet as "quinine every morning, castor oil twice a week and calomel at the change of the moon." It is only eighteen years ago since the Whitley Commission reported that "The toll of life extracted in India every year by epidemic diseases is still very high and of them all malaria is perhaps the most devastating."

In 1928, Sir Malcolm Watson, of the Ross Institute, went out to India to examine the possibility of organising a scheme to assist the tea industry to control malaria. In 1930 the industry was facing its most serious financial crisis due to excess production and a slump in consumption. Nevertheless, a number of British firms and individuals came forward to guarantee funds which led to the establishment of the Indian Branch of the Ross Institute, which now serves many other industries in India. A footnote to this story is that malaria has become a very minor cause of absenteeism—in my own company, of less significance than influenza. And when the industry's divisions marched into the Naga Hills in 1942 they had a lower sickness rate than many of the picked combatant units. That struggle, of course, goes on and nutrition in these days of food shortages and disorganized supplies is the recurring problem. It remains true, however, that the average labourer in a tea garden is better fed, better housed and in better health than his opposite number in the village; but clearly that standard of well-being is not a fixed one. The imagination which could finance the Ross Institute in a time of financial crisis is still there and will take care of the post-war health problems.

PRODUCTION

The combined production of India and Pakistan is close on 600 million pounds. Taking 200 cups of tea to the pound this gives you, according to your inclination, either astronomical figures or a Niagara. The industry on the whole takes the view that increased consumption is the main problem, although the loss of the production from the Netherlands East Indies (approximately 260 million pounds) means that for the time being there is a firm market for all the Indian Continent producers. Various estimates are available about the present yield from the Netherlands East Indies. As internal order is restored there, production will probably expand rapidly. With increasing supplies of fertilisers, the yields in India and Pakistan can be increased as indeed they can by what is known as coarse plucking. But these increased yields may be at the expense of quality teas and may provoke a reaction from that most patient purchaser—the British housewife.

CONSUMPTION

The largest consumer of tea is the United Kingdom, which in 1947 took 420 million pounds. More important from the point of view of India and Pakistan is the fact that the United Kingdom takes half their production. The Ministry of Food in 1949 hope to buy 300 million pounds of Indian tea. If ever the United Kingdom consumer reduces his consumption even fractionally below his present level of nine lbs. per head per year that fact could spell a crisis in India and Pakistan. By contrast, if the

American consumer could raise his consumption to more than nine ounces per head per year that fact would spell not necessarily increased prosperity but increased dollars for the equipment of India's new industries.

The most significant item in the present consumption is the rapid increase of tea drinking in India and Pakistan. The potentialities of this market were recognised as far back as 1903 when the industry itself asked the Government to impose a levy on export teas, the proceeds to be used for promoting sales in India. By 1915 consumption had risen to 20 million pounds, by 1945 to 150 million pounds, and during the current year provided transport delays are overcome this figure will be exceeded. The Indian Army was an enormous consumer of tea and its returned soldiers will not abandon the habit. More important however has been the effect of inflation. Wages have risen sharply at a far greater rate than the price of tea. To its desirable qualities is added the fundamental fact that thousands can afford to buy it for the first time. In India as elsewhere, it is that cheapest drink after water. This new demand comes at a time when India and Pakistan have export drives and tea is a most important export. In spite of an excise duty, Indian packers are buying export teas for internal consumption and their competition has caused the price of low-quality teas to be higher in India where the tea is grown than in countries several thousands of miles away. There are some who believe that India and Pakistan could consume all the tea these countries produce, though consumption which depends on the continuance of inflation is hardly a firm basis for prosperity. The inflationary symptoms have been repeated in North Africa and the Middle East. The effects of vast amounts of purchasing power pumped into these countries during the War have not worn off, and their demands for tea are increasing. With a world demand for petroleum from these countries, and the consequent increase in their purchasing power, it would seem that this demand for tea is likely to continue.

A "LAMENTABLE INVENTION"

The continent of Africa is probably the most promising new market for the teas of India and Pakistan. There, too, we are on the threshold of economic developments, and lively activities of the Tea Market Expansion Board will undoubtedly introduce Africans to the value of tea. It is a popular theory that the Anglo-Saxon passion for tea is the determining factor in consumption. Although the consumption per head in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand is the highest in the world, and although the cottagers of Western Ireland remain the most discriminating purchasers of high-quality teas, there is much disappointment about the U.S.A. Consumption there has

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been falling, and the competition from the coco-cola and the coffee interests is keen and successful. It was from America that the lamentable invention of the tea bag came. These bags contain, in theory, enough tea to make one cup, but it has sometimes resulted in there being as many as 400 tea bags to the pound. What happens is that the consumer tries to get two or more cups from one bag. One lady proudly sent to her tea packer a used tea bag from which she had made ten cups of tea! To the alleged quick service of the tea bag must be added the more pernicious "dry service." This is a tea bag which sits alongside the spoon and is served with a cup of tepid water. Tea is made by the customer dipping the bag into the water.

One factor in the consumption of tea is the taxation it bears. Tea is so easy to tax, whether by a country which grows it or by a country which drinks it, or by both, that we are apt to forget that all consumers are not wedded to it. In addition to taxation there is now a large subsidy in its price—in England it is 10½d. a pound, in Australia it is 2s. a pound and in Eire it is 2s. 2d. If subsidies are removed, will people continue to consume tea at the present rates? Will the Governments of Pakistan and India recognise early enough that their teas may not be able to carry an export duty of 4½d. a pound plus an import duty in the United Kingdom of 6d. and a subsidy of 10½d.?

MARKETING

Before the War, the London auctions in Mincing Lane attracted the teas of the world because they attracted the buyers of the world. During the war bulk purchase of teas in India for allied and certain neutral countries was introduced and lasted till 1946. The United Kingdom decided that it would continue with bulk purchases whilst the Government of India decided that other countries should buy their tea in India. The system of bulk purchase tends to encourage quantity rather than quality production. Whether and when London auctions will be restarted is a difficult question. Meanwhile, the Government of India is making special efforts to increase the importance of auctions at Calcutta and Cochin, whilst the Government of Pakistan is attempting to start auction at Chittagong. Facilities at present are poor in India and Pakistan, whilst the climate militates against the storage of good quality teas. So long, however, as the largest buyer, the Ministry of Food, continues to buy for the world's most important market under a bulk contract resumption of London auctions will be difficult if not impossible. It is doubtful whether the skill of Mincing Lane can be exported from the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Hooghly and the Karnafuli. What is not in doubt however is that until bulk purchase is replaced by auctions, the fully stretched and sorely tried British housewife will not be able to get the choice of blends she had in pre-war days.

THE LABOUR FORCE

Having touched on the product I should like to end this talk with a comment on the man who makes it possible—the Indian labourer and his family. Much has been done recently to improve his wages and his working conditions, his housing and his health. Much remains to be done. Governments have pressed for more welfare measures with such zeal and with such a lofty disregard as to the availability of the materials with which, for example, new houses could be built that the industry has now to ask these Governments to remember that the perfect is the enemy of the good. In the present inflationary conditions the best that can be hoped for is to consolidate the gains that have already been made. In the fight against disease and the struggle to improve nutrition the population in the tea gardens are better served than their brothers in the villages. With the pass-

ing of the seller's market it will be an achievement if all the present gains can be held.

I have made no mention of the research station maintained by the industry at Tocklai, nor of the remarkable degree of co-operation existing between the industry and the Government in Ceylon and the Netherlands East Indies, which produced one of the world's most successful schemes for the regulation of production and exports. The industry in India and Pakistan will continue to need this co-operation; and the roles which they are assuming in South-east Asia are one of the most hopeful signs that, internationally and internally, this great industry will be well served by the new Governments of India and Pakistan.

Van Dijck : 350th Anniversary

This year (1949) Antwerp has celebrated the 350th Anniversary of the birth of Van Dijck. It was indeed in 1599 that the great artist was born in a house called "De Berendans"—the Bear's Dance—on the edge of the large Market Square. Van Dijck, Rubens said, is my best pupil, and that explains much of the development of this artist who became the first portrait painter of his time. At the outset of his career he had worked in close contact with Rubens, and that had given him a sense of quality, stimulated by friendly competition with the Master. If Rubens had not been there, Van Dijck would have been the first painter not only in Antwerp but also in Western Europe.

Needless to say that the prosperous city of Antwerp, which is so conscious of its artistic past, has feasted thus Anniversary with appropriate pomp. First of all there was folkloric procession which walked through the city on the 3, 10, and 17th July. The Flemings are specialists in organizing folkloric ceremonies, and the Van Dijck procession consisted of 21 living pictures illustrating the life and work of the painter. One scene showed the departure of Van Dijck for Italy riding a beautiful horse, which was a present of Rubens. In Italy Van Dijck went from one princely court to another to paint. The Italian Princes quarreled amongst each other to have him. He was known already at that time as "il pittore cavalieresco," the knightly painter, and we find him in all the most fashionable palaces of Genoa, Rome, Venice, Mantua, Milan, Turin, and Palermo. Van Dijck, the Fleming, felt perfectly at home in sunny Italy, just as he would later perfectly be at home in foggy England. And it was in Italy, that he developed that taste for refined portraits of noblemen and high church dignitaries.

After his return from Italy Van Dijck settled in Antwerp and his workshop there was one of the meeting places of all leading personalities of the century. Mary of Medici, Queen of France, came in person to his studio to sit for a portrait. Soon afterwards Van Dijck spent a short time in Holland, where he made portraits of the Stadhouder Constantijn Huygen, of Amelia van Solms and of leading Dutch painters.

Van Dijck went to England, where his work as painter to the Court of Charles I, gained him the title of Sir Anthony. In England Sir Anthony made portraits of the majority of British noblemen. He painted Charles I, and Mary, Princess of England, on the occasion of her wedding to William of Orange. Van Dijck himself got married to an influential lady at the Court. In between his periods of feverish activity in England, he travelled to the Hague, and Paris. In less than 10 years he made 350 paintings, of which more than a hundred are in private collections in Britain.

This is the life that was illustrated in the procession in Antwerp, in which 2,000 people participated. During the months of June and July the Antwerp Museum also

housed a great exhibition of the Master's works. Negotiations are pending with several countries to gather a hundred of Van Dijk's best works.—*Belgium*, August 1949.

What to Do About China ?

For all the furious activity in Washington last week, the United States was making haste slowly on a new policy toward China. Everywhere it turned, it found itself smack up against a stone wall. And while the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and Congress all were certain there must be a way out of the cul-de-sac into which the nation had blundered, they differed vociferously on just what it was.

On December 29 Mr. Truman met with several of his top advisers to discuss the China dilemma. Out of the meeting came a belated Navy Department announcement that it had ordered the carrier Boxer and two destroyers to sail from San Diego on January 11 into the Western Pacific. The following day the Joint Chiefs of Staff revealed its intention to visit Japan early in February to discuss with General of the Army Douglas MacArthur plans for combating Communism in the Far East. In his New Year's statement, MacArthur began delineating his views. The Japanese, he said, had the "inalienable right of self-defense" against "international banditry."

The Big Questions.—The immediate problem which faced the United States was a twofold one :

Should the Red regime in China be recognized?

Should the nation do anything toward helping the Nationalists keep Formosa out of Communist hands?

To the first question, both the Administration and Congress had a quick and easy answer : No. It was too quick, too easy; it didn't decide anything. Even as the Joint Chiefs' plans were made public, India announced that it had recognized the Communists. It was virtually certain that Great Britain and several other members of the Commonwealth, the Scandinavian countries, and France would soon follow. Russia and Yugoslavia had granted recognition long since. Under the circumstances, how could the United States keep the Chinese Reds from membership in the United Nations Security Council and the UN General Assembly? Could it use the veto? Should it? No one seemed to know.

The United States might well be placed in the preposterous position of carrying on discussions in UN with a government whose existence it didn't officially admit.

The problem of Formosa was equally complicated. General MacArthur had been insisting for months that Communist capture of the island would have tragic consequences for the United States. Formosa, he argued, must be held at all costs. Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson had supported this point of view.

The Joint Chiefs, on the other hand, while conceding the strategic importance of Formosa, had contended that Chiang Kai-shek couldn't hold it without direct American military assistance—and the consequent risk of war. Secretary of State Dean Acheson had backed the Joint Chiefs, adding that military intervention would alienate

India as well as give the Communists an opportunity to inveigh against "American imperialism."

Last week Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Republican Sen. William F. Knowland of California injected themselves into the debate. They proposed that a military mission be sent to Formosa to advise the Nationalists on training and tactics and to supervise the use of American arms aid.

The morale of the Nationalist forces was good, Knowland said. The training methods which had been instituted by Gen. Sun Li-jen, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, were excellent. And land reforms had abated popular unrest, which previously threatened Chiang's grip on the island.

This week, the Connally-Knowland proposals stirred up some speculation. The President, United Press correspondent John Steele reported, asked the Joint Chiefs to study a deal under which the United States would obtain 99-year leases to bases in Formosa in exchange for shipments of arms to Chiang. And Herbert Hoover urged that the Navy be sent to Formosa to block a Red invasion.—*Newsweek*, January 9, 1950.

New Industrial uses for Atomic Energy Reported in U.S.

Washington, December 14.—The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has made public 57 reports covering new discoveries and progress in the application of atomic energy for use in medicine, chemistry and engineering.

A significant development of atomic research, one report noted, is the rapid expansion of the use of fluorine and fluorine chemistry in industry.

Before the war, pure fluorine's cost was so excessive that it was used rarely, despite the fact that fluorine was a vigorous reacting element and fluorine compounds have uniquely valuable properties in chemistry. An electrolytic method for making fluorine, developed by the Du Pont Corporation for the atomic energy program, has cut the cost to \$1.00 a pound. One of the reports just released describes the highlights of the processing.

Another report describes a new method of leak detection, originally developed at the University of California laboratories under the atomic program. The new technique of detecting leaks, called the halide-torch method, is described as more sensitive and rapid than the common soap-bubble test generally used in industry. Thus, the new method may be widely adopted for immediate use in industry.

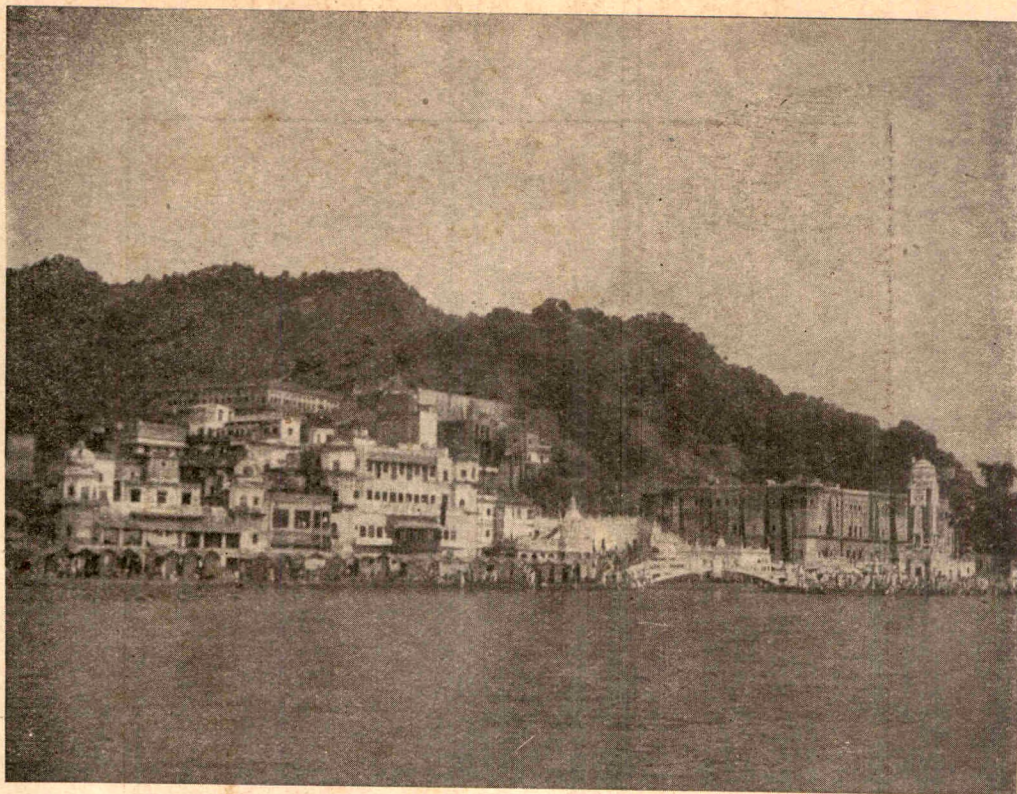
A report in the medical field describes tests at Los Alamos, New Mexico, in which a scientist found that small but continuous doses of gamma radiation produced small but significant decreases in the number of white blood cells in the workers exposed. The study was made of ten men who received 0.2 Roentgens a week of gamma radiation for more than two years. The tests indicated that the routine blood count is the earliest and best available indicator of radiation effects.—*USIS*.



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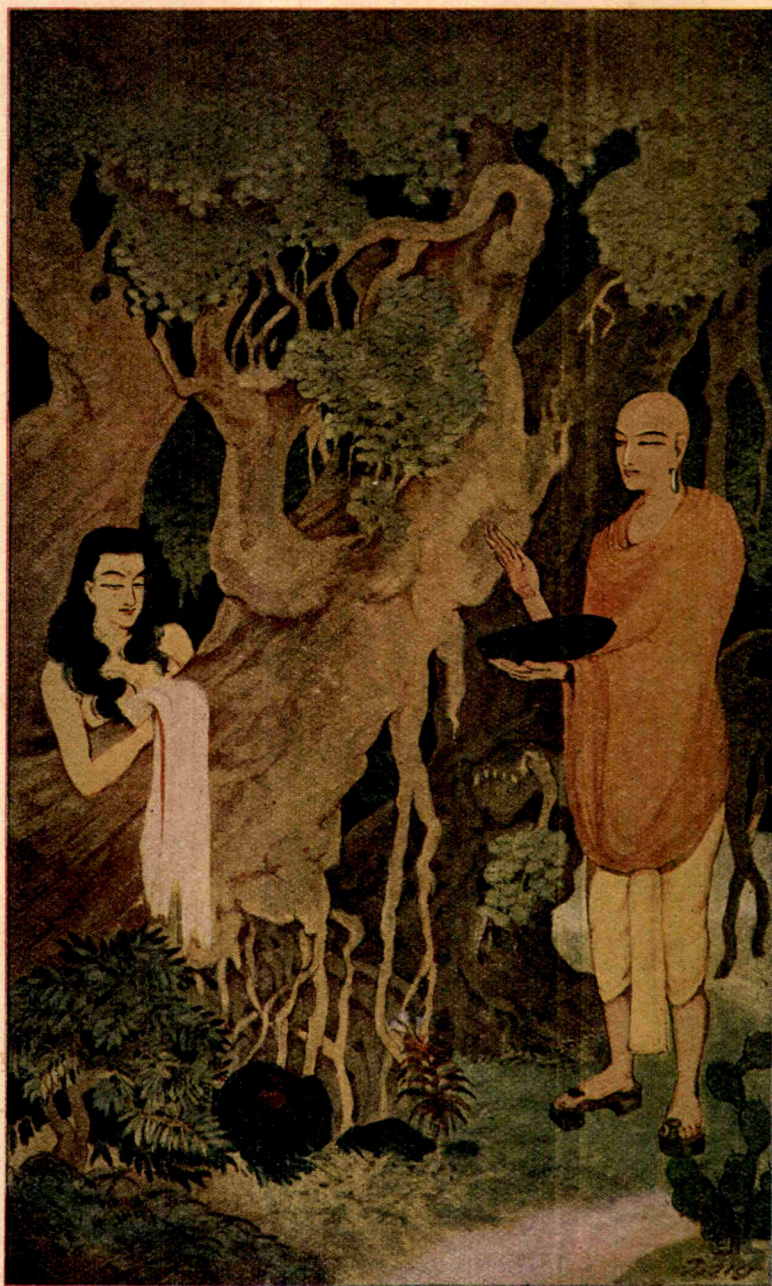


A view of Hardwar on the Ganges. The Shiwaliks are seen in the background



A bird's-eye view of Hardwar

Photo : By Shiva Prosad Banerjee



THE SUPREME ALMS
By Niharranjan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 3

WHOLE No. 519

NOTES

Administration and Public Opinion

The conditions now prevailing in East Bengal has cast a deeper gloom on the already overcast skies of this sub-continent. At the time of going to press the only bright spot in the firmament was the news that the new-born Republic of India is going to start with a balanced budget. How long that cheerful prospect will endure will depend a good deal on the turn of events following the atrocities that were—and still are—being perpetrated on the helpless Hindus of East Pakistan. Repercussions there have been, unfortunately, on this side of the border and unless the authorities, at the Centre and in West Bengal, are able to assume a fuller control on the situation, the turmoil that is going on may result in still more untoward happenings, for mob incitement is going on in order to force the hands of the State.

Our Supreme Executive and their counterparts in West Bengal have betrayed a fundamental incapacity to distinguish between public opinion of the informed and substantial type and the ebullitions of mob-psychology, in matters of internal administration, that bodes ill for the State. At the present demagogues and unscrupulous fortune-seekers have a free run in corrupting the already lacerated and inflamed minds of the masses.

Like all States moulded on the totalitarian model, Pakistan has little regard for public opinion, but has a very clear understanding of mob-psychology and as such she seeks to control and guide her masses solely by mass-incitement, without any discrimination between truth and falsehood. On our side the administration seems to react in a haphazard fashion without the least understanding of the real undercurrents that tend to tow the public mind towards retrogression and anarchy. The Supreme Executive in their inexperience and isolation seem to be oblivious to the fact that the public mind has to be sounded very deeply and widely, in order to distinguish between clamour and the will of the majority, and that training the mind of the people in the ways of democracy has

to be done on a mass basis. The public has to be told firmly that in affairs that have to be dealt with at State level, public interference means delay and disorder and might bear disastrous results.

The Publicity and Public Relations Departments of the West Bengal Government has failed miserably, at this critical moment, to measure up to the exigencies of the situation. Like the Publicity Department of the Centre it seems as if the sole functions of those directorates are to act as cinema press-agents for our great ones before the public and as comic-opera judges before the press. This will not do, as these departments need thorough re-casting before they can be of the least service to the public.

The Supreme Executive of our Government also seem to be receding further and further away from the people. Their informants are as a rule drawn from the least-informed section, as is usually the case when "Yes-men" are given the preference in the choice of associates. Pandit Nehru's speeches are ethically excellent, but they fail to appeal or inspire because they contain elements of unreality and the appeal always seems to be directed somewhere beyond the public forum of the Indian Union.

We know there is "world opinion." And we know that this valuable commodity is available under two brands, Anglo-American and the Soviets' "special." Regarding the ways and workings of the former, let us put before our readers the following extracts taken from the *United Nations World* for January :

"The year 1950 is the year of decision for U. S. policy in Asia. In the twelve showdown months ahead, the U. S. has its last chance to recoup its loss of face in the Far East, and to win the allegiance of its peoples to the democratic side. Otherwise, the USSR will annex their loyalties, if not their land ; and Admiral Mahan's nightmare that the U. S., in losing Asia, will forfeit its status as a world power, will be confirmed.

Towering above all the smaller states of Asia are the three giants, India, Indonesia and China. The latter two acquire a complete and peaceful independence

only in 1950. In so far as their independence and their government represent the popular will, the people will have assumed power for the first time in their history. The governments appear stable, but they are not. In all three countries an intense anarchical violence lies under the crust of order. In at least two of these countries the storm-troopers of the revolution may be expected to fight bitterly and without quarter against the bureaucrats.

During this year, the bureaucracies may expect to remain in power only on condition that they patch up their quarrel with the revolutionaries and make a clean-cut effort to tackle the agrarian issue with vigor and promise of success.

Today, America in the eyes of the Asiatics is largely a power-vacuum. They regard America as an over-rich, contented country which has lost its youth and acquired the somnolent habits of old age. Its Asiatic policy is seen to be pathetically weak, a policy of the most perfect indecision, limited to the rather helpless belief that Russian aggression can be permanently "contained."

Only a progressive America can make contact with revolutionary Asia, and win the Asiatics from the influence of reactionary Sovietism. There are signs that under the Truman administration such a revolution is coming about. By supporting the social forces which are making for the betterment of the Asiatic peasant, America can still exert her influence in Asia, but there is no other way in which her influence can be brought to bear. The Asiatics are not afraid of American military power, or indeed of any other Western power. Rabble in arms destroyed Dutch military power in Indonesia and American military power in China, and if the British had not left India peacefully, Indian rabble would have thrown the British out of India. Today, it is useless to think that the military might of the West can ever be exercised on Asia."

On the Western side, the Anglo-Americans have produced still bitter reactions as the following extract from the December issue of the same Magazine will show :

"Hauser's explanation is that the Germans 'must be provided with a dream powerful enough to justify the sacrifice of 8 or 10 million lives,' and he adds :

"There is only one great ideology left which as a nation we have not yet tried, which therefore has not yet failed—Communism. If the Germans accept Communism for their new dream and ideology and do it quickly, they will be lifted almost overnight from the status of outcast lepers to the status of allies of the biggest land power on earth . . . If one has to embrace communism in order to get Lebensraum, what of it?"

This is the voice of German *Realpolitik* speaking through the lips of an anti-Nazi German, and is by no means an isolated case.

Pandit Nehru on East Bengal

Pandit Nehru has made a statement in Indian Parliament on the "major tragedy that was happening in East Bengal." The statement is of great importance because it gives an entirely new turn and shape to the East Bengal problem by raising it from the provincial sphere, making it an all-India issue and placing it on international plane. He declared :

"The Bengal problem has the first priority because it governs so many other problems. For my part I would like to devote myself chiefly to these particular issues of Bengal and Kashmir which are linked together in my mind."

He stated that it was clear that many parts of East Bengal have witnessed tragedy on a considerable scale and disturbances took place in several widely-spread towns in East Bengal, such as Narayanganj, Chittagong, Feni, Rajshahi, Barisal and Mymensingh. The evil is continuing and its consequences are too appalling to contemplate.

The Prime Minister informed the Parliament that Pakistan has rejected the suggestion of a joint Fact-Finding Commission, the suggestion of a joint tour by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, and even the fullest facilities promised by them to be accorded to our Deputy High Commissioner to visit the affected areas were in effect being denied. Even the request by the West Bengal Chief Minister for sending relief parties with medicines and other supplies to Dacca was turned down by the East Bengal Government. Pandit Nehru thought that the fullest opportunity for investigations must be provided and he suggested the representatives of the International Red Cross accompanied by Ministers or officials of each government should visit the affected areas in each province. He said that a very large number, if not all, of members of the minority community of Pakistan had lost all sense of security and they lived in fear and apprehension. "If tragedies occur in Pakistan," he observed, "they powerfully affect the people of our country and we cannot remain indifferent to them. It is for the Government of Pakistan to consider seriously what the consequences are likely to be, if they are unable to give peace and security to their own citizens. These consequences happen to affect India also and we cannot remain indifferent to them." "It is not our desire to interfere with the affairs of Pakistan. But it would be idle to say that we do not experience sympathy and anxiety when a large number of people in Pakistan undergo suffering and indignity in an extreme form." "If a country is unable to inspire the confidence of its people and its own citizens are compelled by circumstances to run away to some other place for safety, then the Government of that country has failed to discharge its duties." Finally Panditji said, "If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to, it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods."

One must admit that the Prime Minister's statement has been as strong as it is clear. The minority problem in Pakistan is not a mere domestic issue for that country. India cannot avoid her responsibility to them who, two and a half years ago, were our brothers fighting arm in arm the battle for freedom. This is a statement of paramount importance because it will clear the popular apprehension that the Government of India desires to avoid responsibility for East Bengal. When the Government of India is convinced that Government in Pakistan has failed to protect the lives and properties of the minority in that country, there can be no bar to declare East Pakistan a no-man's land without any government and march troops for the protection of those about whom India cannot evade her responsibility.

The meaning of Pakistan's rejection of the offer of joint Fact-Finding Commission and joint tour of the two Prime Ministers and acceptance of High Commissioner's fact-finding tour is quite clear. Pakistan knows very well that she will utilise the tour of her High Commissioner for securing facts about happenings in India, free to be exaggerated according to her convenience in the absence of verification by Joint Fact-Finding Commission. In that case the unverified reports of the two High Commissioners will remain somebody's word against somebody's word, to be utilised by Pakistan to her advantage. She is unwilling to have a joint verification in which case truth will come out. The rejection of the proposal for joint tour of the two Prime Ministers may be construed to mean that it is Pakistan's desire to maintain a sense of insecurity among the minorities in India, which will be accentuated by happenings in Pakistan. She wants large-scale communal disorder in India and is trying her best to foment it, because that will serve a triple purpose, namely, (a) if the Indian Muslims burn in the fire of communalism, Pakistan's Kashmir propaganda will be strengthened; (b) a strong case at the UNO will be made out, and (c) it will serve as a diversionary tactics in the coming Kashmir war. So, any communal trouble at this juncture will be disastrous for India and will serve the use of Pakistan.

There has been much speculation about Panditji's statement of adoption of other methods. The people have accepted it to mean war. We see no harm if that really meant. If there be war, the only headache may be about the attitude of the Anglo-American powers. It is reasonable to think that they willingly or unwillingly, have to be on India's side. They know very well that the prestige of the Congress Government and their winning the coming election will be very largely influenced by the Pakistan issue. Failure of the Congress to solve it to the satisfaction of the people, may mean exit for Congress in an election under adult franchise where sentiments will play a very important role. The only alternative to this is

India going Communist. That is a risk Britain and America will never take. We find a strong support in this view in a *P. T. I.* report from Halifax, dated February 22, the day before Pandit Nehru's statement. *P. T. I.* reports that Mahammad Ali, Pakistan's High Commissioner in Canada, told an audience at Halifax that the fact that there was no obligation for Commonwealth countries to aid each other in the event of invasion was causing anxiety in Pakistan. "What is the use of remaining in the Commonwealth," he asked the Halifax branch of the U. N. Association of Canada, "if in the event of Indian aggression we can hope for no aid from our sister Dominions?" He said, that anti-Communist energy should be directed towards a closer union among people of differing faiths, rather than to strengthening India as a buffer between East and West.

Kashmir and U.N.O.

We cannot too often discuss this affair which has reached a stalemate in the hands of the United Nations Organization. We shall, therefore, recall on the present occasion the history of this episode. The Security Council, the highest executive of this 59-Nations' Organization, had to take cognisance of a complaint made by one of its original members against a fellow-member. After negotiations prolonged for about four months, the Security Council appointed on April 21, 1948, a Commission to find ways and means for

"the restoration of peace and order by the withdrawal, in the first instance, of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals that had entered the State for fighting."

This was to be preliminary to the holding of a "plebiscite" about which the world has heard so much. We will allow Sree Narsing Rau, leader of the Indian Delegation to the U. N. O., to describe how the Commission had faced up to the duties imposed upon it by the Security Council, as it has reached us through the summary of his speech made on February 7 last at the forum of the Security Council.

"Today the position is that Pakistan, which throughout 1948 denied giving any aid either to the invaders or to the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, is now itself not only an invader but is in actual occupation of nearly half the area of the State without any lawful authority from any source.

"This is naked aggression of which no one can approve, but there is no sign of disapproval in the present proposals—the McNaughton proposals. Indeed the very reverse is the case. By sanctioning the administration of the northern areas by the existing local authorities, these proposals, in effect, recognize and help perpetuate the unlawful occupation of these areas by Pakistan.

"The Security Council's resolution of April 21, 1948, appointing the Kashmir Commission envisaged 'the res-

toration of peace and order by the withdrawal, in the first instance, of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals that had entered the State for fighting' as a preliminary to holding a plebiscite.

"According to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan himself, Pakistani troops moved into the State early in May, within a fortnight of the discussions in the Security Council, throughout which the Pakistan Government had denied giving any aid to the invaders or to the 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

"Pakistan had sent troops into Kashmir without informing the Security Council, although under a written assurance it had given earlier it was bound to 'inform the Security Council of any material change in the situation.'

"It was only on July 8, 1948—after the arrival of the Commission on the Indian sub-continent—that the Commission was officially notified of the presence of regular Pakistani forces in Kashmir.

"This had been described by the Kashmir Commission as introducing 'a material change in the situation which creates obstacles to the effective and immediate implementation of an unconditional cease-fire.'

"I hope members will not forget who created this first obstacle to the plebiscite. Not only was it the first obstacle, but it has been the direct cause of all other obstacles that impede our progress today.

"Not only did the Pakistani Army invade the State, but it assumed command and direction of the Azad Kashmir forces."

Sir Narsing then quoted from the Pakistan Foreign Minister's statements to the Kashmir Commission acknowledging that 'the Pakistani Army is at present responsible for the over-all command of the Azad Kashmir forces' and that those forces were 'operationally controlled by the Pakistani Army.'

"Thus, India's original complaint alleging aid by Pakistan, though at first denied by Pakistan, was now proved to be true or to have become true in an aggravated form. Nevertheless, nothing effective has yet been done about this complaint."

India's delegate then said that, during the period of nearly 18 months that the Pakistani Army had been in Kashmir, "it has penetrated various parts of the State and built up subversive local forces and authorities."

He read paragraphs of the Kashmir Commission's report which said that the resolution of August 13, 1948, had not recorded "a second element which developed subsequently into a serious problem, the 32 well-equipped battalions of the Azad Kashmir movement."

The Commission had also said that the "Azad forces, working in close co-operation with the Pakistani regular army, and trained and officered by that army," had increased their fighting strength.

He quoted the Kashmir Commission as stating

that if it had foreseen Pakistan's making use of the cease-fire period "to consolidate its position in the Azad territory" it would have dealt with that question in the resolution of August 13.

Sir Narsing quoted similar passages from the minority report of Dr. Chyle, the Czechoslovak member of the Kashmir Commission, asserting that by the build-up of the 'Azad' troops into a 'formidable force' the situation has undergone 'an absolute change.'

"Thus it is, clear that these Azad forces as they now exist were built up by or with the aid of the Pakistani Army between August, 1948, and the spring of 1949, contrary to the understanding that Pakistan would not use the period for consolidating its position or increasing its military potential. Members will please note who is responsible for creating this second obstacle to the plebiscite."

He then turned to the northern areas and said, "The position regarding penetration there was equally clear."

He read from the Commission's report stating that it seemed to it "very doubtful" whether the northern areas were in fact, in the autumn of 1948, under the effective control of the Pakistani High Command.

"The Commission had stated," he said, "that by January, 1949, Pakistan 'undeniably held military control over the northern area; the area was administered by local authorities, not the Jammu and Kashmir Government, with the assistance of Pakistani officials'."

"In other words," Sir Narsing Rau continued, "Pakistan obtained military control of these areas between August, 1948, and January, 1949, and Pakistani officials assisted in their administration.

"Once again I request members to note who has created this third obstacle to the holding of the plebiscite.

"In strictness, the Pakistani Army should have been completely withdrawn long ago and the disruptive forces and authorities created by that army during its unlawful presence in the State should have been completely dissolved, but so far nothing of the kind has been done."

He contended that the Kashmir Commission could in 1948 have reported to the Security Council the "new facts" it had discovered in Kashmir and the Security Council might then have asked the Pakistani Army to be withdrawn just as it had asked the tribesmen and other foreign elements to be withdrawn.

"Neither the subversive forces nor the 'Azad' administration would have had time to be built up, but the opportunity was lost."

He further asserted that, if the August 13 resolution had been accepted and carried out by Pakistan at once, some of the subsequent mischief would have been avoided, because the Pakistani Army would

have had to be withdrawn while the "Azad" forces were still in an embryonic status.

"But, while India accepted the resolution within a week of its receipt, Pakistan made various reservations which amounted to rejection.

"India's case is that, just as the entry of Pakistani troops into Kashmir was wrong and an act of aggression, equally wrong and aggressive was their building up of the 'Azad' Kashmir forces and their occupation of a large part of the State.

"All these things must be completely undone before there can be a plebiscite. These unlawful activities of the Pakistani Army took place under the very nose of the Commission and in spite of the assurances given to India by the Commission.

"To recognize the fruits of the aggression in any way is utterly unjustifiable."

He then referred to the question of Kashmir's sovereignty and its accession to India and said: "Accession does not mean dissolution of the State. The acceding State remains intact and fully sovereign in its own field even after accession."

"The State," he said, "must not be disrupted beforehand if the plebiscite was to be held for the State as a whole.

"The resolution of January 5, 1949, required that the plebiscite administrator should derive his powers from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"How can he derive those powers from the State of Jammu and Kashmir if the State is deprived of its authority in those (northern) areas beforehand?

"We attach the greatest importance to the relevant paragraph of the resolution of January 5, 1949, which was inserted in the resolution at India's instance."

McNaughton Proposals

In the January number of *The Modern Review* we published almost verbatim the majority and minority reports, signed respectively by four members representing Argentina, Belgium, Columbia and the United States, and one member representing Czechoslovakia. The former was signed on the 12th December, 1949, the latter on the 17th. We will not discuss these on the present occasion. Sir Narsing Rau's seventy-five-minutes speech went over acts of omission and commission of the majority report as these had made an attempt to condone Pakistani aggression on Jammu-Kashmir. And to bring the whole problem up-to-date, we reproduce below the text of the proposals made by General McNaughton of Canada, the then President of the Security Council, to break "the deadlock on Jammu-Kashmir." These were submitted to the Security Council and made public on December 29, 1949.

"1. The principal considerations underlying the following proposals of the President of the Security Council of the United Nations are:

(a) To determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir by the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, to take place as early as possible.

(b) Thus to settle this issue between the Governments of India and Pakistan in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants, as is desired by both the Governments.

(c) To preserve the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles which has already been reached between the two Governments under the auspices of the United Nations.

(d) To avoid unprofitable discussion of disputed issues of the past, and to look forward to the future, towards the good-neighbourly and constructive co-operation of the two great nations.

2. There should be an agreed programme of progressive demilitarisation, the basic principle of which should be the reduction of armed forces on either side of the cease-fire line by withdrawal, disbandment and disarmament in such stages as not to cause fear at any point of time to the people on either side of the cease-fire line.

3. The aim should be to reduce the armed personnel in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on each side of the cease-fire line to the minimum compatible with the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and to a level sufficiently low and with the forces so disposed that they will not constitute a restriction on the free expression of opinion for the purposes of the plebiscite.

The programme of demilitarisation should include the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of the regular forces of Pakistan, and the withdrawal of the regular forces of India not required for the purposes of security or for the maintenance of local law and order on the Indian side of the cease-fire line, also the reduction, by disbanding and disarming, of local forces, including on the one side the armed forces and militia of the State of Kashmir and on the other the Azad forces.

Administration of the northern area should, subject to United Nations supervision, be continued by the existing local authorities.

The Governments of India and Pakistan should reach agreement not later than January 31, 1950 in New York on the following points:

(a) The Government of Pakistan should give unconditional assurance to the Government of India that they will deal effectively within their own borders with any possibility of tribal incursion into Jammu and Kashmir to the end that, under no circumstances, tribesmen be able unlawfully to enter the State of Jammu and Kashmir from or through the territory of Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan should undertake to keep the senior U. N. military observer informed to satisfy him that the arrangements to this end are and will continue to be adequate.

(b) The Governments of India and Pakistan

should confirm the continued and unconditional inviolability of the 'cease-fire line'.

(c) Agreement should be reached on the basic principles of demilitarisation outlined in Paragraph 2 above.

(d) Agreement should be reached on the minimum forces required for the maintenance of security and of local law and order, and on their general disposition.

(e) Agreement should be reached on a date by which reduction of forces to the level envisaged in Paragraph 2 above is to be accomplished.

(f) Agreement should be reached on progressive steps to be taken in reducing and redistributing forces to level envisaged in Paragraph 2 above.

4. In respect to the foregoing matters the Governments of India and Pakistan should further agree that the United Nations representative to be appointed by the Secretary-General of United Nations in agreement with the two Governments should supervise the execution of the progressive steps in reduction and redistribution of armed forces and that it should be the responsibility of the United Nations representative to give assurance to people on both sides of the cease fire line that they have no cause for fear at any stage throughout the process. This United Nations representative should have the duty and authority of interpreting agreements reached between parties pursuant to Paragraph 3, sub-paragraphs (c), (d), (e) and (f) above for the implementation of plans for the reduction and redistribution of armed forces.

5. When the agreed programme of demilitarisation preparatory to the plebiscite has been accomplished to the satisfaction of the United Nations representative, the plebiscite administrator should proceed forthwith to exercise the functions assigned to him under the term of the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of January 5, 1949, which together with U.N.C.I.P. resolution of August 13, 1948 was accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and which are now affirmed by these Governments except in so far as the provisions therein contained are modified by the relevant provisions of this document. Function and powers of the plebiscite administrator remain as set forth in the U.N.C.I.P. resolution of January 5, 1949.

6. The United Nations representative should be authorised to make any suggestions to the Government of India and Pakistan which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to an expeditious and enduring solution of the Kashmir question, and to place his good offices at their disposal."

The McNaughton suggestions having been rejected by India, the Security Council went into hibernation, and on the 24th February last its new President Dr. Carlos Blanco representing Cuba produced the following resolution for resolving the deadlock on Jammu-Kashmir; he was later sup-

ported by the British, the United States and the Norwegian representatives on the Security Council—Sir Alexander Cadogan, Mr. E. H. Grassman and Dr. Sunde respectively—in speeches that were a re-hash of the old arguments variegated by casuistry.

"Having received and noted the report of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, established by the resolutions of January 25 and April 21, 1948.

"Having also received and noted the report of General A. G. L. McNaughton on the outcome of his discussions with the representatives of India and Pakistan which were initiated in pursuance of the decision taken by the Security Council on December 17, 1949.

"Commending the Governments of India and Pakistan for their statesman-like action in reaching the agreements embodied in the United Nations Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 for a cease-fire, for the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and for the determination of its final disposition in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite and commending the parties in particular for their action in partially implementing these resolutions by:

(1) The cessation of hostilities, effected on January 1, 1949.

(2) The establishment of a cease-fire line on July 27, 1949, and

(3) The agreement that Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz shall be plebiscite administrator.

"Considering that the resolution of the outstanding difficulties should be based upon the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles already reached, and that steps should be taken forthwith for the demilitarisation of the State and for the expeditious determination of its future in accordance with the freely expressed will of the inhabitants.

"The Security Council (1) calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to make immediate arrangements, without prejudice to their rights or claims and with due regard to the requirements of law and order, to prepare and execute within a period of five months from the date of this resolution a programme of demilitarisation on the basis of the principles of General McNaughton's proposal or of such modifications of those principles as may be mutually agreed.

(2) Decides to appoint a United Nations representative for the following purposes who shall have authority to perform his functions in such place or places as he may deem appropriate (a) to assist in the preparation and to supervise the implementation of the programme of demilitarization referred to above and to interpret the agreements reached by the parties for demilitarisation.

(b) To place himself at the disposal of the

Governments of India and Pakistan and to place before those Governments or the Security Council any suggestions which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) To exercise all of the powers and responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations Commission by reason of existing resolutions of the Security Council and by reason of the agreement of the parties embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949.

(d) To arrange at the appropriate stage of demilitarisation for the assumption by the Plebiscite Administrator of the functions assigned to the latter under agreements made between the parties.

(ii) To report to the Security Council as he may consider necessary submitting his conclusions and any recommendations which he may desire to make.

(iii) Requests the two Governments to take all necessary precautions to ensure that their agreements regarding the cease-fire shall continue to be faithfully observed and calls upon them to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

(iv) Extends its best thanks to the members of the U. N. Commission for India and Pakistan and to General A. G. L. McNaughton for their arduous and fruitful labours.

(v) Agrees that the U. N. Commission for India and Pakistan shall be terminated, and decided that this shall take place one month after both parties have informed the U. N. representative of their acceptance of the transfer to him of the powers and responsibilities of the U. N. Commission referred to in Paragraph 2 (iii) above.

The Blanco resolution, the majority report of the Jammu-Kashmir Commission and the McNaughton proposals were framed in full knowledge of the valid and just grounds on which India has been rejecting their suggestions as anybody else interested in a solution of the Jammu-Kashmir-Pakistan deadlock. Yet they have persisted in their tactics of ignoring the aggression of Pakistan and condoning it. They exhibited a cynical disregard of the morality that binds all States when they made such a great parade of their sham anxiety "to avoid unprofitable discussion of the past." They forgot that the effects of the evil that men commit live after them, poisoning human relations. And it was not for nothing that the leader of the Indian delegation, Sree Narsing Rao, was a little bitter and sarcastic in his reference to the duplicity of the group of Powers that looked to the United States and Britain for inspiration in their international activities in saying, "Yet, in this top-turvy world, it is India that is constantly accused of 'stalling' or delay-

ing the plebiscite and so forth." This commentary on Anglo-Saxon power-politics would be accepted by history as the final word of judgment on this sorry business.

Preventive Detention Bill

The Indian Parliament has passed in one sitting the Preventive Detention Bill, moved by the Deputy Prime Minister, which is a major Bill coming up before the House after the inauguration of the New Constitution. The Attorney General, who was for the first time called to the House, intervened in the debate to explain certain legal points. There was ample debate on the Bill and the House accorded almost unanimous support to the measure, which emerged substantially in the form as moved by the Home Minister. In a well-reasoned and argumentative speech in justification of this emergency legislation the Home Minister observed that the Communists in India, "who formed by far the largest number of detenus, constitute a danger to the existence and security of the State, which has been brought into being by the sacrifices and sufferings of millions of us. It would be poor return for those sacrifices and sufferings if we failed to preserve the liberties which we have won after so much struggle and surrendered them to the merciless and ruthless tactics of a comparatively small number of persons whose inspiration, methods and culture are all of a foreign stamp and who are, as the history of so many countries shows, linked financially, structurally and tactically with foreign organisation." This emergency measure will remain in force up to March 31, 1951.

This Bill is a reaction to the subversive communist activities in India. Free India possesses the right to make political agitation constitutional through peaceful means. The Communists have been systematically following violent and subversive methods in their agitation and being linked up with a foreign power threaten the very basis of our Freedom. No Government can shut its eyes to this menace.

Salem Jail Firing Enquiry

The *Bharat* (Bombay) reports that the Madras Government have decided to appoint a non-official tribunal to enquire into the Salem Jail firing. The Tribunal will be presided over by a retired Judge of Madras High Court and will consist of one lawyer and another having administrative experience, preferably a retired District Collector. Death roll due to firing has mounted to 22. The warders opened fire to protect themselves—this was the statement made by the Madras Minister for jails after an investigation at the place of occurrence. The Warders were supplied with buckshots instead of bullets and being at a very close range, they seem to have fired straight shots killing 17 convicts on the spot. The buckshots, having blown into smithereens, had spread themselves and hit those nearby, accounting for the injury of as many as 100.

The Salem Jail firing has been an incident of much importance. Every effort should be made to stop any further repetition of similar incidents, because they do incalculable harm to the prestige of the Congress Governments and ultimately strengthen the Communists themselves.

Deshmukh Award

The Deshmukh Award has caused great disappointment in West Bengal. West Bengal's share of income-tax pool had been arbitrarily reduced from 20 to 12 after partition completely disregarding the most important fact that only about one per cent of the collections were lost through Partition. The extra amount released by reducing Bengal's share went to benefit other provinces, the biggest beneficiaries being U. P. and Bihar. Sir Chintamon Deshmukh was entrusted to review the matter of allocation of poolable income-tax and jute duties. His Award, although it increases West Bengal's share by 1.5 per cent and the jute duty to Rs. 105 lakhs has been rightly interpreted as unfair and unjust.

Sir C. D. Deshmukh is understood to have told the Finance Ministry of the Government of India that any re-allocation *de novo* might have led to considerable alterations in the share of other provinces and caused serious financial embarrassment to some provinces and any adjustments to mitigate these embarrassments would not be possible without involving the share of the Centre. In other words, the Arbitrator was guided more by the sentiments of the provinces who made a windfall income at the expense of maimed Bengal, which has been hard hit through Partition, and richly deserved the sympathy of other provinces to put her shattered house in order. The rightful and just claim of West Bengal has thus been sacrificed.

The Finance Member of West Bengal has registered a strong protest against the Deshmukh Award and claims that everything possible had been done to place Bengal's point of view before the Central Government with incontrovertible facts and arguments for redressing a financial inequity which was a sore point in this province. But we doubt whether everything possible was done to see that Bengal's just claim was pressed home as had been done by Sir N. N. Sarkar when he compelled the British Government to remedy the inequity of the Meston Award. We must say that that this reduction of Bengal's share, which is a very substantial sum, has been possible because of the positive default of Dr. Ghosh's Government and the lack of interest of the present Central Administration in West Bengal affairs.

Railway Budget Debate

The Railway Budget debate in the Indian Parliament has just concluded. Many speakers demanded reduction in lower class fares in considera-

tion of the fact that a large surplus of Rs. 14 crores has been made. The hardships of third class passengers, demand for the improvement of third class travelling and dissatisfaction with the new classification were other features of the debate. Mr. Santanam, replying to the demand for a reduction of third class fares said that if third class fares were reduced even by one pie per mile, the Railways would lose Rs. 16 crores a year and the present surplus would be converted into a deficit. He said that any attempt to reduce fares by less than one pie will be a useless sacrifice of revenue, without any benefit to the passengers. He denied the charge that Railways were being run like a profit-making concern and not as a public utility service. Mr. Syamanandan Sahay pointed out that the Railway Minister should have indicated the exact financial position in respect of the Indian State Railways. The actual gains by the process of integration should have been announced.

In raising the point of classification, Mr. Hussain said that the Railway Minister should have given some more information on classification. At present there is a lot of confusion about the types of classes. During the period of one year they had converted the old four classes into three and now again restored four classes. As some other member pointed out, the Inter class should be retained. The present nomenclature of classes has been confusing, often leading to unpleasantness and unnecessary loss to the travelling public. The 'S' of the Class II Special is often unnoticed by passengers when Class II passenger enter this compartment only to find themselves into trouble at the time of flying checking. This is becoming almost a regular feature of railway travel.

Mr. Santanam spoke in the middle of the debate and said that he was surprised that members were making much ado about re-classification last year. Some members had even suggested that the cost of these classifications was to the tune of Rs. 10 crores. The total expenditure on re-classification was about Rs. 23 lakhs, and the whole of this amount went to improve the previous inter class compartments. It was, therefore, not a loss, as it went to provide better amenities to passengers. The process of reconversion in December last cost only Rs. 5,71,730.

Referring to the objections of some members to the new name, Second Class Special, he said that he did not know whether the name, inter class, had any significance to these members. The new name was more convenient as in many branches there were only three classes, I, II and III, and no Inter Class.

Much stress again had been laid, he said, on the question of overcrowding. While no doubt there was still some amount of overcrowding, many new trains had already been introduced. Quoting figures of what he called "occupational ratio," he said that this ratio, which roughly indicated the extent of crowding on

the trains, had gone down considerably. In broad gauge trains it had very nearly reached the normal point, although in metre gauge trains there still remained some difficulty. However, the Government were trying to tackle this question by getting more metre gauge locomotives and he hoped that by the next year overcrowding would disappear.

Replying to the criticism regarding non-utilization of funds earmarked for providing amenities, he said that in 1949-50 almost the entire amount had been spent, while in the next year they proposed to spend to the tune of Rs. 3 crores. He hoped that all the difficulties of passengers would be removed with the completion of their 5-year development programme.

As regards fares and freights reduction, which had been demanded by some members, he said that in India the fares and freights had increased only by about 46 per cent during the period 1938-48 although the cost of living had gone up by about 186 per cent. In the U.K. during the similar period these had increased by about 95 per cent.

The Government's policy was to adjust freight to the paying capacity of the people. Last year, freight for fruits carried by passenger coaches was reduced by more than half in all railways except the G.I.P. and the B.B. and C.I. Railway labour got more benefit in the shape of amenities than any other labour in the country. In the year 1950-51 over Rs. 6 crores would be spent on amenities. Some of the items might appear to be non-recurring, but they were not.

He hoped that in future years specific allotment would be made for the Development Fund for improving hospitals, schools, dispensaries, etc.

Corruption, he said, had diminished to a great extent on the Indian Railways. Indicating the steps taken in this direction he said that the special police establishment dealt with 1,964 cases, including cases of 47 gazetted railway officers, 307 persons had been convicted and 165 referred to the Railway administration for departmental action. Besides, the railways had internal machinery to deal with corruption. In 1949, 61 complaints were received from members of Parliament and were dealt with.

Replying to the debate on the Railway Budget in Parliament, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Railway Minister, said that he might congratulate himself in that there was a general appreciation in the House of the Railway Budget that he had presented. It was particularly appreciated by the House, he said, that "we have made some progress in laying the railways on sound footing."

Referring to the fact that in all 36 members, including many new-comers, had taken part in the debate. Mr. Ayyangar said that some of them had made some points. On account of lack of time at his disposal to reply to all the points, Mr. Ayyangar said, he would refer to the more important of these.

One aspect of the criticisms, Mr. Ayyangar said, was that some members complained of delay in the re-grouping and reorganisation of the railways. In this connection he reminded the members that they should keep in mind that it was only two and a half years since power had been transferred to them and that a reorganisation of about 33,000 miles of railways could not be rushed through within that period. He, however, agreed that the railways system required reorientation and Government was giving due consideration to that aspect.

Another member, Mr. Ayyangar continued, raised a question as to the constitutional priority of presenting a separate Railway Budget in free India.

To this Mr. Ayyangar said that in the Government of India Act, 1935, there was provision for presenting the Railway Budget separately from the General Budget. The procedure that they had been following in the past had sanction under the 1949 Act also.

Under the new Constitution, Mr. Ayyangar continued, Railway revenues formed part of the consolidated fund of India and until that practice had been set up there was no lack of constitutional propriety in presenting a separate Railway Budget. Therefore, the procedure he was adopting, he added, was perfectly in accordance with the constitution.

Coming to the questions of general policy Mr. Ayyangar referred to an observation made by Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar that, "we must reorient the policy as regards the construction of railways; that it should be based not so much on the general financial resources, but it should be based on the recognition of the fact that railways form a very important factor in the general economic recuperation of the country."

Mr. Ayyangar said that he had made reference to this fact in his speech. The Government had accepted that position and the conclusion arrived at by the Railway Advisory Committee last December had also been based on this fact. "We have made certain provisions for implementing those conclusions in the Budget for the coming year," he said.

The Railway Minister then referred to another point made by Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain that the ways and means part of the Railway Budget was not completely separated from the ways and means part of the General Budget. Mr. Ayyangar wanted to tell the members of the House that apart from the fact that the railways had to support the general finances, sometimes the railways might have to rely on the general finances. Therefore, it was only fair and satisfactory that there was not a complete separation of the ways and means of both the budgets.

Referring next to the provisions of the betterment fund, development fund, labour welfare fund and the fund for the provision of passenger amenities Mr. Ayyangar said that some members were of the opinion that the amount earmarked for the provision of passenger amenities was not enough.

Three crores of rupees each year had been provided for passenger amenities as a permanent feature. Last year only Rs. 13 lakhs had been spent on this, while during the current year as much as Rs. 1.75 crores had been provided and for 1950-51 onwards Rs 3 crores had been earmarked for passenger amenities. This sum, Mr. Ayyangar considered, was not inadequate in the present circumstances.

Referring to the integration of railways and their regrouping Mr. Ayyangar said, "I gathered the impression by listening to the speeches of several members that the House is generally in favour of regrouping of the different Railway Units in India."

He said that he would not give his approval to a suggestion made in this connection for regrouping the lines on a linguistic basis, for the reason that many railways had to pass through many linguistic areas and a grouping of the units on the basis of linguistic or provincial basis would not be healthy. "I am not personally very much in favour of any linguistic or territorial units in railways," Mr. Ayyangar said.

Referring next to the loan they had taken from the International Bank for reconstruction and development, and to the charge that the capital borrowed was American capital and the interest paid for it was excessive, the Railway Minister said that it was not that they were anxious to borrow from the International Bank. The difficulties in foreign exchange had compelled them to do so and so far as loans from the International Bank were concerned the interest charged was about 4 per cent. On other loans obtained from the same source for agricultural purposes the interest charged was 3.5 per cent.

Mr. Ayyangar added that the Indian delegate in the Economic and Social Council had taken up the matter of repayment of the loan to that Bank with the President of the Bank so that they could repay the sum in greater number of instalments. India, after all, Mr. Ayyangar said, was one of the big contributors to the International Bank.

He then referred to the comment of some members as to why locomotives had been imported from the dollar areas, while the same could be had from the sterling area.

"I sympathise with their feeling. But it is because the sterling area countries were not able to deliver locomotives within a reasonable time that we had to go to dollar areas," he said.

Referring to the relations between the railway labour and the Government Mr. Ayyangar said that it was gratifying to note that there had been no strikes. The relations between them had been cordial and co-operative. He felt sure that the All-India Railwaymen's Federation would never venture on a general strike when the Railway Board was prepared to listen to the grievances and implement measures to redress them.

In this connection Mr. Ayyangar also said that as

many as 29 resolutions had been passed by the Federation. Eighteen such resolutions had been accepted by the Government, two had been given effect to, and nine were under consideration of the Government.

Referring to the suggestion that the dismantled lines should be speedily restored, Mr. Ayyangar said that the Government had under consideration two aspects of the extension of the lines. One was construction of new lines and the other restoration of lines which had been disbanded during war. Here again they had to look to falling economies of the lines if they are restored before actually beginning work on them, he said.

As regards Mr. Thirumal Rao's suggestion that Calcutta and Cocanada should be directly linked Mr. Ayyangar said that the Government would look into the matter soon. He also assured Mr. Thirumal Rao that the Government would try to see whether it would be possible for them to start work on the Pithapuram-Cocanada line during 1950-51.

Referring to another charge that the Government had purchased steel from abroad while they could be had from Tatas and other similar Indian concerns, Mr. Ayyangar said that it was only when the Indian concerns were unable to supply the quantity required by the railways that they were compelled to place orders abroad.

Another factor was that the prices quoted by Indian concerns were higher.

Mr. Ayyangar gave comparative figures indicating that whereas the price quoted by America was Rs. 268 per ton including freight, the price of Tatas was Rs. 333 per ton.

Concluding Mr. Ayyangar said that if any of the points raised by members had been left out by him in his reply, he would reply to them at a later stage when demands were voted.

Export and Import Control

Indian Parliament has passed the Export and Import (Control) Amendment Bill authorising the Government to continue to exercise export and import control until March 31, 1955. Explaining the reasons for introducing the Bill, the Commerce Minister said the economic conditions brought about by the war made it necessary for almost every country to continue some measure of control over imports and exports, the primary reason being the need for conserving foreign exchange. India, he said, had an additional reason for this control, namely, import of a large quantity of food-grains. Besides, in order to implement the industrialisation policy priorities had now to be given for import of capital equipments. It was also necessary to ensure supplies of raw materials for indigenous industries. India, he said, was still unable to pay for her imports out of exports, but had to

take recourse to the sterling balances to meet the adverse balance of trade.

Replying to the criticism that the import licenses granted by the Government had resulted in a considerable import of non-essential commodities, Mr. Neogy said that India was in no position to tell the rest of the world that she would buy only capital goods. Other countries made the supply of capital goods conditional on the supply of certain non-essential articles. India's imports, he claimed, was already reduced to the absolute minimum. As a matter of fact, he expected a demand soon for a liberalisation of the Government's import policy.

The Commerce Minister said that the import and export control was a legacy of the war and was originally introduced to save shipping space and control exports to enemy countries. After the war, economic conditions both in Allied and enemy countries were such that some measure of control and regulation of imports and exports had become necessary. On the export side, the control was not for restriction of exports, but to see that the raw material was available to the industry and that there was no wasteful exports.

In view of the balance of payments position, they had to canalise the imports and exports according to the countries of origin. These reasons justified the necessity for continuing the control of imports and exports. India was paying for a considerable quantity of her imports not out of her own earnings but out of the accumulated sterling balances. The limits for this were set by the agreements an annual release. The Government were not anxious to exercise control solely for the sake of control.

In a world where practically every country was planning on the basis of a controlled economy, it would be dangerous to allow existing powers to lapse. As members of the sterling bloc they had certain rights and obligations. While they had to restrict imports from dollar and hard currency areas to the minimum level, they had the advantage that for payments they could draw from the Central Pool of the sterling bloc.

Next to the U. K., probably India was the largest beneficiary. The exportable surpluses of the country in respect of a large number of commodities were also reduced as a result of partition. Although the Government were doing everything possible to step up exports, and they had succeeded in doing so substantially in the case of some goods like cotton textiles as a result of devaluation, there was a physical limitation to the expansion. The supply position in respect of a large number of these commodities was "inelastic."

For a country of the size of India, they would not live on the margin of a balance of trade but must have a substantially favourable balance of trade.

"For some years to come, I am afraid, this country cannot evade controlling and restricting its imports," Mr. Neogy said. They had also to have planned exports. The Government must have the power it sought if it had to implement the recommendations of the Export Advisory Committee which had been accepted by them.

"It will be unduly optimistic to say that import and export control can be dispensed with earlier than a period of five years. This is the reason why we have come up with the proposal that the powers under the Act shall be extended up to March 31, 1955."

It did not, however, mean that the Government would be compelled to exercise the control irrespective of the circumstances. When improvements took place they could liberalize the controls in force.

The Commerce Minister said he had not gone into the question of the administration of the controls as members would have an opportunity to discuss it during the Budget demands for grants. He was aware of the complaints about discrimination and even corruption. But whenever specific complaints were made they were inquired into.

He referred to the present policy of determining the import policy once in every six months and said that he was aware of the difficulties of the trade because of this. A suggestion had been made that at least in regard to commodities considered essential for the country, policy should be framed on a long-term basis. But in actual practice the matter was not so simple.

Until recently they had to depend on the six-monthly settlement of the figures of sterling balance releases. The current agreement, however, provided for annual releases for 1950 and 1951. He was, therefore, examining the possibility of planning import policy at least on an annual basis.

As regards imports from the dollar area, they had to plan it in line with other countries of the sterling area. It was, therefore, difficult to plan any programme of long-term imports for the dollar area. The same difficulty, however, did not arise in respect of non-dollar imports. A proposal that was being examined was that an import programme on a conservative estimate might be made while supplementary imports might be permitted periodically.

While he could not say how far the scheme would be practicable, he was mentioning, as an indication of the Government's desire to explore any avenue of meeting hardships, that a controlled economy is bound to inflict on sections of the population.

Replying to the debate the Commerce Minister said, "Mr. Krishnamachari accused us for lack of policy. I do not understand what he means. Are there any stable foundations in the present economic conditions of the world on which any country, excepting perhaps the U.S.A. or one or two other countries, can possibly base a permanent policy for

the development of its own resources or for promoting its international trade?

"He has talked about principles of international trade which were violated. We do not know what principles he has in mind. There has been a lot of talk about multilateral trade, but all of us, not excluding India, have gone farther and farther away from that ideal as the days pass by. What the countries of the world, excepting perhaps a very few, have been doing is to adopt a self-centred, narrow, hand-to-mouth policy for the purpose of conducting international trade.

"Mr. Krishnamachari himself was a member of the delegation that went to England in the summer of 1948 and he could not reach any understanding with the U.K. Government for anything beyond releases for six-monthly periods. Having regard to the fact that the releases from the sterling balances will henceforth be on an annual basis, I am considering the possibility of adopting a continuous policy at least in regard to certain sectors of the trade, though we must be very cautious in that effort."

Even in the U.K., he said, all that the Government did was to adopt an annual policy, not beyond that.

Mr. Neogy denied the charge of complacency. "He referred to the favourable trade balance that we have had during the last three months and he thought that I was attempting to delude the country into believing that we are out of the woods. Far from creating a false sense of security in the country, I pointed out the circumstances that have led to this result. I did not hold out any promise that we would not have to dip our hands into the sterling balances.

"Mr. Krishnamachari said that this surplus is due to the stoppage of trade with Pakistan. The actual favourable balance of trade in November amounted to Rs. 7 crores, in December Rs. 14 crores and in January Rs. 10 crores, in all Rs. 31 crores in these three months.

"The Indo-Pakistani Trade Agreement for 1949-50 contemplated a maximum adverse balance to the tune of only Rs. 20 crores. Just as we would have to import raw materials like raw jute and raw cotton from Pakistan, likewise we would have exported to Pakistan quite considerable quantities of cotton textiles and other goods. Again, because of the paucity of supplies of raw jute from Pakistan, our foreign trade in jute goods has suffered. That also you have to take into account.

"What is the possibility of our being able in the next 12 or 24 months or three, four or five years to so improve our export trade as to be able to balance the whole of our essential import necessities without drawing upon the sterling balances? It is not the normal requirements of the country that we have to meet out of our export earnings. We have undertaken a very ambitious development plan in regard to indus-

tries. How can you expect that it will be possible to find foreign exchange sufficient for the purpose of enabling importation of the essential capital goods which will be required within the five years, if not more, and for the general development of the country?"

There was an impression in the House, he said, that India could go on restricting her imports without limits and at the same time expanding her exports. But it should not be forgotten that international trade was a two-way traffic.

The charge of lack of co-ordination between the Commerce, Finance and Industry Ministries was absolutely baseless, he said. There had been absolute unanimity of opinion.

First Rule Nisi in India

Bombay has started creating judicial history in Republican India by issuing the first Rule Nisi in this country. Bhagwati, J. of Bombay High Court for the first time in India, on February 23, issued a rule nisi, calling upon the income-tax officer and the Union Government to show cause why writs of prohibition certiorari and mandamus under Article 226 of the Constitution should not be issued quashing the reassessment proceedings before the income-tax officer against a firm of bullion merchants.

The reassessment proceedings were based on a report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission against the firm. The Court also restrained the income-tax officer and the Union of India by an injunction from proceeding with the reassessment till the final disposal of the petition.

The firm, Messrs. Narrondas Manordass, applying for the rule, stated that it had approached the Income-tax Investigation Commission for a settlement in accordance with the Government's policy of offering settlement to parties which made a full disclosure of their tax-evaded income. It had filed several statements before the Commission marked "confidential and without prejudice" for the purpose of such a settlement. The Commission, however, converted the settlement proceedings into investigation proceedings under a different section without intimation to the firm, and used these "confidential and without prejudice" documents for the purpose of their report. Following this, the Government of India ordered on October 19, 1949, that reassessment and penalty proceedings should be taken against the firm.

The petitioners relied upon the firm's statutory right under the Income-tax Investigation Commission Act and alleged that the rules of natural justice and the law of evidence had not been allowed and no opportunity of refuting any evidence against them was given to them.

It was stated that the firm thereafter approached the Commission to review its report, but the Commission felt that it was not competent to review it. The Commission however accepted the view of the

petitioners that they and their counsel had remained under the impression that the proceedings were for settlement and not for investigation. The Commission thereupon permitted the firm to apply to the Government through it, making an offer of paying about Rs. 17 lakhs in full settlement of their tax liabilities. The Commission also recommended the acceptance of this offer. The Central Board of Revenue however turned down the recommendation of the Income-tax Investigation Commission.

The income-tax officer in Bombay also informed the firm that he would take reassessment proceedings despite the preliminary objection filed by the firm as to the validity of the Commission's first report and the order of the Government of India. The petitioner stated that such arbitrary assessment would do irreparable damage to a firm which had been building up its business for the last 150 years.

Madhya Pradesh Economy

The Government of the Madhya Pradesh appear worried over the mounting expenditure on administration as many other State Governments seem to be. The need for economy is understood, but it is sought to be done by axing the members of the lowest cadre in the services without touching the persons holding gazetted posts and whose number has multiplied tremendously during the last two and a half years. For instance, there were only 3 D.I.G. of Police and 50 Deputy Superintendents in 1947. The number of D.I.G.'s has risen to 6 and that of the D.S.P.'s to 144 in 1949. The salary of a D.I.G. of Police ranges from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 2,000 and that of a D.S.P. from Rs. 200 to Rs. 600. Not one of the members of these cadres is to be affected in the economy drive. The Special Armed Constabulary and the Anti-Corruption departments are to be abolished. The constables who had been promoted as Sub-Inspectors will be reverted to their substantive posts.

The number of Extra Assistant Commissioners has increased from 211 in 1947 to 300 in 1949 and those of Civil Judges from 95 to 110. The number of gazetted officers in the Education Department has also multiplied to run the Social Education Branch of the Department. The Publicity Department has also been expanded.

Government's policies are also coming in for severe criticism. For instance, considerable surprise is being expressed in educated circles at Jubbulpore over the nomination of two persons, who are provincial branch managers of two Insurance companies as honorary magistrates. One of these honorary magistrates is a law graduate while the other is only a matriculate. Altogether 10 honorary magistrates have been appointed but 8 of them have no previous experience of the working of a judicial or executive department. People are heard at Jubbulpore making the remark that when insurance agents can be

appointed honorary magistrates and allowed to exercise the influence of their office in favour of their respective companies, why should not the stipendiary magistrates and other Government servants also be permitted to take up insurance agency and make an additional income in those days of hardship?

The activities of the Education Department are also severely criticised. Some Hindi books have been prescribed as text-books for the students attending the schools run by the Social Education Department. It is stated that these books are written by "ghost" authors who have been holding high and responsible posts in the Education Department and are on the Text-Book Selection Committee. It is felt that this is an abuse of authority by the "ghost" authors of the books, as they have, through their personal efforts and influence, succeeded in getting their books approved in preference to the books written by poor, experienced and struggling authors.

The struggle for power, which is going on in the province for the last 20 years between Shri D. P. Mishra, who is claimed as the maker of Mahakosal and Shri Brijlal Biyani, the Congress leader of Berar, has now come to the surface. Madhya Pradesh is comprised of three Congress Provinces. There is no opposition to the State Government from Mahakosal, as the Provincial Congress Chief, Shri Govinda Das, enjoys his position in the Congress due to the backing of the Ministry behind him. Nagpur is indifferent in its outlook and lukewarm in its support to the Government. Berar is openly hostile to the Ministry. The Mahakosal group is numerically stronger in the Legislature and commands a formidable majority over the combined strength of Nagpur and Berar. The Mahakosal Congress President has a voice in the Government and can get his nominees appointed on the local bodies. Congress Chiefs of Nagpur and Berar feel that this privilege is denied to them. Berar has therefore become openly hostile. The trial of strength between the two stalwarts of the Congress in Madhya Pradesh is being watched with keen but painful interest by the people of the province.

Muslim Emigrants to Assam

The Rashtra Sangsad of Bharat, its Central Legislature, has after heated discussion for three or four days passed a Bill during the second week of February last intended to expel the 5 lakh Muslim emigrants that crossed from East Bengal to Assam after the partition of Bengal. The non-Assamese members of the Legislature were shocked to learn that the Assam Government and the Central Government could be so blind to the danger of this infiltration, ignore the significance of the Muslim League insistence on the "grouping" of Assam with Bengal. In defence of the Assam Government it was contended by Assamese members that the Central Government had been warned betimes, and it was they who were and are at fault.

There may be a grain of truth in this contention. But knowing the Bardoloi Ministry as we do, as well as the activities of its predecessor, the Saadulla Ministry—captained by one of the pillars of the Muslim League movement under British auspices—we cannot accept it as a statement of the whole truth. The Bardoloi Ministry smitten with fear of Bengalee supremacy behaved as the one-eyed stag, and now has to suffer for this mental aberration. Of the Saadulla Ministry, we will content ourselves with making a quotation from the speech of a so-called non-political Muslim delivered to a meeting over which Janab Mohammad Saadulla had presided. The lecturer was Secretary of the Assam Islam Mission Society, with its head-office at Shillong; the occasion was an extraordinary general meeting of the Society held on the 10th of March, 1940. In course of this speech the Secretary had held forth as follows :

"I will not dabble in politics. But I sincerely believe that this Islam Mission...can do openly, peacefully and lawfully what others of our Muslim organizations cannot do in a similar way. The Islam Mission can turn a minority, in course of a few years, into an overwhelming majority; and easily solve the baffling problem of Assam today—I mean the notorious Line System"—(*Indian Annual Register*, Vol. 4, 1940).

The Line System had been set up to halt the inroads of "Mymensinghias," as they are popularly known in Assam, the vast majority of them are Muslims. The "Colonists" were a turbulent class, as all colonists have been in human history. The local people were afraid of them, and the then Government set up this Line System sometime during the twenties for their protection. But it was hardly of any avail. The local Muslims co-operated with the "Mymensinghias" in breaking it. Without their active help they could not have flooded Assam. With Janab Mohammad Saadulla as a Minister and Muslim officials entrenched in the Revenue Department and the Police Department, the canal for the flood had been kept open. And even during the "grouping" excitement days, it continued. But the one-eyed Ministry had no eyes to look into this affair or the understanding to realize its significance. Their eyes were glued on Bengalee Hindus serving the Government and occupying certain other positions in professions and trades.

The Press in Bengal had given unstinted support to Assam's opposition to "grouping." But as gratitude has never been a virtue in politics, we were not surprised when the Bardoloi Ministry presented on a platter the district of Sylhet to Mr. Jinnah during the "Referendum," nor even afterwards, when the English-language daily of Gauhati was found to suggest that the Bengalee-speaking areas in the neighbourhood of the district of Sylhet, that are included in the Indian Union today, should go to Pakistan. This paper represents the obscurantists of the Ahom Jatiya Mahasabha, amongst whom are to be found die-hard traitors who declare that they do not belong to Bharat as they have Mongol blood in themselves. The Bardoloi Ministry is afraid of this group. And after August 15, 1947, they were found calling for the help of Muslim

League enthusiasts to help keep down Bengalee Hindus, whether native to Assam or "refugees." These antics of the Assam Administration were not unknown to the Central Government. But they proved themselves equally supine in realizing the dire consequences of this policy. We note that though the Bill to oust these Muslim intruders into Assam has been passed, Sree Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's concern for "any little reputation left for reasonableness" to him has kept it weak. Pundit Thakur Bhargava's amendment, supported by all the Assamese members, suggesting "forfeiture of the property of those who harboured illegal immigrants" was opposed by the esteemed Minister in charge of the Bill. Evidently he is ignorant of the history of the failure of the Line System, of how local Muslims had harboured and helped the Muslim intruders from Mymensingh and neighbouring areas in East Bengal. For 25 years they had found pleasure and profit in breaking the law. Forfeiture of property was the only argument that they could understand.

"Indian Question" in South Africa

On the 19th February last the External Affairs Ministry of Bharat in charge of the Prime Minister himself issued a communique informing the public that the Tripartite Conference held at Cape Town, capital of the Union of South Africa, on and from February 6 to 11 had been able to recommend the calling of a Round Table Conference in the near future to find a solution of the problem of the residents of South Africa born of Indian parents. The next day in the House of the Assembly, the South Africa Union's Minister of the Interior, Dr. Donges, made the same announcement and tried to clarify the various points discussed at this Conference which had recognized the existence of "an Indian question in South Africa." He also declared that his Government hoped that the proposed Round Table Conference would be able "to find an enduring solution of what has been for almost the last 90 years a perpetual source of friction between the countries concerned."

We will try in course of these comments to summarize the history of this "friction," of how "an Indian question" came to be created for and in South Africa at a distance of 3 to 4 thousand miles from Indian shores. It rose out the permission given by London to the Government in India then, in the forties and fifties of the 19th century, to help recruit labourers in India for the benefit of British capitalists in South Africa who had been finding it difficult to work their plantations with local African labour and who had been pestering the London Government to provide labourers from out of the abounding labour force under their rule in India. Old Calcutta Journals tell us of labourers recruited from South India and Northern India being gathered at Metiaburuz for despatch to South Africa in ships.

This was the genesis of the "Indian Question in South Africa." The labour of these "indentured" people

created the wealth of Natal specially. The labourers were followed by business people, small traders, professional men and others. At the end of their indentures the labourers did not or could not return as they found freer scope for their spirit of labour and enterprise. They, by their cultivation, by their groceries, by their hawking, served their own people, the natives of South Africa and the "poor whites." They made good from these humble beginnings, and hearing of their success the higher classes from South India, Bombay and Sindh sought an outlet for their enterprise in this new land of opportunities. This was the second stage of the "Indian Question in South Africa." And at this stage started the fear in the heart of the dominant Boer and Briton who resented the competition of these new-comers.

Being in control of the Government they used their power to discriminate against Indians, to deny them citizenship rights. With a view to strengthen their campaign, the old Charter of the Established Church of Transvaal was brought out of obscurity which had decreed that "in Church and State there could be no equality between the white and the non-white." In this ever-old and ever-new policy there appears to be no difference between the Nationalist Party of Dr. Daniel Malan and the United Party of Field Marshal Jan Smuts, the present Prime Minister of South Africa and his predecessor respectively. The latter had declared some 12 years back that

"In South Africa we cannot afford to give coloured peoples the same footing as the whites. Our equality is based fundamentally on the doctrine that in Church and State between white and coloured peoples there can be no equality."

On the 15th of February last, Dr. Daniel Malan declared in South Africa's Legislature that "non-Europeans have been making demands which the most liberal-minded cannot accept," that the "time has arrived for South Africa's grave colour problem to be solved taking colour differences into account." The Minister of Interior, Dr. Donges, declared that the "only full and permanent solution of the problem" must be "consistent with the maintenance of Western Civilization and our way of life and the European way of life." These vague descriptions are not as forth-right as Marshal Jan Smuts' had been, but their central purpose is the same.

Jute Industry's Difficulties

Mr. J. R. Walker is Jute Controller in Bharat appointed to this post when the crisis in the jute industry and trade started as a result of devaluation of Bharat's currency and non-devaluation of "Pakistan's" in September last. Presiding at the annual meeting of the Indian Jute Mill Association in Calcutta on the 17th of February last, Mr. Walker had many things to say on the subject. He concentrated on the "cost of raw material" — jute — the price which has risen to "a quite uneconomic level." And as the prosperity of the industry

was principally dependent on export, he reported that "overseas markets were getting more and more restive under the aggressive policy of our competitors"—producers of substitutes of jute as raw materials of sackings, etc.

Mr. Walker has been warning us "for at least two years prior to the present deadlock" that the "outlook for the industry was becoming increasingly uncertain." If we understand him aright, he appears to suggest that the present deadlock between Pakistani jute and Bharat's mills which finish it for the export markets generally is not the immediate cause of his wail, but that since September last "the Indian industry has been living on its fat" having consumed all other sources of energy of its own.

We wish we could accept his diagnosis. Is he quite sure that he has not ignored certain other vital factors connected with the whole business—from the field to the factory, from the factory and its management to the transport outside? Mr. Walker has indicated two of these in his speech—the higher and uneconomic price of jute and the "generous payments to jute workers" who have not responded to this generosity—"not less than Rs. 2½ crores;" the individual worker's "output" is "not as nearly as good as it might be." He tried to drive this point home by saying :

"This is a serious matter when we take into account the difference in per capita output between India and other manufacturing countries, notably the U.K. and the Continent. This comparison, so unfavourable to India, is a further factor limiting our competitive capacity."

He has held a threat to remedy this disease, particularly that affecting the jute worker "unless the Indian jute mill worker is prepared to give unreservedly of his best, the need for rationalization and the replacement of manual by mechanical operations will become progressively more urgent." But there are other interests and factors which will have to be subjected to "rationalization" as well as the worker and the peasant who produce and manufacture the raw materials of the industry. We mean the organisers and general staff of the industry. Can Mr. Walker show on their behalf a clean bill? Mr. Walker has placed the story of their difficulties, created by the peasant demanding a higher price for the raw material and the worker who has become slack in the factory. He wants a verdict from the public.

But before it can be given, certain other facts have to be placed before them in addition thereto. Mr. Walker and his class of leaders of industry and trade have to explain these. We all know that the monies that finance the industry come from a section of investors who buy shares in jute companies of which Mr. Walker is a shining light. Then come the Managing Agents who use these monies for building up this industry, and sometimes in further development or expansion of these concerns, they put in their own money, though the major part of capital always came from share-holders and investors.

Complaints have been made that the Managing Agents, the class to which Mr. Walker belongs, have not been playing fair with these share-holders who are the

ultimate masters of the jute companies; the Managing Agents are there to watch their interests as by law required. But have they been fulfilling this trust? The story is that the Managing Agents have withdrawn almost the whole of their monies held in shares from this industry. Thus they have lost interest in it as shareholders and are content with their commissions and various other perquisites; and the reasons why industry has been driven to live on its own "fat" — to use Mr. Walker's expressive description of the industry's present condition — include these facts as well.

Instances of other lapses on their part are there. One is the renewal of their contracts with the share-holders by which the Managing Agents have extorted further advantages and prolonged their tenure for 20 years or more. They have done it in order to avoid scrutiny of the conditions of their rule as and when the Indian Companies Act will be amended. The injustice of this new arrangement comes out in the provision that the Managing Agencies' commission is to be payable on the gross turn-over or sale of the industry's products in addition to other allowances or remunerations; this is in total violation of the Companies Act (1936) Clause 87C(1) which definitely laid down that their commission should be payable on nett profits only. Has not this trick inflated the price of the jute product to the ultimate buyer?

But more important than any other as a count against the Managing Agents and their Directors is their recent practice of starting subsidiary companies, subject to and under the control of the same Managing Agents. There would, perhaps, have been no complaint against it if it had proved profitable to the parent companies. But it can be proved from balance-sheets published on the authority of these Managing Agents that there have been consistent losses to the parent companies and their share-holders. One instance will suffice. A particular Jute Company had on 31-3-1937 reserves to the extent of Rs. 1 crore 34 lakhs or thereabouts. After 13 years these reserves are shown as reduced to about 29 lakhs only. This in spite of the huge war profits, and of the failure of this company to give their share-holders "bonus shares" as other companies have done.

We have tried to give in as untechnical language as it is possible to bring out the difficulties of the jute industry. Mr. Walker has given an incomplete story. The price of the raw material has increased; jute workers have extorted "living wages for themselves"; Managing Agents have managed to inflate their profits under various ways which it is not possible for the lay men to discern. Mr. Walker has held the threat of "rationalization" to the jute worker. But if the doings of his class are subjected to scrutiny, they cannot escape "rationalization" along with the jute cultivator and the worker. That day cannot be delayed if the Government of Bharat is awake and watchful of the interests of the share-holders whose money provide the cultivator, the worker and the Managing Agents with their living, and the last with their luxuries.

Uttar Pradesh Prantiya Rakshi Dal

The Uttar Pradesh has an ambitious project of building up a Prantiya Rakshi Dal of more than 5 lakhs ($\frac{1}{2}$ a million) strong from its 34 districts. They are intended to act as Home Guards in emergencies. But they are proving themselves to be something more, builders of the new economy of self-sufficient villages conscious of their duties to the Pradesh in general. A report of this new work that we have seen is one to be proud of.

The U. P. Government had called for estimates from private contractors for cutting down a jungle and weeding-out the roots in an area of 8,000 acres in the Lucknow district. The lowest tender received from these contractors was Rs. 220/- per acre, the cost of reclamation with the co-operation of these volunteers which included only expenses on food comes to Rs. 55/- only for the same area.

Rahimabad, a small village 25 miles from Lucknow, has become the centre of these activities, clearing adjoining lands covered by *dhak* jungles. In order to make these fit for cultivation the trees have to be cut down, their roots which generally go to a depth of 5 feet to be taken out. On the 1st February last started the work and by the 16th over 5000 acres had been cleared and over 11 lakh roots taken out; the remaining 3000 acres are expected to be made ready by the end of this month. The Government has been providing implements and other facilities.

We have read of Madhya Pradesh (Central Province) Home Guards doing like service to villages of their choice. Their example is worth emulation by the other States of the Bharat Union.

Bagge Tribunal's Award

The Tribunal appointed to go into the boundary disputes between West and East Bengals, between the latter and Assam has given its verdict. It had for its Chairman Lord Justice Bagge of Sweden, its other members were Sree Chandrasekhara Iyer, nominated by India, and Janab Shahabuddin, nominated by Pakistan. The disputes related to East-West Bengal concerning (i) boundary between the district of Murshidabad (West Bengal) and the district of Rajshahi (East Bengal); (ii) that point of the common boundary which lies between the point on the river Ganges where the channel of the river Mathabanga takes off according to the Radcliffe award and the northernmost point where the channel meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur according to this award. The dispute between Assam and East Bengal had reference to (i) the Patharia Hill reserve, and (ii) the course of the Kushiya river.

With regard to the course of the Ganges, the Advocate-General, Bengal, who represented the Bharat Government pressed for a fixed boundary line between Murshidabad and Rajshahi unaffected by the course

that the river might take in the future in order to avoid constant controversy with East Bengal. Lord Justice Bagge supported by the nominee of the Bharat Government gave his verdict in favour of this contention. With regard to the Mathabhanga he appears to have disregarded both the Indian nominee and the Pakistani nominee, and fixed a new point of his own from which the Mathabhanga is supposed to take off from the Ganges; the reasons for this we do not find brought out or convincing. Whether or not his verdict is final according to the conditions on which the Tribunal had been appointed is a point on which we would like light to be thrown. From reports that have reached us we understand that neither the Central Government nor the West Bengal Government had taken care to understand and realize the importance of this "basic" question in reference to the city of Calcutta—the question that Sir Cyril Radcliffe had asked in the 8th para of his award. The award given by Justice Algot Bagge without a local inspection of the site from which the Mathabhanga takes off has worsened West Bengal's case; she appears to have lost ten villages. Why the Advocate-General of Bengal had not been instructed to press forward this point should be made clear.

The Sylhet Partition Committee on an interpretation of the Radcliffe award had preferred claims before the Radcliffe Tribunal claiming the areas covered by twelve Police Stations, namely, 1. Kulaura (partial), 2. Kamalganj, 3. Srimangal, 4. Rajnagar (small slice), 5. Maulavi-bazar (partial), 6. Nabiganj (small slice), 7. Baniachong (partial), 8. Lakhai, 9. Habiganj, 10. Bahubal, 11. Madhabpur and 12. Chunarughat.

Of these the first three *thanas* are of Hindu majority and the rest are of Muslim majority.

The Hindus of Sylhet represented a little over 40 per cent of the total population of the district, while their allotment of land being some 700 square miles, represents only 13 per cent. Restoration of these *thanas* to Indian Union will equalise the land ratio with the population representation.

It is reported that the India Government on the basis of representation of the Sylhet Partition Committee referred this claim to their legal adviser, Kunwar Daleep Singh who, we understand, gave his opinion that an "arguable case" had been made out. But they did not include this in the agenda for the Bagge Tribunal. There appears to have been some bungling somewhere, the seat of which should be found out and exposed.

In the case of the two points of dispute between Assam and East Bengal, the former appears to have won.

Basic Education Conference

Acharya Aryanayakam, Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sewagram, informs:

It has been decided to hold the sixth All-India Basic Education Conference on April 8, 9 and 10, 1950, at Angul, Dist. Dhenkanal, Orissa. The special feature of this year's conference will be that it is being organized not as an educational conference only, but as an integral part of the Sarvodaya Sammelan (All-India Conference of Constructive Workers) to be held at Angul (Orissa) from the 6th to the 13th of April, 1950. Problems of national education, therefore, will be discussed against the wider background of the constructive programme as a whole.

The discussions of the Educational Conference will centre round the problems connected with the five main stages of 'Nai Talim,' of new education of which 'Basic Education' forms a part.

Besides these general discussions it is also expected that the delegates to the Conference will discuss in small groups special problems of Basic Education, such as the training of teachers, the technique of correlated teaching, the technique of craft teaching, the teaching of special subjects such as art, music, etc., techniques and standards of assessment in Basic Education, preparation of literature, etc. An attempt will be made to make the programme of the Conference elastic so as to afford full opportunities for these discussions.

An education exhibition will also be organized as a part of the conference.

Interpreters of social phenomena have pointed out to the experience that no society has been reformed unless certain of its members could take the risk of going out of it and ruthlessly expose their society's crudities of thought and conduct, and show a way of breaking the habits that had been halting all progress. The truth of this experience can be seen and found in every department of life. The above circular issued by Acharya Aryanayakam reminds us of it. The education reform that Gandhiji had proposed in his Basic Education Plan has for its ideal an almost break with the past, evolved as it has since Macaulay laid down the law in our educational system divorced from our traditions.

Social thinkers in India had from its start almost been conscious of the danger of this educational system. About the beginning of this century they became vocal in their demand for reform in education in India which on ultimate analysis would stand or fall by its success or failure in making new men and women capable of building up a New India.

Men and women who have taken up the burden of this work must consent to live apart from society, suffer and sacrifice in the service of the new life that Gandhiji had brought to them. This is the significance of the conference which takes place on the second week of April next at Angul in Orissa—an area of virgin endeavour almost.

Calcutta University's Agricultural College

On the 14th February last, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Governor of West Bengal, paid a visit to Jhargram in Midnapore where the Calcutta University

has been enabled to start an Agricultural College with the help of the generous gift of 450 *bighas* of land and Rs. 1 lakh by Raja Nrisinha Malla Deo of Jhargram. The foundation stone of the buildings of this College had been laid on the 8th May last; at present its classes are being held in the premises of a local institution. And the Governor availed himself of a visit to this rising town to inspect the progress made. As founder of a Higher Secondary School in his own home-State, the Uttar Pradesh, till late known as the U. P. Provinces, Dr. Katju spoke of Agriculture and Spinning being made compulsory as subjects of study in it. And he put his finger on the spot of weakness in the present system of education when he referred to "the desire of the graduates to be, of course absorbed in the Government services" losing through their choice opportunity to devote their modern knowledge in agriculture to their people's use. Dr. P. K. Sen, Khaira Professor and Head of the Department of Agriculture of the University, spoke of "a general break-down of rural economy" in this connection. This rural decay and the agricultural debacle that has caught us are interlinked somehow, whether as cause and effect or *vice-versa* it is difficult to say. But we have a certain feeling that the general body of our young men trained in Agricultural Colleges prefer jobs in offices rather than in fields, the soft life round tables and desks than the hard life in the mud of the fields and under the sun and rain. We are glad to learn, therefore, that preference will be given to trainees in this College who come from rural areas and own their own lands. But the bias for jobs under Government must be broken before the young Bengalees or for the matter of that the young Indian, can make good use of their agricultural education.

Tuberculosis Control

The following joint statement on the control of tuberculosis in India was made by Prof. W. H. Tytler of the WHO and Dr. P. V. Benjamin, Tuberculosis Adviser to the Government of India at a Press Conference held on February 17 at Patna.

The problem of controlling tuberculosis in India whether in terms of financial outlay or of the medical and nursing staff required is so vast that neither the country itself nor any International Organisation can hope to tackle it completely within any short space of time. But the World Health Organisation and the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund are considering with the Government of India how the initial attack should be made and have decided to set up training centres each of which would form a nucleus of an organised anti-tuberculosis service for the area, which could be progressively extended to the entire province or State, and would at the same time train Indian medical and nursing personnel for employment in the local service, or in other areas where new centres were established.

It is proposed that three such centres should be set up during 1950, at Delhi, Patna and Trivandrum. For each Centre the WHO will provide a team of doctors, nurses, and technicians, who will advise local authorities on the organisation of the service, and will train the local staff to operate the centre. When the WHO team has fulfilled its function it will be operated entirely by local staff.

Each centre will provide for :—

- (a) A dispensary service for the area, with probably a small number of beds where special treatment can be carried out, and a mobile dispensary unit to extend the service to the outlying districts. Great importance is attached to the extension of domiciliary treatment;
- (b) The continuation and extension of tuberculin testing and B.C.G. Vaccination as already initiated by teams of the Joint Enterprise;
- (c) An epidemiological survey of the area to determine the incidence and the distribution of the disease, mainly by mass X-rays;
- (d) The training, as stated above, of the local personnel attached to the centre, as well as others for employment in other centres;
- (e) General post-graduate training in tuberculosis for medical graduates and demonstrations to local physicians as a stimulus to co-operation with an organised anti-tuberculosis scheme.

The dispensary service will provide a modern clinic for diagnosis and treatment, with a fully equipped X-ray department and a fully equipped bacteriological laboratory. The entire scientific equipment of the centre will be provided by UNICEF, and will consist of clinic equipment, dispensary X-Ray equipment, mobile X-ray equipment for epidemiological survey, mobile dispensary units with X-ray equipment for rural service, and complete laboratory equipment.

The make-up of the WHO team may vary in different areas, but in general it will consist of two or three doctors, one of whom will act during his stay as Director of the centre, one will be responsible for the B.C.G. service and a third may be attached to the mobile dispensary. In some cases the provision of a qualified bacteriologist may be necessary. It is proposed that at least two nurses will be included one for dispensary work, and training of local nurses in dispensary work, and as health visitors, and one for B.C.G. work.

A senior X-ray technician and a senior laboratory technician will also be included. It is expected, however, that in certain centres there may be one or more local personnel who are already competent to undertake certain of these duties, which would reduce the strength of the WHO personnel required.

The Central and State Governments will supply the necessary building accommodation, and will appoint the local staff for operation of the unit and for training as outlined above. They will also supply the running expenses of the unit.

It has to be emphasised that the financial contribution possible for any International Organisation to such

a problem as the control of tuberculosis in India must be insignificant in relation to what is required. But it is thought that the scheme proposed is the best way of employing the assistance which WHO and UNICEF together are able to give, and which considered by itself represents a very large financial outlay.

This is no doubt a great step forward in controlling the scourge. But it is a problem more of prevention than of cure. Poverty and lack of nutrition of the masses and crowded living conditions in the towns are the breeding grounds of tuberculosis. Improvement in living conditions must precede improvement in treatment if an elimination of this dangerous disease is really desired. Problem of tuberculosis is intimately associated with the general economic problem of the country.

Distribution of Cultivated Acreage

The following table shows the distribution of cultivated acreage among the 15 countries and regions having more than 75 per cent of the world's totals :

Country	Acres cultivated	Cultivated land as percentage of total land	Cultivated land per capita	Percentage of world cultivated land
	Thousands	Per cent	Acres	Per cent
United States	435,000	22.8	3.13	17.6
Soviet Union	414,000	7.9	2.43	16.8
India	382,610	37.9	.98	15.5
China (22 Provinces)	177,718	13.8	.29	7.2
Argentina	64,395	9.3	4.56	2.6
Canada	63,385	2.9	5.29	2.5
Germany	49,918	42.8	.72	2.0
France	49,338	36.3	1.22	2.0
Poland	47,219	49.2	1.47	1.9
Spain	44,556	35.6	1.65	1.8
Iran	40,795	10.2	2.47	1.6
Manchuria and Jehol	38,386	11.9	.89	1.5
Italy	35,610	49.9	.77	1.4
Australia	34,865	1.7	4.71	1.4
Total	1,877,795	....	....	75.8

This chart has certain percentages which are worth notice. China with her 50 crores (500 millions) of people distributed over 22 Provinces manages to carry on with 177,718,000 acres of cultivated land—while India with 40 crores of people has 382,610,000 acres under cultivation and has difficulties in food supply.

Pearl Buck on India

While in the United States during their world tour, Principal Shreeman Narayan Agarwal of Seksaria Commerce College of Wardha and his wife made occasion to meet Mrs. Pearl Buck. The latter asked

this friend of India if she had "a message" to send through them to India. Her reply was almost unexpected. "It is not for me to give messages and tender advice to your great and competent leaders." But as a friend she gave "a warning." It was this : "Let simplicity of life be the watchword of the new Government both at home and abroad." The same advice she gave Madame Chiang Kai-shek when she had gone to the United States for soliciting financial assistance.

"I told her plainly that she must try to live in America in the simplest style if she really wanted to succeed. But, despite all warnings, she lived in the most luxurious hotels in a lavish style."

Our Prime Minister should not take amiss the spirit that animated this "warning."

Election in Britain

The result of the election in Britain has enabled the Labour Party to just retain their power by having a majority of 7 members only in a House of 625 members. This demonstrates that the swing towards the right that showed itself in Australia and New Zealand has not lost its force. Some interpreters of this election, in the heart of the British system of States, have begun to say that the copy-book Socialism of the Attlee Government would not restore economic health to Britain or dignity to her as a great Power. But like the conservatives they cannot suggest any constructive plan that would work this miracle. And history spoke through Mr. Winston Churchill on February 10 last on the occasion of his opening address to his own constituency at Woodford (Essex).

"No other country in the world lives in such delicate position of dependence upon other countries for food and raw materials. Britain cannot cast away her security. Her plight at present is serious."

Throughout the 19th century, the hey-day of Britain's glory and power, Britain had been "dependent" on other countries for food and the raw materials of the industries she specialized in. This "dependence" did not take away anything of her glory and power. Then what has happened to make this "dependence" galling? Answer to this question will enable British publicists and public men to successfully work towards the renovation of their shattered economy. During the 19th century their people had none to compete with. At the end of it they had the United States and Germany to challenge their hegemony; Japan joined the fray during 20th century's first four decades.

To preserve her monopoly Britain had to fight two World Wars. Of her rivals only the United States remains. And by a strange irony of fate she has more than ever become "dependent" on the great Republic. In the immediate future there appears no sign that this "delicate" state will be changed. Not even the party led by Mr. Winston Churchill can restore the old balance of power. And as Socialism is anathema to the United

States, it is not natural to expect that she will hold out a helping hand to Socialism in Britain. So the puzzle continues to puzzle and confuse the leadership of both these countries. "Free enterprise" cannot be reconciled with State control. The battle of ideas and practices goes on. The British election is an episode in it.

(C.L.)

Sarat Chandra Basu

Death has snapped the strongest link with the life and work of "Netaji," in Sarat Chandra Basu, his second elder brother, who has died in his 61st year on the 20th February last.

Those who have read Subhas Chandra Basu's letters to him seeking advice on the momentous decision about resigning from the Indian Civil Service would find a heart responsive to the demands of the new Nationalism that was athrob in the air, a mind caught up by the time-spirit and being pushed to paths of danger and sacrifice.

From 1920 to the last day of his life Sarat Chandra Basu was to be found ever at the head of every dynamic programme in the country. And as punishment from the British bureaucracy he suffered detention for long periods which shattered his health.

Nothing deterred and in no way daunted, he struggled on, and the last days of his life were characterized by a courage that dared him to stand alone against what he believed to be fundamental defects in the leaders of the Congress whom destiny called to the rulership of India.

Strikingly bold as it was, this was the most strenuous period of his life. He risked popularity that is the public man's only capital, and the approval of colleagues and friends of long standing even though that was a cruel wrench to his essentially loving nature. The value of these two sacrifices at the altar of the truth—as he saw it—in scorn of consequences, threw on his struggles a high light that history can depict in proper time.

Through this all he had a premonition that his days were numbered. On the 20th of February, 1949, returning from the death-bed of Kiran Sankar Roy he had said that he would follow this dear friend within a year. He proved prophetic — he died exactly on the day on which the anniversary of Kiran Sankar Roy's death was being celebrated.

This premonition of death did not weaken his resolve. could not persuade him to conserve his energies. A fire of conviction appeared to consume all thoughts of economy, material and mental, and to drive him to enter the lists against men who had been his companions in struggles and sacrifices for the freedom for the cause that had inspired him from his youth upwards.

The country mourns a son whose love for her transcended all other feelings, his friends and colleagues a comrade of superb courage. Death closes all accounts, leaving behind memories, bitter-sweet, as residue. Sarat Bose has left behind the memory of a glorious fight and a tradition of an all pervading independence of Spirit. He fought on to his last breath, may his soul now rest in well-deserved peace.

Hemanta Kumari Chowdhury

Nabin Chandra Roy's was a name to conjure with in the Punjab during the last quarter of the 19th century as one of the Bengalee pioneers of modern life. His daughter kept up the traditions of her father, and has just left the field of her mundane activities in her 85th year. Her married life was cast in the far-eastern Province of India—Assam—where with the encouragement of her husband Raj Chandra Chowdhury she launched those activities which have created the leaders of the Women's Movement in India. Fortified throughout a long effort by the feeling of a mission to be fulfilled, Hemanta Kumari threw herself into women's education at Shillong and at Sylhet. From Sylhet she came to Patiala where she helped to modernize the education of this premier State of the Punjab. Her last days were passed at Dehradun where all social workers could count on her as a guide, as an inspirer. She has left eleven children—all well-placed in life, carrying on responsible duties under the State.

Albion Raj Kumar Banerji

A member of the Indian Civil Service during British regime, this administrator, of incomparable experience has ended his life's journey on the 25th February last in his 79th year. He had served as Dewan to the State of Mysore about 30 years back, was foreign minister in Jammu-Kashmir about 20 years ago, and been in well-deserved retirement at Bangalore since then.

Son of Sasipada Bannerji, pioneer of many good causes in Bengal, one of the earliest to help organize industrial labour in Calcutta's northern suburb, he was born in Bristol where the last remains of Rammohun Roy rest. The first part of his name bears witness to the admiration that his father's generation felt for British methods of life and thought. That faith was betrayed and Sasipada lived to watch the growing estrangement of his people from Britain.

His son, however, strove to the last to keep up the faith of his youth. His books—*The Indian Tangle* and *What is Wrong with India?* — are evidence of this feeling.

ADMINISTRATION—THE MACHINE, THE PERSONNEL AND THE COST

By BIJAY BIHARI MUKHARJI,

Retired Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bengal; Advocate, Federal Court

It is almost a truism to say that the efficiency and effectiveness of a State depends upon the character and the quality of its Public Services. Mr. H. G. Wells asserted that the test of the competence of a State was the measure of the efficiency of the Public Services and the organisation thereof. He went so far as to state that the constitution of the Public Services was the most outstanding contribution to Political Science in the 19th century. The history of the evolution of the Public Services in India during the British regime, from the days of dishonesty of the East India Company through the period of reconstruction in the days of Lord Wellesley and later the substitution of the competitive system for the Hailebury system is a romance of great value to all students of administration. The conditions for betterment were periodically examined and altered by a Royal Commission on the Public Services, which due to the political sense of the British Parliament included—unlike the unfortunate tendency that is developing to the detriment of national interests for the last two years in India with a strong partisan spirit and a very narrow outlook—men of all parties who were induced to agree to participate in deliberations. These Commissions were considered to have national and not party significance. An analysis of the composition of the Islington or Lee Commission will bear this out. The system thus evolved in India affected and paved the way for improvement even of the public services in England.

The constitution of the Public Services in India had been one of the most outstanding achievements of the Indo-British Administration in the 19th and till the first decade of the 20th century *i.e.*, till the outbreak of the first World War. Of course, the services—specially the superior ones—developed efficiency and integrity, but even then they had some limitations. The main driving moral force, which alone could inspire them for a higher and still higher achievement, was lacking, *viz.*, the elevating effect of a spirit of national service. This was absent. The result, of course, was that the Englishmen in the services who had the national urge—in their case to perfect the machinery of imperialism and tighten the hold on the Indians—could function with an integrated mind and thus with a purpose. But the Indian components in the majority of cases lost themselves in the art of picking the peacock's feathers and even the best worked with a divided mind and thus largely proved failures. An analysis will show that after the epoch of the first group of which Mr. R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., was the most outstanding example, their contribution to the solution of national problems was almost nil. When the British officials withdrew from the diverse spheres, those who filled up the gap, from their training, from their stunted development and from their psychology were largely unequal to the task. There are exceptions but the exceptions are rare. In the

meantime the closing period of imperialism was marked by frantic efforts to retain the grip and as often happens in such circumstances, men in power adopted immoral means to stir up fissiparous tendencies which they wrongly believed could create favourable conditions for them. They introduced communal electorate and communal representation in the services—fantastic devices which they could never have dreamt of for application to their own country even when the unjust and autocratically imposed disabilities on the Roman Catholics were removed in England by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1835. These devices, however, broke up the administration, destroyed the *esprit de corps*, filled the men in the services with a sense of injustice and of wrong and necessarily imbued them with utmost contempt for not only the individuals who held the power but for the administration itself which they purported to dominate. This contempt has survived their exit.

With this shattered administrative machinery Independence came in August 1947. Very unfortunately or to the utter misfortune of India a set of people grasped the political power who were thoroughly ill-equipped to use it. For the last 40 years India's political struggle had been swamped by people whose administrative experience was nil, as was inevitable in the circumstances at the end of an aggressive and at the close of a thoroughly immoral foreign rule. But to that inevitable lack of experience was added a complete lack of intellectual and even moral background. With such men at the helm of affairs, and with that broken reed of the administrative machinery, India started on its work of reconstruction on the debris of the ravages of two hundred years of foreign rule and for the solution of the accumulated complexes of its manifold repressed problems. The continuously growing prices of necessary commodities, the problems of the homeless masses of uprooted humanity—uprooted through no fault of theirs and in spite of their varied contribution to the success of the national struggle of India—finding no solution, the disjointed parts of what is fast deteriorating into a ramshackle organisation, though still called a State, all betray an inner rot which is unmistakably there. That rot, if not stopped or stopped immediately, will definitely lead to chaos. The inefficient, even if not corrupt, officials, the contractors, the immoral and "all rights reserved" patriots who on the claim of past sacrifices, which in most cases had been non-existent, dominate and interfere and corrupt every aspect of administration and legislation. They are leading the country to chaos paving the way for that arch-brigandage commonly known as "communism" in India. This can only be prevented—if preventible it still is—by a thorough re-organisation of the Public Services by a complete remodelling of the Administrative machinery, by a synoptic synthesis of the needs of the social

organism, and of the remedies, by thoroughly constituted Public Services Commissions in most cases now filled with proteges either of parties or of individuals for the time being in power. The recruitment, training, control and discipline must be arranged for with scrupulous care by competent Civil Service Commissioners. Public opinion, educated and alert, can ensure this. In a similar situation in England in the middle of the 19th century the then Secretary of the Treasury Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote in 1849 :

"The dregs of all other professions are attracted towards the Public Services as a secure asylum—the prizes of the profession have long been habitually taken from those to whom they properly belong. We are involved in a vicious circle. The permanent Civil Servants are habitually superseded because they are inefficient, and they are inefficient because they are habitually superseded."

Nothing impairs the morale of the Public Services more effectively than nepotism, even if exercised through camouflaged Public Services Commissions. Very few Ministers in India can be found to be free from a strong desire to put in a relative, a friend or a protege at the cost of others more competent and with juster claims. For Bengal one may say that the back of the Public Services has been broken and recent selections and appointments for the Indian Administrative Services have not raised the stock of the Federal Public Services Commission or its erst-while reputed Chairman any more than that of the persons that hold power. Discontent is deep and widespread and the sapping of the morale is definite and unequivocal. For power-starved and responsibility-starved people this misuse of power by persons unaccustomed to responsibilities is psychologically explicable though wholly bad for the social organism as a whole. An inefficient Public Servant is a liability and not a source of strength for the State. Not only is all expenditure wasted on him but he is a blight on the sphere where he functions. An incompetent Public Service Commission hurts the Public Services for at least thirty years. Not unoften a bad official initiates precedents and creates bad traditions which are costlier to undo. The public money spent through an ineffective and incompetent, even if honest, administration is jeopardised. If the staff is dishonest, harm and loss are multiplied. Money spent on "Grow more food" campaign is a case in point. The campaign was there but food did not grow and the money was lost. So the amount spent on many of the rehabilitation schemes will, on scrutiny, be found to have been almost completely lost. The tendency of inexperienced men in place of authority almost always is to multiply officers. The medical men know that in the evolution of the art of healing the mediaeval doctors knew only one main remedy—application of leeches—the number to be applied increased in the direct ratio to the growing gravity of the disease with the consequential decline of the vitality of the unfortunate patients. In an administration by the inexperienced the remedy is almost always the same.

West Bengal to-day is a province hardly of two Divi-

sional Commissioners. There are still men alive who had been parts of administration of Bengal of 1905, the ill-fated year, when Lord Curzon started his jazz dance drowning the voice of the people which was "vox Dei" but which he treated with contempt as "vox non-entity." He danced with all vigour. He intended to break Bengal and to break India. He broke the British Empire. The administration was shattered to pieces. The necessarily inexperienced Indian successors have accentuated the situation. What was one unit of administration of Bengal in 1905 with one Lieutenant Governor and three Secretaries and a Chief Secretary, is now three units of Indian Administration and one unit of Pakistan. They are all burdens on Indian tax-payers irrespective of Province. Each Unit of Administration has a full regalia of Governor, full paraphernalia of Chief Secretary, Secretary, Joint Secretary, Additional Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Assistant Secretary with many species under the same genus and "Generals" (Inspector and Director) and so forth. The foreign State of Pakistan to the East has yielded many baffling problems. All costs are on Indian tax-payers, all profits for the handfuls of Brown substitutes for White.

The two Commissioners' Divisions now constituting the Province of West Bengal represent a fraction of the one Province of Bengal till 1905 and of Subah "Bengal, Bihar and Orissa" before the Battle of Plassey. Yet it has several times the complete set of officials who administered the old Province of Bengal above described. Each Department has grown. A look at the Civil List compared and checked up with the lists say in 1905 and 1946 will show the gigantic expansions. But if Public Servants and Public Services are meant for the people and not the people for the Services one may take a trip to an interior village, scan and analyse the services received by the village people. He will discover that things in every aspect have remained where they were say fifty years ago and that since the last war and specially since Independence the administration has deteriorated. The prices have soared higher, supply of essential commodities (paddy, cloth, sugar, oil to mention only a few) has been getting scarce. This is just the reverse of what is happening in England, America and other countries. This at least proves that there is something intrinsically rotten in the Administration in the country. Integration of States into Indian Dominion, good as it is, is not sufficient compensation. Each Department can be taken up to demonstrate how officials multiplied but real work done declined. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa as one Unit had one Chief Engineer for Roads, Buildings and Irrigation. The two Divisional Commissioners' Province of West Bengal has one Chief Engineer for Irrigation (on Rs. 3,000), one for Roads and Buildings (on Rs. 3,000), one Additional Chief Engineer, a fourth Chief Engineer for Town Planning, and either to advise them or the Ministers (one is familiar with private tutors to backward boys but not exactly this type of functionaries) there is an Adviser of the rank of a Chief Engineer. These are all in addition naturally to the

Superintending Engineers, Executive Engineers, Assistant Executive Engineers. These are again quite independent of the Damodar Valley Corporation Staff and also independent of the Special Staff of one Chief, a Superintending Engineer with an Executive Engineer as Personal Assistant, five Executive Engineers, twenty Assistant Engineers and then Apprentice Engineers or so forth for Refugee Rehabilitation. In a one-party Government without opposition, even well-intentioned criticism is resented.

A crisis incomparably less in magnitude came to Britain in the middle of the 19th century. But public men such as Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Professor Benjamin Jowitt and others came out determined to lead the Public Services "from patronage to proficiency" undaunted by the varying attitudes of Prime Ministers. The reformers practically got a complete victory when Mr. Gladstone came to power as the Prime Minister. An argus-eyed public and an educated public opinion have since then kept a constant watch on their services. The immediate and thorough public enquiry held recently in Belchers case will bear this out. In India or in Bengal such public men determined to espouse a public cause are yet to come. Ministers and Prime Ministers, Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of Universities, responsive to challenges of ethics, morality or to a demand of a sense of public responsibilities are hardly in sight. The types of public men now about here largely will disgrace any country, in India at this crisis they are number one public dangers in the majority of cases. The crisis is deep. But even attempts at the solution of the crisis are not in sight—not even men and women whom people can trust on the strength of their past conduct are in view, at least not in Bengal, to set the right standard or to try for solution of the country's manifold problems at this crisis. The only hope—a very faint hope—is in the youths. These youths in the past were ruthlessly exploited. Their whole idealism was used, sucked dry and then down and out, broken and tarnished they were thrown on the streets to revel in acts of indiscipline and disruption. Can they forget the past, outgrow its effects, analyse the present, and then with hope, integrated thought, and courage work for the future, for the consummation of their dream of a free, contented, happy, strong, glorious India?

If they can, then, in spite of the gloom, light will re-appear. If they cannot, everything will be lost. This is as certain as death. History will record that national idealism once won India's freedom but the greed, the avarice, the narrow-minded egoism that succeeded lost it. In every Province a group should come out, organise and carry on a crusade "against corruption, nepotism, inefficiency" and build for integration. It should seek out every case of corruption, every instance of nepotism, draw up a list of individuals suspected and the specific instances for suspicion. The group will demand an enquiry, impartial and thorough, held in camera, if desired, and demand a decision on each and every one of these cases. If the suspicion be justified to any reasonable

extent the demand will be for removal of such persons from every Public Office, honorary or paid, defranchise them as unworthy citizens of India, and force them to be liable to forfeiture of all or such properties as the Tribunal may decide. Great will be the opposition of vested interests. The higher the position the greater will be the offices of friends and relatives in power to frustrate all attempts at a correct and honest decision. Instances can be cited to prove this. Action is being taken in Bengal now to realise the Income Tax dues of the sum of forty-nine lakhs, but the action taken was long after Janab H. S. Surhawardy gave up his Indian citizen-ship for Pakistan citizenship and that also after Independence. Various questions arise. How could a Chief Minister make an income liable to a tax of 49 lakhs as alleged when neither Janab Saheb's family were multimillionaires nor Janab Saheb was known to have inherited any great legacy from his father and the period during which he was out of Government was so short. The second set of questions must be when was the assessment made and when action at realisation was initiated and why action was deferred till Janab Saheb had the pleasure or the leisure to remove himself and his properties to Pakistan renouncing his Indian citizenship? Other instances of accumulation of lakhs made by persons "who sacrificed themselves for the cause of the country" and are "duly clad in Gandhi Cap and Khaddar" moving about with Gandhiji-like hold on unfashionable sticks can be cited. The group could insist upon a definite and reliable enquiry into the sources of this wealth and enquire if capital levy in such cases at least would not be a justifiable demand of a country of starving millions. The Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces should be called upon to initiate an enquiry by a Tribunal of trust and publish the result—apologies should be tendered for justifiable but mistaken suspicion proved on enquiry. A thoroughly competent Public Service Commission, a relentless enquiry into each case of suspected nepotism or favouritism, a thorough re-shaping of the machinery of administration, competent to tackle national problems specially concerning the distress of the mass, and a ruthless system of weeding out the incompetent, the inefficient and a complete system of training the public servants and citizens are the minimum that must be insisted on after the declaration of the Republic. A thorough system of training of all officers should be started as there is a marked tendency towards complete breakdown. Changes in personnel, influx of many new recruits from war services with attitudes unsuited for Civil work and elsewhere with criminal ignorance of law and procedure have smashed up traditions. The author's *Administrative Problems of India: Corruption and its Remedies* at pages 93-102 discusses the points in some aspects in detail. The platitudinous and ethical sermons inflicted by the high and lucky dignitaries are good. But cloth, food, freedom from disease, shelter, social tranquillity and moderate security are the minimum conditions, at least for a spiritual growth.

"The frog below the harrow knows,
The place to which each tooth-point goes,
The butterfly on the road,
Preaches contentment to the toad."

So sang the English Poet. It reflects the position in India, in Bengal, and possibly in each Province to-day. Every constitutional means must be resorted to for bringing about a change in the platonically complacent attitude of to-day. The responsibility for the change is

with the people, with every son and daughter of India who wants to serve, and not be political adventurers for personal ends, and in the words of John Stuart Mill, "to weed out the ill and develop the good that is in the social organism;" to construct and not wantonly to destroy. All respects to those who are building against odds but it is clear more are corrupting, destroying and hurting the National Life. I repeat the crisis is deep. The need is great.

—O:—

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By PROF. CHATURBHUI MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

NEARLY three-fourths of the people of India are directly engaged or dependent on agriculture and pastoral pursuits for their livelihood, as would be clear from the table given below, whereas in the Western countries the majority of the population depend on industries and other crafts for their maintenance:

Distribution of population according to occupation'

Country	Agricultural and pastoral per cent	Industries per cent	Trade and transport per cent
India	67.0 ✓	9.2	6.9
U. K.	11.6 ✓	56.8 ✓	13.4
France	40.7 ✓	35.2	9.9
Germany	29.9 ✓	42.2 ✓	13.4
U. S. A.	26.7 ✓	36.6 ✓	17.6
Italy	48.0 ✓	27.0	12.5

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE IN INDIAN ECONOMY

Generally speaking over seventy per cent of the entire population is shut up in the rural framework of economic and agricultural relations. Thus in Assam, tea happens to be the most important industry and agriculture absorbs 89 per cent of the population.¹ Similarly in Bengal agriculture happens to be the principal industry.² Even in Bombay, which is more industrialised than any other part of India, "agriculture supports 64 per cent of the population."³ Madras is maintaining about 68 per cent of the population in agriculture.⁴ In N.-W. F. Province, the population derives its subsistence almost wholly from agriculture. The province is practically without manufactures.⁵ Orissa is agriculturally and industrially a backward region.⁶ In the East Punjab agriculture is the staple industry of the province affording the main means of subsistence to 65.5 per cent of her population.⁷ In the United Provinces, the chief industry is

agriculture, which is the principal source of livelihood of a little over 70 per cent of the population and a subsidiary source of income to a further 8 per cent.⁸

On an all-India basis it can be said that nearly 30 crores of the population is dependent on agriculture,⁹ no country in the world could beat her in number in this respect.

[The importance of Indian agriculture arises not merely from the fact that it furnishes the means of the subsistence of one-eighth of the human race but also because of the fact that it provides raw materials for India's as well as the world's industries.]

PLACE OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN THE WORLD

India is one of the foremost agricultural countries of today and it is not at all unlikely that it will in near future occupy the first rank. An example of what may happen is ready at hand. As recently as 1929, India in the matter of sugar was a country dependent on foreign supplies for its demand and it imported as much as a million tons of sugar from abroad, particularly from Java, Mauritius and the West Indies, for home consumption. But today (and this position was reached a few years back) it not only produces all the sugar requirements but has an exportable surplus and thus India has virtually been self-sufficient in the matter of sugar requirements.

India is the largest cane-sugar producing country in the world. What is true of sugar is also true of other important commodities. India shares with China the primacy for the production of rice. In cotton, she ranks next to U.S.A. She leads in the production of groundnuts and ranks only to Argentina in linseed. In lac, she possesses almost a monopoly. In respect of millets India ranks with China and Africa as one of the three main producing countries. As regards tea she is one of the largest exporters to U.K. ranking next to China as the world's biggest tea producers. India holds the world's monopoly for her cattle population, the U.S.A. coming second at a great distance.

1. M. Visvesvaraya : *Prosperity Through Industry*, p. 70.

2. *Indian Year Book*, 1945-46. p. 77.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

9. *Indian Year Book*.

10. *Ibid.*

Handwritten signature: S. A. M. and some scribbles.

"Thus it is that India feeds and to some extent clothes her population from what two-third of an acre per head can produce. There is probably no other country in the world where the land is required to do so much."¹¹

PRESENT POSITION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

Specially in a country like India where every three out of four persons depend on agriculture, the overwhelming importance of agriculture in national economy of the country cannot be over-emphasized. But it is a pity that in spite of its preponderating importance to our national economy agriculture is a depressed industry. "In India, we have our depressed classes, we have too our depressed industries, and agriculture unfortunately is one of them."¹² (This is proved by the fact that the yields per acre of crops is comparatively low, which is barely one-third or one-fourth of the yield of other countries and this too is reduced to nothing in periods of drought.¹³

(The average yield per acre in India is one-third of that in Egypt and one-fifth of that in Holland and Denmark in respect of wheat; nearly one-fourth of that in Italy in respect of rice, one-third of that in Switzerland and New Zealand in respect of maize; less than one-third of that in Cuba, one-fourth of Java and one-seventh of Hawaii in respect of sugarcane and less than one-fifth of that in Egypt in respect of cotton.¹⁴)

The economic loss on account of this low yield in respect of wheat alone is explained well by Sir Macdougall :

"If the output per acre in terms of wheat were raised to that of France, the wealth of the country would be raised by £5,659,000,000 a year. If the output were in terms of English production, it would be raised by £1,000,000,000. In the terms of Danish wheat production the increased wealth to India would be £1,500,000,000 per year."¹⁵

(Thus it will be acknowledged on all hands that Indian agriculture judged by the "test of quantitative production has remained backward and unprogressive, that it fails to obtain the yields of which the country is capable, and that there is a vast field for improvement in the efficiency of methods. Agriculture in India

is only 86 per cent as efficient as the average production in the important countries of the world, but compared with most of the European countries it would be scarcely more than 50 per cent as efficient."¹⁶

The yields of crops in India are not only low but they show a wide variation from province to province as would be clear from the following table :¹⁷

Estimates of yield in lbs. per acre for some crops

Province	Rice	Wheat	Sugarcane	Cotton
Bengal	652	451	3,600	142
Bihar	519	828	2,280	80
Bombay	912	385	5,782	80
C. P. and Berar	419	397	3,384	101
Coorg	1,622	...	...	...
Madras	1,074	...	6,706	88
Orissa	605	728	4,352	50
Punjab	709	757	1,918	182
Average for India	684	685	2,767	113

LOW YIELD AND ITS CAUSES

1. (Natural Calamities : Indian agriculture is subject to a large number of calamities like floods, shortage of rains, etc.) The cultivator mainly depends on the monsoon which has all the proverbial caprice of the Eastern potentate so that when the monsoon fails there is a deadlock in the agricultural industry. This may mean anything from ordinary scarcity to actual famine. It has been found out that in a cycle of five years one year is good, one bad and three indifferent, i.e., neither good nor bad so that the harvests are damaged and often show poor results and therefore due to constant variation in the yield of the land the agriculturists are forced to borrow. Even in areas where canal irrigation as well as tubewell irrigation has developed highly, such as the Upper Ganges Jumna Doab—a deficiency of rainfall does not register its effects less violently on the net cropped area although water supply lends to a greater security of the outturn of the crops.¹⁸ (Thus the lack of adequate water supply leads to famine conditions destroying the crops resulting in low yields and the consequent food shortage in the country.)

2. Preparatory Tillage Defective : (The preparatory tillage is very defective in our country. It is a general tendency among the farmers not to properly clean the fields of the deep-rooted grasses and weeds. The tillage is shallow, perfunctory and negligently done, which adversely affects the quality and quantity of the produce raised.) Insufficient tillage cannot be attributed either to lack of knowledge or want of equipment, for it must be admitted that there are comparatively few cases where a resolute man could not clean his land with a pick-axe in the course of a few years and keep it clean by the exercise of

11. T. Holderness : *Peoples and Problems of India*, p. 139.

12. View of Dr. Clouston, one time Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India.

13. Yield in lbs. per acre is as follows :

Country	Wheat	Rice	Maize	Sugarcane	Cotton	Tobacco
Egypt	1,108	2,998	1,891	70,302	535	2,127
Germany	2,017	....	2,827	....	....	1,139
Italy	1,383	4,568	2,079	....	170	1,665
Japan	1,713	3,444	1,392	47,534	196	882
U. S. A.	812	2,185	1,579	43,270	268	....
Java	....	....	....	113,570	....	1,288
China	989	2,433	1,284	....	204	987
India	660	1,240	803	34,944	89	....

Quoted by M. B. Nanavati and J. J. Anjaria in *Indian Rural Problem*, p. 23.

14. Vide, Nanavati and Anjaria, p. 23.

15. *Central Banking Enquiry Committee's Report*, p. 701.

16. Rajanikanta Das : *Industrial Efficiency of India* (1930), p. 29.

17. Estimates of Area and Yields of Principal Crops in India, 1940-41.

18. Baljit Singh : *The Land of the Two Rivers* (1940).

a little care. (If the farmer makes full use of the knowledge of agricultural methods he possesses and his implements he can have much better tillage and yield.)

3. *The Primitive Cultivation of Land*: The methods of cultivation in India have not altered for centuries. We find the same methods of sowing seeds, ploughing land and reaping harvest as were prevalent in the days of Manu. The agricultural implements, the plough and the spade, are the same as of old; Indian agriculture seems to wend its way unaffected by discoveries of modern science. The methods of cultivation in India are primitive and insufficient because of faulty organisation, lack of capital and poverty and ignorance of the peasants. The implements used are no doubt cheap but inefficient.

Judged by whatever standard Indian agriculture is in a bad way. As the Royal Commission on Agriculture have summed up so well:

"To a very great extent the Indian cultivator labours not for profit nor for a net return but for subsistence. The crowding of the people on the land, the lack of alternative means of securing a living, the difficulty of finding any avenue of escape and the early age at which a man is burdened with the dependents, combine to force the cultivator to grow food wherever he can and on whatever terms he can."¹⁹

The farmer by using the old type of wooden plough and light appliances works on the field. The plough that looks like a half-open pen-knife and just scratches the soil, the hand sickle made more for a child than a man, the old-fashioned winnowing tray that sets the wind in motion to sift the grain from the chaff and the rude chopper with its waste of fodder, are undisplaced from their primitive but immemorial functions.

(Hoes, drills, harrows, reapers, fodder-cutters and winnowing machines are all there waiting to be sold but those who buy are only a handful,²⁰ because of the low purchasing power of the agriculturists.)

The plough used is unsuitable for deep ploughing. Besides, this plough makes V-shaped furrows and consequently leaves ridges of unploughed land between them. It fails to eradicate weeds because it does not possess cutting parts. But there are certain areas where deep ploughing is not needed and the primitive wooden plough suits the requirements of agriculturists better as they are cheap, but as regards efficiency the man who ploughs his field with a log of wood and two weak bullocks finds himself, when compared with the man who uses the implements and teams common in Western countries, at as great a disadvantage as the pedestrian compared to the man on a bicycle. The chief point in favour of the indigenous implements in the words of Royal Commission on Agriculture is that

"They are well-adapted to local conditions; they are within the reach of an ordinary cultivator; they are within the capacity of the draught oxen; comparatively inexpensive, light and portable, easily made and repaired and are constructed out of the materials which are readily obtained."

(In spite of these advantages, there is a great scope for their improvement in the light of modern knowledge of soil conditions. Better agricultural equipment and management and more intensive farming will secure substantial economy in the cost of production, improve quality and quantity of produce and raise farm incomes to a great extent.)

4. *Poor Quality of Live Stock*: In view of the great importance of cattle to Indian agriculture their present position is deplorable. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Promiscuous mating, improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people are some of the atrocities which are responsible for the degeneration. A large portion of the cattle in this country depend entirely on grazing for their food and nourishment and such grazing is of value for about 5 months in the year. The raising of the live stock of India at present cannot compete with agricultural occupation, hence, cattle-breeding is relegated to those parts in which no crops can be grown.²¹

(With the increasing popularity of the cultivation of food and commercial crops, the majority of the farmers have come to regard animal husbandry as an accident of agriculture, rather than as an integral part of it. The extension of cultivation has reduced the amount of grazing land available and the majority of the Indian cattle are small, ill-fed and inefficient and thus has adversely affected the technique of Indian agriculture. The ill-nourished cattle are a drain on country's resources as they cannot drag the heavy plough nor can work efficiently as draught animals.)

5. *Lack of Adequate Supply of Good Seeds*: The lack of an adequate supply of seeds of good quality is another factor responsible for inferiority of our yields. It often happens that the poor cultivator has to borrow seeds from the village moneylender. The quality of seeds borrowed is generally of poor type inasmuch as his seeds are a mixture of the produce received from many cultivators to whom he had advanced seeds in the preceding year. Besides, borrowing from the moneylender at times causes delay in sowing. These defects cause deterioration in both the quality and quantity of seeds. The new varieties have not been in general use. Though the improved varieties are superior in yield, quality or suitability to special conditions of the environment, yet their cultivation has been confined to some 20 million acres distributed as follows:²²

19. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 433.

20. M. Darling: *Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 157.

21. *Indian Year Book*, 1941-42, p. 331.

22. Vide, Sir John Russell, p. 47.

Acreeage in million acres

	Total	Under improved variety	Percentage
Jowar	4.00	3.22	80.0
Sugarcane	2.18	1.12	50.0
Wheat	33.61	6.96	20.6
Cotton	26.00	5.04	19.2
Rice	83.43	3.58	4.3
Groundnuts	5.86	0.22	3.4
Millets	38.69	0.34	....
Gram	16.90	0.33	....

Perhaps the main difficulty in the popularization of the improved varieties has been the defective system of seed distribution and the absence of a proper organisation for the multiplication and trade in the improved varieties of crops.

6. *Diseases of Plants and Insects, Pests, etc.*

Diseases among crops, such as foot-rot and blast in the case of paddy, mosaic and red rot in sugarcane, smut in maize and wilt in groundnuts, wheat, etc., cause great loss to the farmers by way of reducing the yield of crops. These are caused by fungipests which eat up all the nourishment that the crop draws for itself from the earth and thus prevent its healthy growth. Insects like the locust, the caterpillar, the rice grass-hopper, the army worm, the paddy stem-borer, the rice hispa, the rice bug and the gall-fly which attack rice, are responsible in varying degrees for the low yield of rice. It has been estimated that insects consume 10 per cent of the world's crop and probably 20 per cent of the crops grown in the tropics. In India alone losses from insect pests on crops and forest trees were calculated at £136,000,000 in 1921.²²

Wild animals and vermins also cause considerable damage to crops. The extent of damage varies from place to place, e.g., the Royal Commission has estimated that the direct loss to the province of Bombay is Rs. 70 lakhs annually, while it is "probably as great in U. P. and even greater in C.P."²³ Wild pigs, jackals and black bucks and monkeys are an unmitigated nuisance in certain parts, especially in tracts adjacent to the forests.

7. *Soil Exhaustion and Lack of Proper Manuring*: Indian soils have deteriorated in fertility because of constant cropping year after year without proper manuring. The best indication that a soil is exhausted if its fertility can be obtained from the poor growth and less out-turn. Where the fertility is thus recorded one may be sure that either the nitrogenous or the phosphatic fertilizer is required, because the potash salts are generally found sufficient in our cultivated fields.²⁴ In fact, it must be realised that what is taken off the land in crops must in some way be put back into the soil or else the soil will suffer from exhaustion.

Further, the production of heavier crops means that more manure must be applied to land. Of course, manure requirements differ according to the quality of the soil, the nature of crops grown, and the quantum of rainfall, but there is a certain minimum need which is to be adequately and efficiently catered for.

Farmers in India do not apply adequate manures to their fields. Much of the farmyard manure available is burnt as fuel whilst a large quantity of combined nitrogen is exported in the form of oilseeds, food and other grains and animal products such as hides and bones. Due to lack of fuel supplies our farmers are obliged to use cowdung as fuel causing a great agricultural loss which as emphasized by Dr. Voelcker amounts to a waste of 29.25 lbs. out of 30 lbs. of nitrogen in every ton of farmyard manure.²⁵ Besides the cowdung, even the rest of the cattle-dung is not properly kept and utilised, as the dung is thrown in the open on the outskirts of the village and collected at the end of the year during the manuring season. Thus most of the valuable gases are lost and its manuring value is reduced. Even where pits are dug for storing cattle-dung they do not have sufficient breadth and depth so that they are soon filled up and the dung lying at the mouth of the open pit is scattered by the passing cattle and loses its manurial value. Cattle urine is not utilised to the fullest extent. Except for the little urine which inevitably gets mixed up with dung, no effort is made to collect it. Further the use of night soil is neglected due to social prejudices and religious susceptibilities and conservatism. Similarly, the use of bones, bone-meal and fish has been very scanty mainly due to prejudice, ignorance and lack of facilities. Green manuring is also scarcely practised by our cultivators. Artificial nitrogenous fertilisers have been used only to a limited extent due to the high price at which they are sold, the inadequacy of water supply and the ignorance of the cultivator. Little is known as to the most suitable time of application of the fertiliser as the time of planting appears to be best except for sugarcane for which two instalments are given. Little information is available about the proportions of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium required for different soils and crops or the proportions in which organic manure should be used.²⁶

"The fertility of the agricultural land is deteriorating steadily on account of absence of manure. The yields in different regions have become less and less."²⁷

Variations in yield in different regions are due to most of the areas being under cultivation in India for hundreds of years.²⁸ In this connection, deficiency

22. R. Mukerjee : *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

24. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*.

25. S. K. Mitra : *Elementary Agriculture*, p. 164.

26. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Whither Agriculture in India*, p. 51.

27. Vide, Sir John Russell, p. 58.

28. Rajani Palme Dutt : *India Today*, pp. 180-81.

29. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 76.

of combined nitrogen is the limiting factor throughout the greater part of India. The soil of India is not poor but has become poor. It has been suggested that the humus called the "Reserve Bank of the soil" is getting depleted in our country. According to one authority, the deterioration of land has already proceeded so far that it cannot be checked and that the tracts are doomed to revert gradually to swamps and jungles.³⁰ The agricultural shrinkage in Central and Western Bengal has been unprecedented in its magnitude and rapidity. About half the cultivated area has ceased to be ploughed in Burdwan and Hooghly and still the area is shrinking.³¹ Similarly in the Punjab a considerable amount of land has gone out of cultivation and a great deal more is going out of cultivation on account of *Kalar*.³² Again, in C. P., the soils have now reached a stationary state of fertility at a low yield level as a result of cultivation of many centuries without adequate returns of organic matter and phosphate and due to the lack of proper soil management in certain important directions. All these instances have made it clear that with the deterioration of the soil the variation in the yield per acre of some crops is the result.³³

✓8. *Subdivision and Fragmentation of Holdings*: Land in India is subjected to a continuous series of economic earthquakes due to subdivisions.³⁴ How appallingly small the agricultural holdings in India are can be seen clearly only when we compare the average size of holdings in foreign countries. Even in China where agricultural holdings are notoriously small the average holdings seem to be larger than in India. The following table gives the average size of the holdings in some important countries of the world and the provinces of India:

WORLD		
Country		Acres
England and Wales		62.0
Denmark		40.0
Germany		21.5
France		20.25
Belgium		14.5
Holland		26.0
U. S. A.		148.0
Japan		3.0
China		3.25

30. R. K. Mukerjee : *India Analysed*, Vol. III, p. 196.

31. *Ibid*, p. 197.

32. Dr. Lander : *Proceedings of Second Meeting of the Crops and Soils Wing of the Board of Agriculture*, p. 43.

33. Growth in Acreage and Yield in (000's) :

Crops	1913-14		X		1927-28	
	Acreage	Yield	Acreage	Yield	Acreage	Yield
Rice (lbs.)	60,450	23,926	65,790	23,290	73,199	25,364
Wheat (lbs.)	27,697	8,427	32,216	7,736	34,014	10,752
Rape & Mustard	5,941	1,043	5,930	848	6,113	1,120
Groundnut	1,422	644	4,812	2,512	8,198	3,148
Cotton	24,037	55,151	24,425	21,351	21,352	4,909

(Compiled from Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India).

34. Knowles : *Economic Development of Overseas Empire*.

INDIA	
Province	The number of cultivated acres per cultivator
United Provinces	2.5
Bihar and Orissa	3.1
Madras	4.9
Punjab	9.2
Bombay	12.2
Bengal	3.1
Central Provinces	8.5
Assam	3.0

The above average does not give a correct picture of the situation as they include holdings of very different sizes. The following statistics will indicate more clearly the large percentage of very small and uneconomic holdings. In the *Agricultural Journal of India* for 1926 the size of holdings in British India has been shown as follows :

One acre or less—23 per cent
1 to 5 acres—23 per cent
5 to 10 acres—20 per cent
Over 10 acres—24 per cent

In the words of Messrs. Jathar and Beri :

"Increase in population, lack of corresponding increase in industry, the dissolution of joint family and the growth of individualistic spirit—all the dissolution assisted by laws of inheritance and succession must be regarded as the main causes of excessive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings in India."

There is no doubt that fractionalisation of holdings is a recent phenomenon. In pre-British days population pressure was less heavy while the cultivation unit was the joint family estate and partition was uncommon. . . In densely populated areas as the Ganga-Ghargara Doab, the eastern districts of U.P., South Bihar, the Padma, Jamuna, Cavary and Godavary Deltas, fractionalisation of holdings has gone to a grotesque length. What is true of the United Provinces is also true of considerable parts of Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Madras.³⁵

Small and fragmented holdings involve waste of land in the form of boundaries, etc. They are unsuitable for the use of improved and costly appliances and a large initial outlay on buildings, etc., and they involve much loss of time in moving from one plot to another at the time of sowing, watering, weeding and harvesting. Proper protection by fencing and diversion of personal supervision is rendered difficult. Even the manure also cannot be fully utilized. All these factors reduce the average yield besides restricting the growing of fodder crops in the period when cattle are usually sent out to graze in the field.³⁶ Besides rendering agriculture inefficient and uneconomic the tiny holdings make it impossible for a peasant even to keep cattle in adequate numbers.

35. R. Mukerjee : *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

36. *Commerce*, 18th December, 1943.

The small and fragmented holdings yield a very insignificant income to the cultivator even in the best of years, which makes it impossible for the agriculturist to live within his slender income without getting into debt unless he is very industrious or has some other source of income.

9. *Deficit Economy*: Cultivation in India suffers from a deficit economy in the sense that it fails to remunerate fully the persons engaged in it. The net income of the cultivators is so small that it is impossible for him to have most things necessary for efficiency. According to Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, the average income of an agriculturist in India is not higher than Rs. 42 or a little over £3 a year. It was Rs. 51 in 1931-32; Rs. 47 in 1938-39 and Rs. 91 in 1942-43. When we compare this with the per capita income of £95 in Great Britain the contrast is startling.³⁷

Not only this, the net output per acre is very low, e.g., the average net income per acre varies from Re. 1-1 on holdings below 3 acres to Rs. 8-10 on holdings over 20 acres in U.P., the average of all sizes of holdings being Rs. 2-15.³⁸ According to the firm accounts published by the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, the net income per acre was Rs. 10.45 in the canal colonies and Rs. 2-9 on the unirrigated areas in 1938-39.

As against this, the net output per acre in 1937 in Europe ranged from £12 to 15 in Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland, £9 to 12 in Denmark and £6 to 9 in Germany, France and U. K. The lowest was obtained in Rumania, Albania and Yugoslavia, but even there it was a little less than £3 or Rs. 40.³⁹

10. *Over-crowding of People on Farm Land*: Another important feature of Indian agriculture is that our land supports a greater number of people per 100 acres than the land in other countries. The following table shows the volume of population that each acre of our land resources has to support:

Country	Agrarian population per 100 acres of farm land
Poland	31
Czechoslovakia	24
Hungary	24
Rumania	30
Yugoslavia	42
Bulgaria	33
Greece	43
India	148
U. K.	6

Thus it will be clear that Indian land supports a population of 148 per 100 acres which is in a way over-crowded. For over-population reduces the standard of living and cash resources of the individual peasant.)

Therefore, no agricultural development which need capital can be carried out, the yield per acre declines, and the competition of overseas agricultural exporting countries, with technical aids at their disposal, reduces the possibilities of export at the time of the fall of world prices. This in turn lowers the income per head of the rural population, and reduces the internal market. Still less money is available for improvement or for educating the farming population in new directions.⁴⁰

11. *Lack of Subsidiary Industries*: Another striking fact about agriculture in India is that there is a huge army of landless rural labourers who hardly make a living by working in the fields for only a part of the year and who have to spend at least three to four months in enforced idleness because there is no work for them either in the fields or in alternative vocations in the village. During crop failure the situation becomes worst, for then the demand for hired agricultural labour goes down and field work is reduced and the landless labourer has to face complete starvation.

It is interesting to note what authorities have said in this respect. According to Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, the peasant in Northern India outside the more intensively cultivated areas, is occupied for not more than 200 days. Dr. Slater has computed taking South India as a whole that the cultivator is occupied only for 5/12 of his possible working time. According to Jack, the cultivator in Bengal when he does not grow jute remains idle for nine months and if he grows both jute and rice he has an additional six weeks' work in July and August. Again, according to Keatings, there are only 180 to 190 working days in Bombay, Deccan, whereas according to Dr. Calvert the working days of an average cultivator in the Punjab do not constitute more than about 150 days' labour. The Royal Commission on Agriculture estimated that there is no work for 2 to 4 months and the U. P. Banking Enquiry Committee estimated that the cultivator is engaged for not more than 200 days. (Most of their spare time is spent in idle gossip, litigation, marriage, music and festivals.)

12. *Defective Organisation in Cultivation and Marketing*: Agriculture in India is largely carried on the basis of subsistence farming with a little surplus for the market. Cotton, jute, and sugarcane are the only crops other than grains and oilseeds of any importance to the average cultivator in India. This is regrettable because staple farming is utterly unsuitable for crowded regions as it gives far lower returns than specialized or mixed farming.⁴¹ But it is

37. Majority Report, p. 57.

38. R. K. Mukerjee: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 112.

39. Yates and Warriner: *Food and Farming in Post-War Europe*, p. 39.

40. J. E. Russell: *Agrarian Problems from Baltic to Aegean*.

41. It has been estimated that on average holdings of less than 2 acres in a village near Benares, the profits were Rs. 175 per bigha for a lemon orchard, Rs. 80 per bigha for a field of roses or potatoes, Rs. 60 per bigha for a field of brinjals or of falsa but only Rs. 12 per bigha for wheat.—Report of the U. P. Banking Enquiry Committee, Vol. I.

hoped that with development in irrigation and transportation facilities special types of farming will be rapidly increased. The ryot produces food crops primarily for his own and his family's consumption. In brief, more than three-fourths of our tea, coffee and rubber production, nearly two-thirds of our cotton, one-third of jute, half of linseed, and one-fifth of groundnuts are normally absorbed in the foreign markets. Only the surplus above his own consumption is available for sale. The ryot sells this surplus to pay off his dues to the landlord, moneylender, etc. It is this surplus which is available for feeding the dwellers of the towns and cities.

Agriculture in India is in the hands of millions of small men, who have neither any education to grasp—or inclination to grasp—a modicum of new technique nor sufficient means at their command to carry on production with proficiency. He is too ill-equipped and too poor to be an organizer of a progressive industry. He has been burdened with too many middlemen⁴² who are well-acquainted with market conditions, better furnished with finances and have a better sense of understanding than the average cultivator. The result is the loss in income to the cultivators. (It has been estimated that in marketing the produce the cultivator gets somewhere between 42.3 to 73.7 per cent of the consumers' price and from 26.3 to 57.7 per cent goes to the middlemen.)

The farmer owing to his poverty and to the extreme subdivision of the land is often a producer on so small a scale that it is practically impossible for him to take his crops to larger markets where he can sell at current market-rates to the agents of the bigger firms. This is specially the case in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and U. P. The vicious circle of middlemen is so large that in Bengal primary markets between the cultivator of jute and the shipper many middlemen intervene. An example will suffice to show how sale is affected in the market. The cultivator disposes of his jute to a *bepari* who has received advance from a *mahajan* or a broker on the understanding that he gets as much as he can for the latter. The *mahajan* in turn sells to a big buyer . . . a baler or another broker by whom the preliminary sorting, grading and bulking are effected.⁴³ Similarly as regards rice, "the paddy is taken over from the cultivator on the threshing floor either by the middlemen acting on behalf of mills, by speculation, or by local traders known as jungle brokers."⁴⁴ Thus the position of a peasant farmer, with grain, seeds or cotton to sell and at the same time indebted to his only possible purchaser, effectually prevents him from obtaining a fair market price for his crops.⁴⁵

The absence of adequate marketing facilities is in a great measure responsible for low agricultural income to the cultivator. The money economy and higher prices ruling in the market tempt the peasant to dispose of all his produce, without any reserve, at a cheaper price and in a restricted market and the poor fellow has to borrow to buy his food in times of need at a very high price.

The untimely revenue demands and constant harassing of the *mahajan* for payment of interest just at the time of harvest when alone the cultivator is in a position to pay, oblige the peasant to add fuel to the fire by bringing his produce for sale to an already glutted or flooded market at the end of the harvest and spell his own disaster.

13. *Indebtedness of the Peasant*: The Indian peasant is heavily indebted to the village *mahajan* who, besides following many malpractices and unjustly magnifying the loan, charges exorbitant rates of interest which increase the original debt many times over. Once he has started borrowing, he becomes a life-long debtor and passes on his debts to his offspring as the Royal Commission on Agriculture has rightly remarked: "He is born in debt; lives in debt and dies in debt, passing it on to others who succeed him." Thus from generation to generation the Indian peasant has been haunted by the nightmare of debts. Dr. Rajani Kanta Das thus enumerates the causes of rural indebtedness:

"First, the inheritance of debt from the ancestors, which like the holding passes from generation to generation; secondly, the exorbitant rate of interest owing to the dearth of money, absence of security on the part of the debtor for repayment, helplessness and ignorance of the cultivator and sometimes even the malpractices on the part of moneylenders; thirdly, the lack of thrift and prudence on the part of the debtor and unproductive borrowing for such purposes as litigation, payment of ancestral debt and marriage, funeral and other social and religious ceremonies like Kathas, Shrads of ancestors, seasonal feasts and caste dinners on auspicious occasions; finally, insufficient income from cultivation owing to several factors, such as the small uneconomic size of the holding, the practice of raising one crop a year and inefficient system of cultivation and the lack of scientific methods in agricultural production."

14. *Human Factor*: Over and above, all peasant farming in India depends for its successful working not only on great prescience, but also on unwearied exercise of prudence, forethought and watchfulness, and the utilisation of the scientific knowledge of the means of production. The value of the human factor is not to be overlooked in taking stock of the agricultural situation, for,

"Communities and nations have remained poor in the midst of rich surroundings, or fallen on decay or poverty in spite of the fertility of their soil and the abundance of their natural resources merely

42. *Indian Industrial Commission Report*, pp. 5-6.

43. C. W. Cotton: *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, p. 146.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

45. *Indian Industrial Commission Report*, p. 5.

because the human factor was of a poor quality or was allowed to deteriorate or run to waste."

Now so far as the human element is concerned, we have already seen that the seasonal variations render agriculture a precarious occupation and the undue dependence of the cultivation on nature has engendered in him a spirit of depression, fatalism, and hopelessness unless he is assisted by external agencies. Within the existing conditions and limitations, the resourcefulness of the Indian cultivators has been testified to by foreign experts. Dr. J. A. Voelcker has rightly remarked in this connection that

"To take the ordinary acts of husbandry, nowhere would one find better instances of keeping land scrupulously clean from weeds, of ingenuity in device of water-raising appliances, of knowledge of soils and their capabilities, as well as the exact time to sow and to reap, as one would in Indian agriculture, and this not at its best alone but at its ordinary level. . . . Certain it is that I, at least, have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation, combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource, than I have seen in many of the halting places in my tour.

"Gripped by a relentless climate, for generations scourged by famine, pestilence, and the war, his wealth at the mercy of every despot's whim, his cattle a prey to disease and drought, his crops periodically devastated by blight and flood, serving, too, not the gentle goddess that Nature is in West but a volcanic force of terrific power and wild caprice, how could the Indian cultivator be anything but a fatalist. In such conditions progress is impossible. Knowledge, skill, energy and capital must appear of little avail when man is infinitely weak and Nature overwhelmingly strong."

The above analysis will make it clear that agriculture in India has been a depressed industry. Here land has certainly been put to more intensive use than abroad, as can be judged by the fact that Japan with less than one-tenth of our rice acreage produces almost half as much rice as we do, that the average yield per acre of wheat in United Kingdom is thrice that of India; that Germany gets more than double our quantity of barley from only two-thirds of our barley acreage, that the out-turn of sugar per acre in Java is about six times that of our country, and that the yield per acre of cotton in our country is about one-eighth of that in Egypt. The deduction is obvious that agriculture has become a deficit occupation in India and the efficiency of land is considerably lower in comparison with foreign countries. The causes of this situation may now be summarised:

1. The subsistence type of farming and the consequent deficit agricultural economy.
2. Defective preparatory tillage.
3. Poor equipment, inadequacy or obsolete nature of tools and inferior livestock.

4. Subdivision and fragmentation of holdings.
5. Soil exhaustion and lack of proper manure whether organic or artificial.
6. Absence of properly organised supplementary or subsidiary industry or occupation to tide over the difficulty caused by seasonal character of agriculture.
7. Lack of adequate credit facilities and the resultant indebtedness of the peasant.
8. A primitive system of marketing the agricultural products.
9. Lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of the illiterate cultivator.
10. Large areas under cultivated wastes and insufficiency, irregularity or uncertain water supply.
11. The nature and weight of the burden of land revenue system prevailing in most parts of the country.

Agriculture in India, as will be evident from the causes mentioned above, offers great scope for development not only in the direction of extending the limits of cultivation to the culturable but hitherto uncultivated lands, but equally great opportunity in raising the pitch of cultivation itself.

There is a great scope for raising agricultural productivity and farm income by combining in the first instance the cultivation of crop with dairying, piggery, poultry farming on the field, and secondly, by growing more of "protective food" and developing our resources of fisheries and livestock.

In 1889, the Government appointed Dr. Voelcker to make enquiries into the conditions of Indian agriculture, and to suggest possible improvements. He submitted his Report in 1893. In his Report he recommended the adoption of certain measures, which may be summarised as follows:⁴⁶

- (a) The spread of general and agricultural education, and the preparation of suitable textbooks in the vernaculars for the purpose;
- (b) the extension of canals and other means of irrigation to tracts where they are required;
- (c) the more energetic working and popularising of the system of *taccavi* advances for well-digging and similar purposes;
- (d) the institution by Agricultural Departments of organised enquiry to ascertain the irrigation requirements of each district;
- (e) the creation of reserves of wood and fodder; the planting of trees along canal banks and railway-lines and the further encouragement of arboriculture;
- (f) the continuation and extension of experimental research aided by chemical science in reference to new crops, methods of cultivation, manures, etc;
- (g) the trial of new implements at Government experimental farms and the distribution of approved implements among the cultivators;
- (h) the distribution of seeds from agricultural farms;
- (i) the location of stud bulls at Government farms and the encouragement of improved breeding of cattle.

In fact, if the financial status of our cultivators is to be improved and if our agriculture is to be placed on a sound footing with a view (1) to make

46. T. N. Carver : *Rural Economics*.

47. Dr. J. A. Voelcker : *Report on Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, p. 10.

48. Dr. Voelcker : *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*.

our country self-sufficient in matters of food requirements, (2) to supply our industries with necessary raw materials, (3) to provide with surplus agricultural crops to encourage our export trade after satisfying home demand, it is extremely necessary that agricultural practices and policies should be reorganised from a different viewpoint than what is being done at present.

Apart from general considerations of economic policy which forms the necessary background for all improvements designed to increase the yield of crops,

Sir Russell has put the main factors that need to be looked into in this connection as follows :⁴⁹

1. Better varieties of crops.
2. Better control of pests and diseases.
3. Better control of water supply for crops.
4. Prevention of soil erosion.
5. Better use of manures and fertilizers.
6. Better tools and implements.
7. Better system of cropping, in particular better rotations and the use of more fodder crops with a view to obtaining farmyard manure.

49. Russell, p. 50.

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GERMANY TODAY AND TOMORROW

By SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

THE future of Germany is the big question mark of modern history. There are indications that German rationalism has stopped hibernating and is in active self-assertion. Stamped by the peculiar political patterns of the occupying powers in the two different sectors, what shape it will take in the final amalgamation is the question. If German rearmament does take place, as it is very likely to, nationalism is sure to make headway. The question is in what form it will emerge out of the boiling cauldron.

The incentive phase of what was to become a full-scale remilitarization began in East Germany sometime ago. The *volkspolizei* was, it was understood, being militarily overhauled for eventual conversion into a *volks* army with a personnel of 360,000 men. By the next spring a full-fledged East German army, Russian-sponsored and Russian-controlled, with each of its six divisions equipped with a sufficient number of tanks, artillery regiment, infantry, engineers and reconnaissance troops, will be brought into being, we are told, to the consternation of the Western Powers. A new *Luftwaffe*, also red, is envisaged too, to impart the last perfecting touch to the emergent red *reichwehr*. This is a development which by its very precipitate swing, not only took the Western Allies by surprise but practically put them off their leg strategically. This also gave them a renewed incentive to reconsider the question of rearming Western Germany even though within the context of the Western Union Defence plans.

"A policy for Germany is a policy for Europe," wrote *The Times* sometime ago, editorially commenting on the ticklish question of German rearmament, and not without a large measure of truth. Russian preparedness, acknowledged by the Western Allies themselves, has so much upset the latter's sense of security that Western Germany is naturally looming large as the arsenal of military man-power. Germany is Western Europe's strength as well as weakness; strength, because a rearmed Western

Germany is capable of pitting against Russian advance an effective military barrier; weakness, because, left alone Western Germany may get indoctrinated from her eastern counterpart, be communized and ultimately ally with Russia.

The question that is uppermost in the minds of the Western Powers is whether West Germany should be re-armed, and if so, what should be the charter and terms of her military resurrection. The three Powers directly concerned in the matter, the United States, Great Britain and France, react differently to these questions. But the assumption that West Germany has a definite role to play is the common measure of agreement among them. But the increasing entanglements of European politics have such a changeful basis that it is very difficult to say what particular role she or her eastern counterpart will ultimately come to play. The prospects of a Franco-German alliance that at one time seemed bright, and would, if effected, form the keystone of the arch of German integration into Western Europe, have a fly in the ointment, the Saar, now a point of contention, being the bone of bone, flesh of flesh, of the undying German nationalism. Nevertheless it is conceivable that efforts will be made to pour oil over waters, should emergency so demand, specially in view of Secretary Dean Acheson's very accommodating attitude to Western Germany.

The U.S. State department has not made any official policy pronouncement on the question of German rearmament. On the contrary, the High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, spoke discouragingly on the matter assuring at the same time a democratic rehabilitation of Western Germany. Sometime ago, Mr. John Gunther said that American policy towards Germany was torn and hesitant as to whether to win the last war or the next, oscillating between old enemies and potential allies. But the lightning speed with which the East German police force was reported to be in the process of being militarily harnessed has reacted very sharply upon the Western

Allies lashing them up into a quick reconsideration of their German policy. American policy can no longer be said to be indecisive. It has more or less crystallized. About West Germany's democratic overhauling there seems to be no doubt. It seems, on the contrary, that there is a definite bursting of shell of the occasional isolationism, which like a fit or fever overtakes American public opinion to go off after a brief interval. There is a swing in public opinion in favour of rearming Western Germany. The idea of militarily fitting out the West German constabulary as a counter-blast to the East German police force at one time found favour with the occupying authorities. An influential group of army officers were in favour of forming several German divisions since they felt that the point of French striking power having been largely blunted, German man-power had to be relied upon as the main plank in the Western defence. This was considered all the more necessary since not an insignificant part of French Armed Force would of necessity remain locked up in the defence of France's Asian Empire. General Clay, former U.S. Commander in Germany, recommended sometime ago a limited absorption of German man-power in the European army. Representative J. L. Pfeiffer of New York also recommended German rearmament "within the context of the United States of Europe." Illustrating his idea at a Press Conference, he said: "The West German Government is a fact. It is a going concern. It is part of the family now. It is, as though, my daughter lived two or three doors away, she would still be part of the family." The Three-Power Conference that met at Paris sometime ago showed America's crusading zeal in liberating Germany from her state of isolation to make of her a sword-arm in European defence. American strategy in Europe hinges upon Germany in the same way as on Japan in Asia. Not only did she plead moderation in the treatment of Western Germany but also for her eventual integration into Western Europe even though to the motivated lukewarmness of a none-to-unsuspecting Britain. The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, pulled up the Germans with his "We are determined to help you" assurance and by the comforting measure of pacing down German dismantling to help German recovery. For the U.S. Secretary would give the Germans "a home in Western Europe instead of a prison in Western Germany." It appears, therefore, that in spite of Mr. McCloy's remark, the question of German rearmament is not unfavourably viewed in America. It is only the fear of a nationalist revival that is keeping the issue from being clenched to finality. But America is bound to find means for out-balancing the threat from the Eastern Europe, and in doing so, none will be more helpful to her than the Germans themselves fed upon no stronger stuff than the American brand of democracy.

British attitude towards the question is a mixture of bitterness, caution and contingency. The nightmare of Russian aggressiveness coupled with a retaliative reminiscence of Nazi devastations tempers British outlook into a peculiar pattern. Sometimes the traditional anti-

German hostility would give their utterances a bitter emotional tinge. For instance, *The Times* demanded that Dr. Adenauer and his colleagues should "show, by their words and deeds that they are ready to do not merely their share but more than their share to recreate the sense of security and community in Europe which Germany did so much to destroy." Therefore, "there can be no question of German rearmament or of including Germany in the Atlantic Pact," it suggested, the plea being that otherwise, the east-west hostility would become tense up to a dangerously militant point. But if Russians persist in their present policy to the bitter end, German rearmament would become inevitable, says it. Between two fires, the reality of a future of aggression, and the ghost of a past, the British find it extremely difficult to reconcile themselves to a rearmed Germany. But facts are obstinate and force them at least to the point of a wise and limited use of German man-power. British view-point on some important levels may be represented thus. German rearmament can be rendered innocuous from the point of view of aggression by depriving the Germans of heavy artillery and air-craft-making opportunities and by providing them with some limited armaments within the framework of the Western European Defence Plans.

The traditional Franco-German enmity might have mellowed down to the point of an entente; at least, there was a great softening of French attitude towards Germany which at one time would have been unimaginable. Two considerations have exerted a novel influence leading to a revaluation of French attitude towards Germany; one is the common threat of Russian aggression, and another is the growing influence of the French Communists themselves against whom a rapprochement with the Germans would be something like a counterblast. "In Adenauer, we are dealing with a partner who has made the French-German rapprochement the aim of his career. Let's not maintain an air of sulky inaction, letting our allies take the necessary steps." This is the view expressed by a section of the French Press. An influential French Paper says that if Western German forces do not come up to the succour of Europe, France will have a defence line fragile indeed in the face of the advance of the Oriental bloc with which East Germany is likely to be integrated.

It now seems that the Saar is amity lost or gained. Dr. Adenauer himself broached the matter during M. Schuman's visit to Bonn. The Petersberg agreement envisages the admission of the Saar and Western Germany into the Council of Europe as associate members, practically confirming the former's separation from Western Germany. German opposition to it including that from Mr. Schumacher and the Social Democrats, is now voluble. France would naturally consider that the requisite sense of security, envisaged in the Petersberg agreement as a necessary pre-condition to West Germany's incorporation into the European community, without the Saar being separated from West Germany, is most unbusinesslike, nay even, unacceptable. Sulking question-

ing of the Agreement by the Germans is now making this point a point of hot dissension, and even the rather tame Dr. Adenauer has voiced his unexpected note of dissent so far as the separation of the Saar from West Germany is concerned. *The Times* making a plea for "a lasting friendship between Britain, France and Germany" says that "the western Powers, however, should not be frightened by fear of Communism into making premature concessions or into altering a policy to which the German Government has voluntarily agreed."

The Saar is not an area of geographical space. It is large acres of national prestige, it is German nationalism lost and found, signs of which are already visible in no uncertain forms. *The Times* shudders to think that it is there. The American High Commissioner warned against its incipient pace. It is in the present Federal Government, it is in the Free Democratic Party, it is in the Nazi armymen's renewing self-discovery. Through the Saar question it is only bursting forth. Some of the East German diplomats are feeding the flame by characterizing the Saar separation affair as the "rape of the Saarland." The fibre of German nationalism history has demonstrated to be very tough, and a forced faith in the western democracy may not effect its expected conversion. Moreover, the Germans are feeling their important role in the future European defence set-up, which also is an incentive to the development of national unity.

The Western Powers, specially, the British, are, by frank confession, on their guard against the resurgence of Nazism. But there is a very ticklish question, namely, on whom shall the task of defending Western Germany devolve as and when the allied forces withdraw. Dr. Adenauer, who has for some time, been harping on the demand for German security, took courage to suggest that either the allied Powers must vouchsafe the security of Germany or the German forces must be allowed to be reorganized. In the meanwhile, rightwing German political parties, whose wagon is hitched to the star of nationalism, are co-ordinating themselves to take over power as and when the allied authorities withdraw.

Unification of Germany is no longer a political myth but a most living and desirable reality to the Germans likely to foster nationalism cementing differences between the East and the West. In the meanwhile an intriguing situation has arisen due to the threatened Communist coup in Berlin, to which Mr. McCloy has angrily reacted. Russia seems to be thinking this way that the Western Powers, after having agreed among themselves to a Western Germany Plan minus Russia and after having set up the West German Government, have no right to stay in Berlin. But the Western Powers have unequivocally declared that they will not leave Berlin under duress. The result is an atmosphere of war though not war itself. Then again the slogan of the unification of Germany seems to receive more emphatic countenance from Eastern Germany under Russian tutelage than from the Western and one cannot deny that there is an element of likeness between the 'fatherland concept' of Germany and that in post-war Russia (leaving apart for the moment the question of international socialism). The East German Government, apparently under Russian dictation, had already asked the Allied authorities to withdraw their troops, and Russian troops actually started withdrawing until before the cold war reached a hotter degree in the course of the last two months. The Potsdam agreement envisaged the unity of German economy which Russia, for a time, at least, evinced desire to maintain, but which the Western Powers shaped to their own capitalist interests. As for political unity, it is torn between two groups of powers, each having his own axe to grind. The slogan of German unity is an incentive to German nationalism and it is bound to emerge. What shape it will take is now the question. Its seething manifestation in East Germany may by now have been tinged red. But when there is a unified German nationalism in both the parts, whether it will go red or brown, or remain divided in its two contending counterparts are speculations but needful speculations. It can only be suggested that German nationalism is made of a very strong stuff and will refuse to be a pawn in the hands either of the East or of the West.



MAHASIVARATRI The Most Important Religious Day of the Hindus

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Though thou have been benighted till now, God comes to thee, not as in the dawning of the day, not as in the bud of the spring, but as the sun at noon to illustrate all shadows, as the sheaves in harvest to fill all penuries—all occasions invite His mercies, and all times are His seasons." —JOHN DONNE

By far the most important of Hindu religious days is that which is known as *Mahasivaratri*. As the name implies, it has to do with Lord Siva—the *Maheswara* of the Hindu Trinity. He is called variously as *Mahadeva*, as *Iswara*, as *Parameswara*, as *Lingodbhavamurti*, as *Devadideva*, etc. The ending,*eswara*, as in *Visweswara*, *Parameswara*, *Tarakeswara*, *Jambukeswara*, *Srikanta-eswara*, indicates infallibly that the deity in question is Siva. Hindus mutter God's name in a thousand ways, but when they are most highly strung, in the spiritual sense, they, as a rule, have recourse to the syllables, *Iswara*. Even Vaishnavites, who worship *Vishnu* exclusively, have been heard to ingeminate those syllables when touched to fine issues. When you have muttered the word, *Iswara*, you have done the highest expected of you. There is no grander incantation in the heavens above, the earth below, or the waters underneath the earth. Greater bliss cannot be imagined than in placing implicit faith in *Iswara* and in resigning oneself to His supreme will. Siva is described, again, as *Mahadeva*, because He is pre-eminent among the gods. The prefix, *Maha*...., indicating pre-eminence, is rightly His. As if to emphasize His pre-eminence still further, His devotees glorify Him also as *Devadideva*—that is to say, as the God of Gods.

Just here I should like to point out, to would-be scoffers, that there is absolutely no discrepancy in that idea. It does not mean that the Hindu religion takes cognisance of a multiplicity of Gods. I am perfectly aware that foreigners often taunt us with harbouring such an extraordinarily generous notion. The intelligent Hindu will tell you that there is only one God and that those others whom we find in the Hindu Pantheon are not gods, properly so called, but godlings—in more simple words, highly meritorious beings who, by virtue of their matchless devotion to the Almighty, have something of the godhead about them, but who can no more claim to be on the same level as the one and only God than you or I. But, it may be asked, "How can the Hindus explain away the existence of the Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara? The term 'Trinity' does imply more than one." Here, of course, we are faced with a

stiffer question. And let me take this opportunity of confessing that there is a certain amount of ambiguity as regards this in the Hindu mind in its day-to-day manifestations, though perhaps there is no such ambiguity in the actual core of Hinduism, once the frills and furbelows are stripped off it.

DEEP CALLS UNTO DEEP

The fact is that, if we dig down to rock bottom, this Hindu *Trinity* will be found to be not three really but only one *Maheswara*. There are a thousand and one reasons that I can adduce to show that for the Hindu, whether he always affects to know it or not, there is only one God and that is Siva: he may be incanting any name, but he is praying, all the time, to that highest of divinities—without whom, indeed, the others would not be existing. In His supreme wisdom He has created those others also, because the human intelligence is not developed uniformly in all, is constituted, in truth, of different levels, and therefore each level of it must be provided with its own suitable form of worship. By a parity of reasoning, we shall, if we but pursue this line of thought to its logical conclusion, be able to arrive at a synthesis, not only of the various divisions and sub-divisions of the Hindu religion itself, but also of all the religions extant in the world. In a minute corner of the capacious bosom of Siva all these are lodged, and more would be lodged were a necessity for such lodgment to arise: because all these (from the tiniest *trypanosome* to Brahma and Vishnu) form but an insignificant portion of Himself.

Hinduism cannot be understood properly unless we are prepared to make allowance for such magnoperations of the imagination as "never were on sea or land." Even the crudest of religions is of imagination "all compact": how much more so must that religion be which is undisputedly the oldest and the greatest of them! And if Hinduism, as a whole, postulates, for an adequate comprehension of it, these magnoperations of the imagination, mere words fail ignominiously to describe the heights and depths of it that are required for even moderately apprehending its quintessence, *Saivism*. It is not without reason that Sister Nivedita says:

"Undoubtedly this Hindu idea of Siva is the highest conception of God as approached by the spiritual intuition of men."—*The Master as I saw Him*.

Deep calls unto deep; and it is only those that have the requisite depth of intuition that are naturally drawn to the fervent adoration of Him whom Arjuna apostrophised as :

"O chief of all gods, O Destroyer of the eyes of Bhaga,
O God of Gods, O Mahadeva, O thou of blue throat,
O thou of matted locks, I know thee for the cause of All causes, O thou of three eyes,
O Lord of all....."

THE LEGEND

I have asserted that, if we dig down to rock bottom, what is commonly spoken of as the Hindu Trinity will be found to be not three really but only one—Maheswara. There is a legend that, way back in the Cimmerian darkness of ancient history—in fact, at the close of one *Yuga*—when Vishnu was resting from his labours of submerging the world under a deluge of waters, a light suddenly seemed to shine before his closed eyes : whereupon he opened them and found, to his consternation, a being standing before him, a being who was almost as majestic as himself. "This mystery has got to be cleared at any cost," thinks he, and straight-away interrogates his caller as to who he is, what the purpose of his visit may be, and so on : to which the other replies : "I am Brahma. I am the creator of the whole universe. I am the Lord of all. I shall be happy to know, in my turn, who *you* are." On hearing this, and watching the calm assurance of Brahma, Vishnu was flummoxed not a little and rejoined : "Not so fast, my dear friend. I am the creator of the whole universe and I am the Lord of all. Be pleased to abate your pretensions just a wee bit : and, above everything else, show respect where respect is due." Brahma lost patience at this. Then, by rotation, as it were, Vishnu also became a trifle heated and overbearing, and, as happens in such cases, words led to more words, and these to more still, until a battle royal, or, rather, a battle celestial, between the two, anent the question, "Who is the creator of the universe and Lord of all," was on the point of being precipitated.

THE FIERY PILLAR

Just at the moment when matters were about to reach a crisis, when, if I may say so, the "cold" war was about to develop into a "shooting" war, the attention of the combatants was diverted by a strange phenomenon. A huge and resplendent pillar of fire, without, apparently, any apex whatever, and, equally apparently, tapering to no visible bottom, took up its position between them and the would-be fighters

were so lost in awe and admiration of this that they both were compelled to agree to an armed truce, as it were, a sort of *cease-fire*, in modern parlance, for the nonce—pending, that is to say, an investigation into this affair. According to the articles of that truce, Brahma, in the shape of a swan, was to fly up and up till he reached the top of the pyramidal structure, and Vishnu, in the guise of a boar, was to burrow his way into the depths till he could overtake the nethermost part of the same. When Brahma had been ascending for an inordinate length of time and had not yet arrived within measurable distance of his quest, he descried a flower approaching him from a tremendous height; and, on eagerly inquiring from it how much further he should proceed in order to come level with the top of the column, it gave answer :

"Desist from your project, whoever you may be. I have been falling down now for aeons from the head of Siva and still I am only here. This column is none other than Lord Siva Himself; and its apex you can never reach."

Brahma then returned to the base of operations; and, simultaneously, Vishnu also came up to the surface from his excavating efforts, with a similar tale of failure written on his brow. One thing, then, was certain. Whoever, as between the two (that is, as between Vishnu and Brahma), might be the greater, *there was one who was greater than either*; and, coming to this sensible conclusion, both of them then and there began worshipping this column of fire that had no top and no bottom. Pleased with their worship, Siva manifested Himself through that fiery pillar and put them wise as regards the ultimate mystery. He told them that neither of them was the creator of the universe, that that title belonged to Him, that He was the Overlord of all, and that they themselves owed their existence to Him; He having created Brahma from His right side and Vishnu from His left. He then foretold that in future Brahma would be born from the navel of Vishnu and that He Himself would manifest Himself in His own form of Siva. So, what does it come to? *The Trimurtis are not really three, but only one—that is, Siva Himself* : the One from whom everything else takes origin. And it is on Sivaratri that Siva appears to Brahma and Vishnu again in the form of that celestial column of fire—a column in the shape of a *Lingam*, and from which, indeed, Siva has come to be known also as *Lingodbhavamurti*. *Sivaratri* is thus a very auspicious day.

THE PROPER WAY OF OBSERVING THE DAY

It is not for nothing that we have a saying : "A thousand *Ekadasis* are equal to half a *Sivaratri*." It is a day which assures untold blessings to him who properly observes it; and I shall show that the proper observance of it is not by any means easy. By half-past four or five in the morning one must complete one's cold water bath. (For a few days previous to

he day one must lead an unexceptionably chaste life). From that time till eight or nine the next morning one must not take a morsel of food or a drop of water—even from a Siva temple; and one must accompany this by not allowing oneself so much as a wink of sleep till the night of the next day. (A strict fast for 24 hours and a stricter wakefulness for 36 hours) ! Meanwhile, as much of the time as possible must be spent in a Siva temple, and, where a Siva temple is not within reach, one's house must be turned into a sort of temple by the incessant chanting of Siva Puranas and that most Divine Mantram, *Sivaya-nama* or *Namas-Sivayam*, which, within its five mystic syllables, contains nothing less than the entire celestial wisdom, besides meaning literally : "Hail to Siva."

It has been said : "If this beautiful 'Five-Letters' be meditated upon, the soul will reach the land where there is neither light nor darkness, and there Sakti will make it One with Sivam." In a sense this *panchakshara* may be made to stand for Siva's dance denoting His five activities, His *Panchakritya* : *rishti*, *Sthiti*, *Samhara*, *Tirobhava*, and *Anugraha*—meaning, respectively, creation, preservation, destruction, illusion, and release or salvation. It will be seen that such a strict observance of this religious day is not possible for most people. A 24 hours' fast alone, or a 36 hours' wakefulness alone, may be encompassed : in combination they provide a formidable trial of physical as well as spiritual strength for mere mortal man. In especial, the injunction against drinking water or any other liquid proves very terrifying when put into actual practice. A time comes during this observance when one feels that one can drink up the whole Atlantic ocean (now called the "Dollar Gap" for obvious reasons) at a gulp—provided that the water is not saltish. But, of course, without suffering, without endurance, we cannot attain to any elevation. The fasts that are generally observed—well, they are not fasts, properly so called, and they do not hold anywhere : I mean, the half-day fasts, and the like. They are neither the one thing nor the other, and "Sivaratri" does not take cognisance of them.

A STORY

As exemplifying the supreme merit of a proper observance of *Sivaratri* the story is told of a hunter

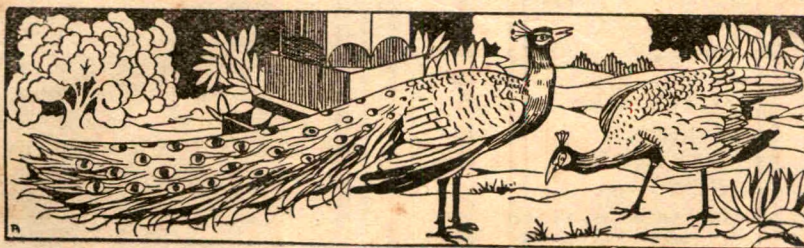
who started one morning from his home to hunt in the jungle, but was not successful in catching anything throughout the whole day and so, willy-nilly, had to fast—he had not even a drop of water to drink. Then the evening approached, he missed his way back, and had perforce to put up with such a lodgment for the night as the branches of a tree could provide. Providentially, on account of the extreme precariousness of his perch, he was not able to get a wink of sleep throughout the whole night, and, moreover, by his frequent vibrations to and fro, some of the leaves of those branches fell to the ground from time to time—in fact, on to a Siva Lingam that was at the foot of the tree. The leaves were the leaves that Siva is very fond of—namely, the variety called *Bilvam*. And, to cap all, the day was a *Sivaratri* day, and the hunter—well, he was translated to Heaven.

That is the supreme merit of *Mahasivaratri* in a nutshell. Let me add, by way of a footnote, that it is celebrated best in the Siva temples of Kerala—Travancore, Cochin, and British Malabar.

THE DANCE OF SIVA

A quotation from the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Siva*, will enlighten my readers as to the indisputably grand conception of Lord Siva as the godhead :

"Every part of such an image as this (i.e., of Siva as Nataraja) is directly expressive, not of any mere superstition or dogma, but of evident facts. No artist of today, however great, could more exactly or more wisely create an image of that energy which Science must postulate behind all phenomena. If we would reconcile Time with Eternity, we can scarcely do so otherwise than by the conception of alternations of phase extending over vast regions of space and great tracts of time....In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert, and cannot dance till Siva wills it: He rises from His rapture, and, dancing sends through inert matter pulsating waves of awakening sound, and lo ! matter also dances as a glory round about Him. Dancing, He sustains its manifold phenomena. In the fulness of time, still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire and gives new rest. It is poetry ; but nonetheless Science . . . It is not strange that the figure of Nataraja has commanded the adoration of so many generations past : familiar with all scepticisms, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, we are worshippers of Nataraja still."



THE MYTHOLOGY OF INDO-CHINA

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THE mythological stories of Indo-China, if analysed in a scientific way, may be found to have great historical values as they not only recover some glimpses of the pre-historic racial migration of the Austroloid groups in South-East Asia but also present innumerable data about the society of the early *Mon-Khmers*, the *Lawas* and other important tribes of Further India. There is no doubt that the numerous folk-tales and legends of Indo-China do not belong to the same

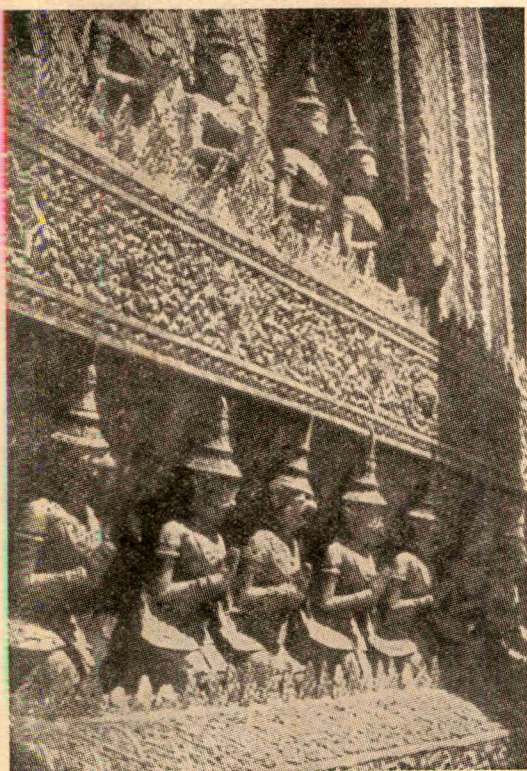
are ancestor-worship and metamorphosis, which are also present in the primitive folk-tales in other parts of the world. But in one aspect, probably, Indo-Chinese mythology may be distinguished from others, and that is their general acquaintance with the sea. Upon this point Prof. Pryzluski gave a hint in his Oriental researches. The early folk-tales and legends of the Indo-Chinese peninsula may be safely classified into three groups, viz., (1) Austro-Asiatic¹, as also (2) Hindu and (3) Buddhist.

Now, this point must be kept in mind that each group is not always fully independent and, sometimes, one is mixed up with the other category. For example, in a primitive solar legend of the *Lawas* of the Mekong valley, Indra's (Phra In's) association has been made an important feature. This may be, particularly, marked in another *Lawa* tale and in one early legend of the *Shans*. There also, the pre-historic episodes have been connected either with the *Rakhans* (Bodhisattvas) or with the *Thevadas* (Devātas or the gods). Similar cases may be noticed in the Buddhist legends of Siam. In the *Panchas Chatakas*, which is a native collection of fifty *Jatakas* or Buddhist birth-stories, we also mark the traces of pre-historic beliefs. So, also, is the case with the Indo-Chinese Ramayanas.

Here, some of the important legends of Indo-China are narrated below :

(i) A "*Shan*" Legend : Long ago, possibly, during the life-time of the Buddha the Keng Tung region of the Shan States was inhabited by a powerful people called the Hkas. At that time, a cowherd Ko Pala (Sanskrit Gopala) came to the land from the sacred city of Baranasi (Banaras) in India. Soon the people became impressed by his generous and kind behaviour and put him on the throne after the demise of the reigning monarch. In later days, the Hkas could not be satisfied with his rule and by a guileful stratagem they placed him in a big basket and then took him away and abandoned him in a forlorn island in a wide sea (the Andaman Sea or the Gulf of Siam ?) where he expired of starvation.

This Ko Pala became a crab in his next birth and reached the realm of Keng Tung, only to see it in heavy flood. "He stayed till the waters had gone down, and then he entered a cave in a hill to the north of the town of Keng Tung where he died."² The hill is still called Loi Pu Kao or the "Hill which the crab



The Siamese Yaks or Yakshas, a type of semi-divinities
(From a temple architecture of Bangkok)

chronological or aesthetic category. On the other hand, there are sufficient reasons to arrive at the conclusion that a good number of them were either the direct or the indirect outcome of the archaic culture of the Oceanians, whose domain once included even a great portion of India. These tales depict a society which, perhaps, goes back to an age more ancient than that of Buddha. Their particular features

1. These legends originally date back to pre-historic days.

2. Scott : *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. XIII, p. 279.

entered." Finally, the waters were drained out by the four ascetic-minded sons of a Chinese king named Wang Ti Fang.³ They drained out the water and tried to relieve Keng Tung with the help of a *nagi* (serpent) guardian-spirit. King Wang Ti Fang sent his subjects to colonise it and grow rice in the land. But, unfortunately, the crops did not properly grow.

"After three successive disappointing harvests, the dragon-guardian informed them that this was because it was not intended that the State should be colonised by the Chinese, and they had best return to their own country, which they accordingly did.

"Meanwhile a gourd—about which our sources give us no previous information—had ripened and fallen to the ground, where it burst, and the seeds were scattered in the tracks of elephants, wild cattle, and rhinoceroses. From these seeds sprang the Wa race, all of whom at first paid homage to Wang Ti Fang. There was one branch, however, which refused to do this, giving as their reason that they had no leader, whereupon the guardian-spirit advised them to adopt the expedient usual in such cases. A carriage was sent out with four horses and no driver. The horses stopped of their own accord under a certain tree. From this tree there came down two beings, male and female, from the spirit-country, and they were accepted by the people as rulers of the land. From them was descended Mang Rai, who married the daughter of the chief of Chieng Mai in the Siamese Shan country. He was the founder of Chieng Rai and Chieng Hsen and, eventually, of the State of Keng Tung, from the plains of which the Wa-s were driven into the hills."

This is the main outline of the deluge myth of the Shans. The most important historical datum in this legend is the story of a North-Indian adventurer (Ko Pala) in the mountainous region of Keng Tung. If the legend preserves any germ of truth we shall have to admit that the Indian colonisation of Indo-China began even as early as the sixth century B.C. long before the days of the first Kaundinya (2nd century A.D.), who possibly first established the early Indo-Chinese empire of Fu Nan.

Another point of great interest in this story is the idea of a female *Naga*, who finally caused the disappearance of the Chinese hosts of Wang Ti Fang from Keng Tung. Is there any hint of Austro-Chinese antagonism in this legend? Being a *Nagi* herself she was, perhaps, of Austrie descent. Her passive dislike of the invading Chinese was natural as such things (*viz.*, the feuds between the peoples of China and Further-India) frequently happened in pre-historic Indo-China and Insulinia from very early days.

3. According to the Shan annals, the monarch flourished one hundred and fifty years after Gautama Buddha had attained Nirvana (*i.e.*, C. 394 B.C.).

(ii) *The Legends of the Laos:*⁴

(a) *The story of the Sun and the Moon* ("Nithan ruang Phra Athit Phra Canth lae Rahu").—Once upon a time, when there was no Sun or Moon in the sky, there were two sisters on the earth named Aditya and Chandra. They had a little maid-servant named Rahu. One day, the two sisters joined a religious ceremony, where many people gathered. There they grievously insulted the young Rahu before others on some trifle ground. At this, out of great shame and exasperation young Rahu took an oath that she would insult them in a similar way before the eyes of other people in her next birth. As it happened in the next



A beautiful waterfall in the vicinity of ancient Muang Song, the kingdom of Pijai, in the district of Prae

life, Aditya became the Sun (*Phra Athit* or *Aditya*) and Chandra (*Phra Canth* or *Chandra*) became the moon, while vengeful Rahu took birth near the Mount Sumeru. Since that time she has been following the two sisters in the firmament and thrashing them whenever she is getting any chance. Her thrashing makes the Sun and the Moon dark with shame as they are treated in that way before the whole world. That makes the solar and the lunar eclipses. When the thrashing falls full on the face the eclipse becomes full and when it is partial the eclipse becomes partial.

(b) *The story of a hen and her six chickens*.—Once upon a time Indra, the king of the gods, descended upon the earth and became the guest of a poor gardener in the guise of a Buddhist monk. In the night he heard the conversation of the man with his wife regarding the meal they would offer to him the

4. The Lao-s or Lawa-s are ancient inhabitants of the Menam and the Mekong valleys of Indo-China. Although they frequently intermixed with the Mon-Khmers and the Thais in the early epochs, they represent some true characteristics of the ancient civilisation of Indo-China which was continually stimulated by the numerous immigrants from India, who went there through the overland and the overseas routes. As the Lao-s occupy the northern regions of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, probably, they were more influenced by the Indians, who went there by traversing the hills and the plateaus of Manipur and Burma. See, *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XV.

next morning. The woman wanted to kill their hen to make curry for him. While the husband protested saying that it could not be done as the hen had to bring up her six chickens. However, the wife became adamant and she decided to feed the monk by killing the mother hen. Now, the hen, also, heard all these conversations and accordingly she advised her offspring to stand coolly in a row after her decease not



Eagle-god Gaduda in Siamese "Nang" or Shadow-Dance

the least grieved outwardly. Next morning, the housewife killed the hen and after cleaning the meat when she put it in a pot of boiling water, the obedient chickens voluntarily jumped into the water in a row out of grief and, thereby, died at the same time. At this god Indra became touched with sorrow and sympathy for the chickens as well as for the gardener and his wife. He poured his blessings upon them, as the result of which, the chickens and the mother-hen formed themselves into seven stars in the sky.

(iii) *A Legend of the Yaos⁵*: Long long ago, there lived a farmer and his wife near a mountain. Although, they were very happy in their married

life, they sometimes suffered from sadness as they had no issue. One day, the farmer, unfortunately, rebuked his wife for this, as the result of which the latter went out of her house with tears in her eyes intending to commit suicide by jumping into the waters of a neighbouring stream. On the way, she met an old man with a big hump on his back. The man discovering the reason of her grief gave her a little fruit marked outwardly into twelve parts and suggested that she should eat every year a part of it and, thereby, she would get twelve sons. After giving her advice in this way the magician-like man disappeared. Now the farmer's wife became very happy at this, and she quickly went home to tell the event to her husband. When her husband heard about the fruit he also became very glad (*sami di ok di chai mak*) and asked her to eat a portion of the fruit. The wife went away from her husband and tasted a part of the fruit. As its juice was very delicious (*ras aroi mak*), the greedy wife took the whole fruit at the same time instead of taking it gradually in twelve consecutive years. Now, as the result of this unintelligent action, in due time she gave birth to twelve lovely male-children—all of them being very similar in appearance. So, for convenience' sake they were named as No. 1, No. 2, etc.

As the sons grew older they all became very stout and strong. Now, the king of that country asked the farmer to cut and carve a wooden pillar for his palace, which was then under construction. The farmer sent Number One to do it. Then the son went to the forest and cut a large wooden pillar, which was as strong as iron. Nobody could chisel such a trunk like him. It was too heavy to be removed and fixed in the proper place by the royal artisans. So Number One was again called. He fixed it in the proper place with such ease that the king was charmed and struck with wonder.

After some time, the king arranged an auspicious ceremony for the final completion of the building of his palace, where Number One was specially invited in honour of his great service and efficiency. The latter sent Number Two to the city to attend the rite instead of himself. Now, Number Two entered the town and out of sheer whim and, also, apparently with an ulterior motive to defy the king, destroyed many buildings of the royal town. When the exasperated monarch demanded furiously an explanation from the miscreant, Number Two coolly met him and said that he had done all these. Then and there he was arrested and summarily ordered to be burnt to death. During his arrest Number Two did not protest but only requested the king to give him a short leave on parole so that he might see his parents and brothers for the last time before his death. The king due to his frank nature allowed that. Now after returning home Number Two requested Number Three to go in his stead, which the latter accepted. The

5. A primitive people of Northern Siam. I have traced some Sanskrit words in their language.

soldiers of the king could not burn Number Three as he remained comfortably in the fire and mocked them by saying, "Oh, give more fuel to the fire. Can't you see, that I am still shivering with cold?" In this way, when the troops failed out-and-out in harming him even a bit, the king ordered to roast him alive the next day. At this, Number Three like his elder brother begged a short leave on parole from the king to go home, which the king could not refuse. Number Three after returning home entreated Number Four to go for punishment in his stead. It is, possibly, unnecessary to mention in this connection that the king and his soldiers could not distinguish any brother from Number One whom they knew in the beginning. Next day, Number Four went instead of Number Three and the king's soldiers could not injure him by roasting. Then the king decided to kill him the next day by tying him on the back of a wild buffalo. At this, Number Four became alarmed and asked permission from the king to go back home for the night, which the king granted. After returning home he sent his younger brother Number Five to the king in his place. When he was bound on the back of a horrid buffalo, he began to grow stouter and stouter, until the ferocious beast broke down on his legs and died due to the pressure of his immense weight. Now, the king decided to drown him in a river the next day. Then Number Five also begged a brief respite on parole and sent his brother Number Six, who also foiled the king's attempt the next day by making his body longer and longer and by jeering at the soldiers from the midstream. At this feat of Number Six the king became thoroughly disgusted and out of despair let him be free for ever. He thought that Number One showed all the miraculous tricks.

Afterwards, the twelve brothers became so much powerful, that they declared war against Indra in heaven. At the outset they succeeded in vanquishing the king of gods but, unfortunately for them, later on, they were subdued and conquered by him. It has been told, further, by the present Yao story-tellers of Northern Siam, that Indra has turned them into twelve gods⁶, who constantly keep vigil over the errors and wrongs of men. So, they are constantly appeased with rites and ceremonies by the primitive Yao people of Siam.

(iv) *The story of Phya Nakh* (a Siamese legend): Long long ago, there was a great king who had two wives. The first wife bore a beautiful son, while the second one remained childless. This incurred the jealousy of the younger wife, who constantly told the king that the infant prince will bring, in future, great misfortune to the kingdom and to the royal family. At this, the king was in great perplexity and called an astrologer to tell the future of the baby. The astrologer saw a great future for the child, but he told many bad things about the child suppressing the truth

as he had been heavily bribed by the younger queen. The king, on this, banished his first queen and his son away from the kingdom. After their exile the wicked queen tried to kill the prince by sending a tusked elephant. When the tusker was about to kill him, *Meh Toroni* (Sanskrit, *Ma Dharani*, i.e., Mother Earth)⁷ saved the royal infant by giving the elephant a real perspective of him. At this, the elephant instead of killing him lay prostrate before him to salute. When the younger queen found her attempt to be frustrated in this way, she instigated the king to pass a decree to the effect that the prince would be tied with a stone and be thrown into the waters of the deep ocean. The feeble-natured dotting monarch could not refuse the demand of his wicked



The demon satellites of Ravana in Siamese
"Nang" or Shadow-Dance

consort and, thereupon, the prince was thrown into the sea. There, in the bottom of the sea, the prince was saved by the Phya Nakh, the king of the *Nagas* or serpents.⁸ After this, he had to pass through many vicissitudes (once having been fallen under the affectionate care of an ogress), and, at last, was able to return to his own kingdom after experiencing many adventures.

7. Female personification of the earth, referred to in the Hindu-Buddhist mythology of Ancient India.

8. A similar story may be seen in the Mahabharata. When, young Bhima was thrown by his wicked step-brothers into a river after being poisoned by them he was also saved in a similar way, by the Nagas or serpents. A similar story may also be noted in the episode of "Naga-panchami" of the Bengali *Brata-katha*.

6. Cf., the traditional *Baro Bhut* or "Twelve Spirits" of Bengal.

Above is a short enumeration of some of the important legends of Indo-China. Some of these stories may have some historical background, which may help the students of the ancient civilisation of the Eastern peninsula. Historical analysis based on scientific methods may in future prove their importance and significance, as it has been already the case with the Indian *Kathasarit-Sagara* or the *Aradana-Kalpalata*. In fact, there is immense possibility in this line of research in the domain of Indo-Chinese studies.



A scene from "Phra Law." The two princesses of Muang Song engaged in a loving conversation concerning Phra Law

Apart from the above legends, there are other stories in Indo-China, which are of greater historical value, like the stories of Phya Pan, Phra Ruang, Phra Law and a prince of Indraprastha. Some of these stories are succinctly enumerated below :

I. *The Story of Phra Law* or "the King with Handsome Countenance".—The story of the "handsome king" (Phra Law) is a very popular legend and dance-theme among the Thais of South-East Asia. Its significance lies not only in its aesthetic exuberance but also in the historical value. The events described in the story might have occurred in the thirteenth century, when the Thais, hailing from the fair banks of the Yang Tse river in South China, were gradually spreading all over Siam.

Phra Law has been many times enacted in the various theatres of Siam including the famous Silpakorn Theatre of Bangkok. It has not only impressed deeply the Siamese audience but has also been particularly appreciated by the foreigners, Indian and European alike. Before presenting the story let us first recapitulate in brief the general history of Siam which will enable the reader to get a clear view of the inner workings as well as the outer background of the legendary drama.

From the earliest time till the 13th century A.D. the Mon-s and the Khmer-s over-ran Siam and some other portions of modern Vietnam, Cambodia and Lower Burma. They had their beautiful capitals and metropolitan cities at Lopburi, Dwaravati, Vajrapuri and Sri Chai. Their civilisation was mainly Hinduistic and it drew inspiration from the Indian culture of the Maurya, the Gupta, the Pallava and the Pala epochs. In the 13th century A.D. an Austro-Mongoloid (?) people called the Thai-s invaded Siam after being expelled from their original home in Nan Chao (literally, "Lord of the South") in South China by Emperor Kublai Khan. These Thais were at first divided into petty tribes until they were gradually unified by the efforts of such great personalities as Phra Ruang Arunakumara (Rama Khamhaeng) and Ramadhipati. Siam was practically united with the establishment of the new capital Ayuthia (derived from Indian Ayodhya, the city of Rama) in 1350 A.D. The event described in the story of *Phra Law* might have occurred in Northern Siam somewhere near Lampang and Chiang Mai before this final unification. The story is as follows :

Formerly there were two kingdoms called Muang Suang and Muang Song ruled by Phra Law (literally "the beautiful king") and Pijai respectively. The latter had two beautiful daughters named Phra Pern and Phra Pang. Phra Law was renowned for his fascinating appearance and attractiveness. But he had a hostile relation in the king of Muang Song, as his deceased father riding on an elephant had once killed the father of Pijai in a furious contest. This event led to a perpetual enmity between the two States of Muang Suang (the kingdom of Phra Law) and Muang Song (the realm of Pijai). Now, as fate would have it, the two fair princesses of Muang Song, daughters of Pijai, hearing the report of the unparalleled personal charm and lovely demeanour of the king of Muang Suang, fell in deep love with Phra Law. However, they were aware of the impossibility of their future union with the king of Muang Suang (Phra Law) on account of the terrible enmity existing between the two rival States. They were particularly afraid of their vindictive grandmother Dara, the widow of their deceased grandfather who had been killed in battle by the late father of Phra Law. They knew that if she came to know of their affection for Phra Law, she would direct

her wrath upon them and would try hard to encompass the destruction of their lover. So they sought for the supernatural help of a jungle magician (a Tantric?) called Pu Chao Saming Prai⁹ ("lord of the forest, a sorcerer") and by taking the counsel of their nurses, Nang Ruen and Nang Roy, sent some talented minstrels to the court of Muang Suang, who would sing and extol their beauty to rouse the amorous sentiment of Phra Law towards them. Accordingly, the minstrels sang the following song in the court of Phra Law :

"In this world of ours, kings' daughters abound and they are fair.

But fairer than all are those of Pijai, king of Muang Song.

Phra Pang is matchless in her grace and charm, and gentleness.

Phra Pern in beauty the proud moon excels, so fair is she.

Beautiful are they as Indra's daughters come from heaven.

We are common men and can only praise their loveliness.

Even lesser kings would in vain aspire, to win their hearts.

For they will become the consorts of some mighty ruler."—An extract from a translation by H.

R. H. Prince Prem Chaya of Siam.

Hearing this song Phra Law was fascinated and attracted towards Phra Pang and Phra Pern, the Muang Song princesses, and longed to meet them. Simultaneously, the magician Pu Chao Saming Prai cast his spells on Phra Law as the result of which he began to feel the sweet touches of Phra Pern and Phra Pang in his dreams and passionately longed to express his love to them. Boon Long, the mother of the enamoured king, understood that all was not well with her son and asked the help of the court-physician to save him. The latter invoked the palace-spirits to guard him, and his counter-sorcery temporarily lifted up the spell of Pu Chao Saming Prai. However, later on, the magical effects of the spells of Pu Chao Saming Prai proved stronger and the young king of Muang Suang started to Muang Song with his army without paying heed to the advice of his beloved mother who entreated him not to leave home and enter the hostile country. Phra Law understood the soundness of his mother's advice but could not control himself due to the magic spell of Saming Prai.

With his troops Phra Law marched away with throbbing heart and reached the vicinity of the river Garlong, which flowed between Muang Suang and Muang Song. There he ordered his soldiers to return to his own capital. This he did, chiefly because he did not want to risk the lives of his faithful soldiers for his own personal interest, in this case being love, which had apparently no national impor-

tance. After the retreat of his soldiers, the king of Muang Suang proceeded to the palace of Muang Song only with his two faithful guards Nai Keo and Nai Karn. All the way he felt a sort of reluctance in his heart as he constantly revolved in his mind the sad warnings of his loving mother Boon Long, who was eagerly awaiting his return. So, he pathetically wept and by the bank of the river Garlong uttered these words (taken from the translation by Prince Prem Chaya) :



A scene from "Inao." A mythological dance of modern Siam

"Alas ! my poor mother is even now thinking of her son. My heart yearns for her, but this magic charm will not let me return. So, I wrong my mother, who has done so much for me. I will consult the spirits of this river and see what prospects of success there are in store for this our venture. O mighty spirits of this river, Phra Law, Lord of Muang Suang, addresses you. If you do know what is in store for me across your stream, then I conjure you to let me know my destiny."

An evil omen appeared on the river, its waves became purple like blood. On this he sobbed for a while thinking of his mother, who, he thought, might lose his beloved son, but recovered and addressed his brave comrades thus :

9. The magician's incantations would begin with the Indian mystic expression 'Om'.

"Alas, my grief is as limitless as the sky, yet must I veil it with a little cloud of joy and happiness. Come my loyal servants. We shall disguise ourselves and then on to Pijai's royal city."

In the royal garden of Muang Song Phra Law met with Phra Pang and Phra Pern, who were constantly waiting for his arrival day after day. There, in the beautiful pavilion the three eager souls met together, and the scene presented a mixture of grief and joy. They kissed and embraced, lamented and laughed, being joyous of union but sad for the



Another scene from "Phra Law". Phra Pang and Phra Pern with their nurses Nang Ruen and Nang Roy

apprehension of future troubles as the tension of enmity between Muang Song and Muang Suang was high at that time. Now King Pijai came to know of this secret union and at once hurried to the spot with brandishing sword to avenge his father's death. When he arrived at the spot, his heart melted at the sight of this pathetic and divine scene. The beautiful and lovely countenance of young Phra Law forced him to forbear and enter his drawn sword into its sheath, and he indirectly acknowledged the pure love of his daughters for his young and kingly rival of Muang Suang. Now, unfortunately, the news came to the ears of vindictive Dara, the step-mother of Pijai, who sent a company of archers to kill the lovers and their companions—Nang Ruen, Nang Roy (nurses), Nai Keo and Nai Karn (soldiers). The rough soldiers immediately hurried to the spot and killed all of them including Phra Law and the daughters of Pijai with their cruel arrows. The young king could not defend his lovers and himself with his sword only with which he had tried to dash towards his foes before he was shot by an arrow. When the unfortunate king Pijai learnt all this, he was mad with grief and severely punished Dara and her murderous executioners, which was, of course, nothing in comparison with the havoc that had been ruthlessly

committed. However, one thing which came out of this tragedy was this that henceforth the two neighbouring kingdoms of Muang Song and Muang Suang ceased to contest.

This is the main story of the mediaeval Thai drama of *Phra Law*. Generally, when enacted it is accompanied by dance and, thereby, it has formed a *Lakhon Ram* (Dance-Drama). In this drama we get a vivid picture of the aristocrats and the common people of the mediaeval Shan States and Northern Siam. The event happened in all probability in the vicinity of Chiang Mai (North Siam).¹⁰ The popularity of the story is really immense and even to these days the Thais recount it and weep over the tragedy of the "King of Beautiful Countenance."

II. *The Story of the Prince from Indraprastha* (A Cambodian Legend).—A banished prince of Indraprastha came to the land of Kok Thlok in Indo-China and conquered the country. Afterwards, he extended his kingdom by marrying a *Nagi* princess of marvellous beauty. The name of the new kingdom was given as Kamboja by the adventurous prince. The historical value of the above legend has been remarkably vouched for by an inscription of Champa (roughly modern Annam) and a Chinese account.¹¹

III. *The Story of Phra Ruang Arunakumara*.—In B.E. (i.e., the Buddha Era) 1821 (C. 1277 A.D.) there were several important Thai kingdoms in Siam viz., Phayao ruled by Phya Ngam Muang, Ngon Yang (later known as Chiang Sen) ruled by Phya Meng Rai and Sukhodaya ruled by Phra Ruang Arunakumara. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* relates that Phra Ruang fell in love with the beautiful queen of his friend Phya Ngam Muang, the king of Phayao.¹² The latter "discovered this intrigue and called upon Phya Meng Rai to adjudicate in the matter. Seeing that a quarrel was threatened, which might involve the respective countries of Phra Ruang and of Phya Ngam Muang in war, Phya Meng Rai reconciled the disputants and all the three monarchs thereupon swore an oath of friendship for the future."

Prince Damrong thinks that the above account resembles that given in the *Northern Annals* (*Phon-*

10. According to some modern Thai scholars including Phya Anuman Rajadhon and Nai Dhanit Yuphs the locality of the story may be reasonably sought somewhere in the districts of Prae and Lampang in the North-Western part of Siam. They, further, identify a place called "Swang" in Prae as identical with Muang-Song, the home of the heroines of the story of *Phra Law*.

11. Majumdar : *Champa*, Introduction.

12. *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XIII.

swadan Nua), where it is stated that Phra Ruang (Arunakumara), by following the string of a kite, visited the daughter of Phya (Phraya) Thong U. The two stories probably refer to the same incident.¹³

A great influence of Indian folk-tales on the Far Eastern Mythology may be marked. Dr. B. R. Chatterji has shown that a great similarity exists between the Bengali folk-tale of Seeta and Vasanta and a Cambodian story.¹⁴ It is strange that the Cambodian princes Varvong and Saurivong experienced the same fate as the Bengali princes Seeta and Vasanta did. This has led Dr. B. R. Chatterji to believe that the legend was possibly brought over there by the merchants from ancient Bengal.

Here, it is also very interesting to note that in one version of the Bengali legend of *Seeta* and *Vasanta* there is a mythological account, which reminds us of a similar Siamese myth. Thus, in that Bengali version¹⁵ there is the following description of a far-off place, whereto Vasanta dared to proceed with the adventurous zeal and power of endurance of Perseus of the Greek legend :

"*Kshir-sagare Kshirer dheu dhal dhal kare—
Laksha hajar padmaphul phute ache thare
Dheu thai thai sonar kamal ta'ri majhe ki?—
Dudher varan hatir mathe—Gajamoti?*"

i.e.,

"In the ocean of milk, there are waves of milk,
And there millions of lotuses bloom.

What is there among the waves and golden
lotuses?—
There is the *Gajamoti* gem¹⁶ on the head of a
milk-white elephant."

13. Generally, the scholars believe that Phra Ruang was no other than the great prince Rama Khamhaeng, son of Indraditya, who reigned over Sukhodaya in the middle of the 13th century A.D.

14. *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Chapter X, "Conclusion". D. C. Sen : *Folk-Literature of Bengal*. He ascribes the Bengali story to the Pala-period (C. 800-1200 A.D.).

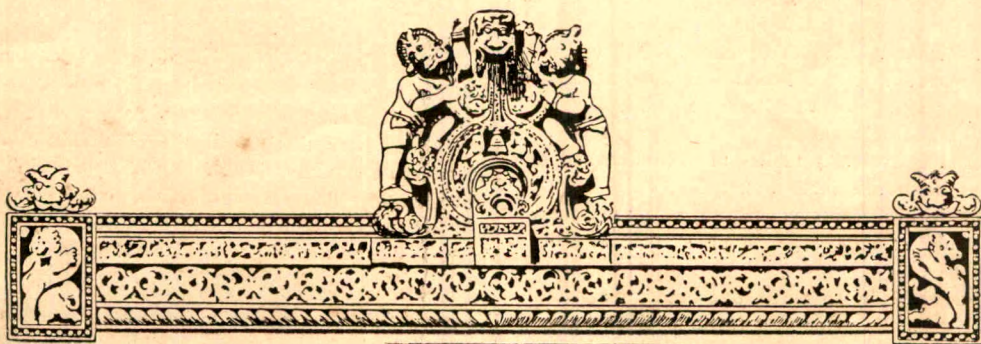
15. D. R. Majumdar : *Thakurmar Jhuli*, pp. 97-98.

Vasanta saw this rare gem from the top of the *Dudh-mukut* (lit. meaning "milk-peaked") *Dhaval-Pahad* (White Mountain), which stood on the shores of the "Milk Ocean." Due to the wonderful light emitted by the *Gajamoti*-pearl the Milk Ocean seemed as if illumined by thousand moons (*Gajamoti alote kshir-sagare hazar chander mela, padma vane pate-pate sonar kiran khela*, etc.). Now, a distant echo of this story, possibly, may be marked in a legend of South-West Siam, according to which long ago there was a mountain in the region of *Petcha-buri* (Vajrapuri, meaning, 'the City of Diamond') named "*Khao Daen*" or "White Mountain" upon the peak of which there were so many gems and diamonds that it illumined the nearby region with the light of day. This mountain, in all probability, stood near the gulf of Siam. It is certainly suggestive that there is still to this day a Brahmin colony in the region of *Petchaburi* or *Vajrapuri*. Does the expression *dudher varan hati* in the *Thakurmar Jhuli* refers to the Siamese white elephant? An account similar to the Siamese legend may be found in the *Kiskindhya Kanda* of the Bengali *Ramayana* of *Krittivasa* in connection with the quest by the adherents of the monkey-king *Sugriva* for *Sita*, the consort of the Indian hero *Rama*, in the East.¹⁷

When discussing these points it appears that the particular Bengali legend of *Seeta* and *Vasanta* bears a great significance on the study of Indian and Indo-Chinese legends. Possibly, it not only throws light on the early kinship and similarity among the legends and folk-tales of the different countries of Southern Asia but also upon the commercial and colonial enterprises of the early Indians on the soils of the "golden" East.

16. A fabulous conception of a sort of precious gem which is imagined to exist on the head of some rare elephants. It was greatly current in Ancient Bengal.

17. The *Ramayana* of *Krittivasa*, edited by Dr. D. C. Sen, p. 209, first column, top.



THE PRIVATE LIVES OF PUBLIC BOOKS

The New York Public Library Celebrates its One-hundredth Anniversary

By ALICE S. MORRIS

From one enters the New York Public Library, not in search of a book to read or a fact to find, but in search of the library itself, one enters a world in which the boundaries are altered and the discoveries not what one expected. Halls through which one may have passed a dozen times are suddenly apprehended in terms of sheer size and vista, of the marble underfoot, of the heroic scale of arches, pediments, and branching stairways. Doors whose designations one had perhaps dimly noted now overwhelm the attention, announcing such a diversity of reference divisions, reading rooms, special collections, exhibitions, and services as one hardly hopes to fathom.

single human being, his dignity and worth are reflected in every facet of the library's life. How behind every library door, his discoveries, deeds, and hazards over the centuries have been trapped and tamed to meet his present quests, down to the picayune. How behind the integers of every statistic, the single human need or whim looks out.

For instance: 3,000 questions are answered daily by the library staff. Were steel pins used in Warsaw in 1833? Have you pictures of the edges of lakes? Of the right design to print on lincolns for sale in the Congo? Where will I find information on the psychology of fat people? The raising of chinchillas? Belgian Military Orders for 1918?

The 9,000 daily visitors, too, one reflects, must have 9,000 separate errands. One posts oneself in the Fifth Avenue entrance hall, the secret agent of a small-scale investigation. Down the stairway to the left come perhaps 30 or 40 students from the lecture room. A little behind this group, and apparently the lecturer on this occasion, comes Olin Downes, the music critic of *The New York Times*. At the back of the hall, a girl is reading, through the glass top of an exhibition case, from Thomas Paine's *The American Crisis*, written in December of 1776 when Washington's forces were in desperate need of rallying.

Through the turnstile comes a distinguished elderly man who goes straight to the Children's Room in the basement and here asks at the librarian's desk for a manual of chess she had shown him the day before.

Seated about on the child-size chairs at the child-size tables, one is surprised to see no children, but several adult men. One of these, looking for ideas to paint on nursery furniture, has asked the librarian for picture books of children of all lands. "But they must be in modern dress," he added quickly.

Children, one is assured, do make use of this room when school is out. On Saturday afternoons there is a story-telling hour that is all the children's own. Then mothers must shift for themselves while their children are led off upstairs to a darkened room, lit only by candles, to listen to tales of Andersen or Grimm, of Wilde or Milne, in the words of the originals.

A man who might be a retired banker obtains at the Director's Office permission to consult the Reserve Room—a hold of books and papers printed before 1800, and of Special and Private Press books printed since. Once



The Public Library at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue is the pride of New Yorkers

Statistics extend this paralyzing prospect: 5,000,000 books on 80 miles of shelves on seven floors of stacks; 6,000,000 pictures in the Picture Collection; 90,000 prints in the Print Room; 200,000 sheet maps; 30,000 music scores; files of 40,000 newspapers and magazines; millions of letters and manuscripts; and other resources too numerous to mention. The collections include materials in 3,000 languages and dialects from Swahili, Eskimo, and Babylonian cuneiform to Basic English, recorded on everything portable from clay tablets to microfilm, and in bound volumes from one inch to five feet tall. Twenty million file cards in 29 catalogue systems make these records accessible, at no charge, to an average of 9,000 visitors every day.

Faced everywhere by so much, one becomes a mouse nibbling at a monolith. One has to go a little further to restore the view to life-size and to find one's own stature. One has to come a little closer to see how the

inside the iron-grilled door of this preserve, and after signing its register, he asks for a file of the *New York Packet* for the year 1783. This he peruses diligently, searching (one learns) for mention of the wedding of one of his forebears. Seated not far from him, a girl is reading "A Counterblaste to Tobacco" in *The Workes of King James I of England* (1616), the most violent denunciation of tobacco ever written.

examples of the etching, engraving, lithograph, woodcut, dry-point, pen-and-ink, aquatint, mezzotint, carborundum print, serigraph; and the techniques of making them. Or, if one wishes, investigate modes of transportation down the ages (an oxcart in a Durer print, a seventeenth-century baby carriage in a Rembrandt drawing, a nineteenth-century locomotive in an early American print might lead off such a search). As a further help to the

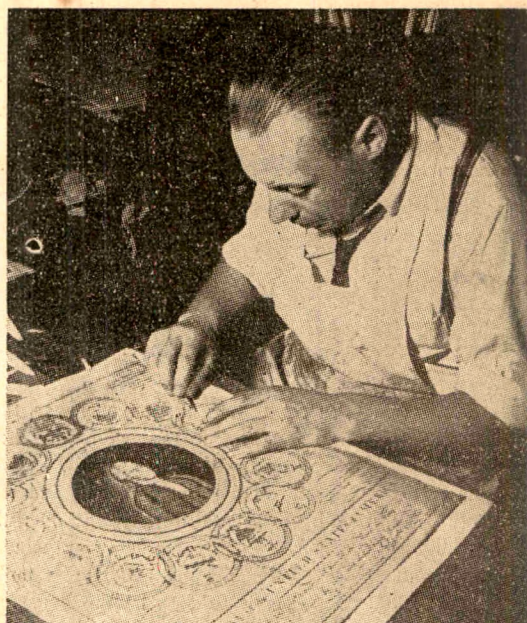


Two visitors borrowing books from one of the desks in the main lending room of the New York Public Library

One is surprised, among the Reserve Room's incunabula, at the excellent condition of ancient pages. It is chiefly the new books printed since 1850, when rag gave way to wood pulp in the making of paper, that show their years and worry the library.

A rotund man goes to the Print Room on the third floor. He conveys to the curator that he is a tablecloth printer looking for designs. Sixteenth-century title-page borders, Le Pautre's etchings of chimney pieces and mirror frames, some eighteenth-century Japanese prints and seventeenth-century Chinese flower prints are brought out for his inspection—and, as a sort of eleventh-hour inspiration, the highly ornamental drawings of Aubrey Beardsley. (Of those he finds usable, he orders photostats, at cost).

For this is by no means a "museum" print room. Its collection of master prints, historic views, posters, electioneering and social cartoons, and books about them, are intended as a record of printmaker techniques and a pictorial history of civilization, including the most modern stages. Here one may study great and small



One of the many artisans in the workshop of the New York Public Library who are constantly engaged in the careful preservation of its precious documents and books

future researcher, the curator is waiting for the day when he can have the 90,000 prints in the collection microfilmed, and cut up the film, and paste the corresponding microfilm print on each index card in his files.

More drastically than the Print Room, the Picture Collection in the basement looks upon art from the standpoint of record. Indeed, in this room all pictures are brothers. In its comprehensive "subject" files, running from Abacus to Zodiac, Braque and Bouguereau lie down together beside a newspaper photograph and an advertisement clipped from yesterday's magazine. For it is the collection's objective to furnish a record in pictures of man's activities comparable to the verbal record found in books.

One comes all this way and has barely begun. Down the hall is the Music Division. Upstairs, one thinks of the Divisions of Periodicals, of Science and Technology, of Economics and Sociology, of American History and Genealogy, of Maps and Manuscripts, of Oriental, Jewish, and Slavonic literatures. One has said nothing of the Main Reading Room, with its 768 chairs fully occupied most of the time from nine in the morning until 10 at

night of the Art and Architecture Division, where 80,000 books and 1,350 boxes of clippings deal with 660 subjects; of the glamorous Spencer Collection of bookmaking over the past 10 centuries; of the Berg Collection of rare English and American editions from Caxton to the twentieth century; or of those other miscellaneous collections on duelling, magic, poultry, naval history, and Continental Court Decisions from 1637 to 1929.

Each special service, too, has a tale, whether on arranging film forums, "great books" discussions, children's puppet shows, or lectures on art, literature, and music. The Reader's Adviser's Office is busy on a typical project, preparing a "suggested reading list" (such books as James West's *Plainville, U.S.A.* and Huszar's *Practical Applications of Democracy*) for seven German women, leaders in cultural fields, in America as part of the Army's

re-education program. In the Photographic Services, anything from a single page to a whole volume or musical score may be photostated, photographed, or microfilmed at cost.

The function of public libraries in the United States has been ably stated by Ralph A. Beals, Director of the New York Public Library: "Fundamentally our public libraries are sources of unlimited information of all kinds, for any and all persons. In our country of many freedoms, where government has never burned libraries or decreed what books should go on library shelves, this function is taken for granted. Yet it stands as the guarantor of one of the most fundamental values of democracy—the right to knowledge, to the truth of any matter so far as it can be known."—From *Vogue*, August 1, 1949.

—O:—

SIBSAGAR—A SLEEPING TOWN

BY PROF. KAMALAKSHA BHATTACHARYYA

SIBSAGAR, known in the days of yore as Rangpurnagar, the ancient capital of the Ahom kings, to-day retains her fascinating relics, and is radiant with pristine purity. Here in this happy spot, life is simple but pleasant, imbued with gaiety and liberality of rural life, vibrating with charming folk-lore and music. The name Sibsagar gained currency after the name of the big and magnificent tank Sibsagar (in 1733). Sibsagar is said to be the home of Ahom kings who ruled from 1229 A.D. to 1794 A.D.



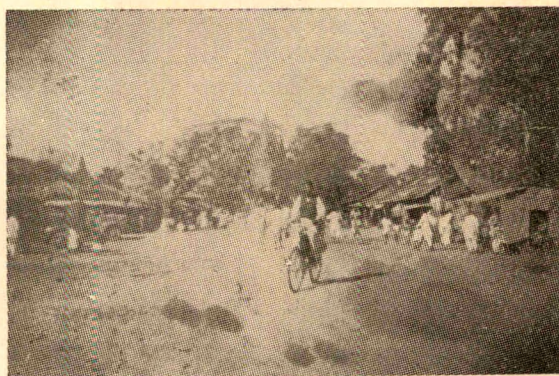
Sibsagar Tank

SIBSAGAR TANK

The total area including the bank is 257 acres, and the present depth of the tank at the centre is about 19 cubits. The tank has its historical anecdotes connected with the queen Madambika, second wife of king Sibsingha, who pioneered the excavation and construction of the tank whose water washes the feet of Siva and is the very life of the people.

MUKTINATH TEMPLE

This temple stands on the bank of the beautiful tank. Siva, one of the trinity, is the God of *mukti* or salvation, and people from far and near come on pilgrimage to this shrine to gain salvation from the world of cares and anxieties, but most pilgrims visit the temple to make offerings at the feet of Siva-linga to propitiate him so that their desire may be fulfilled. The temple also was built by the Ahom queen about 1734 A.D., and it has been one



The main street of Sibsagar

of the highest edifices ever constructed in India. The temple compound within the masonry wall is $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land. The height of the building excluding the golden dome and the Trisul is $83\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. The golden dome is 7 feet in height and it consists of one maund of gold.

THE FALLEN CREST

The terrible earthquake of 1897 pulled down the golden dome with the Trisul which had defied the Burmese

assault on one occasion. These are now kept within the temple. The Bishnu and the Gauri-dols stand on both sides of the Sibdol each 40 cubits in height. The valley abounds with historical and architectural relics. Away from the capital are lying ruins which speak of the great past and of the once promising culture now buried under the narrow confines where stand the Gargaon Kareng, Rangghar, Tatatolghar, and the Jaisagar tank—the everlasting memorial to the chaste queen Jaimati, who preferred death to disservice to her husband, the fugitive king.

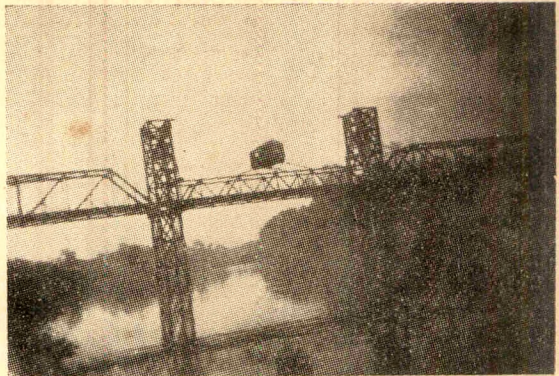
SIBSAGAR TOWN

Sibsagar is a town with administrative personnel. But with the Archæological office, Co-operative centre, Polytechnic Institute, College and several schools and Central Excise Head Quarters, Sibsagar, nevertheless, is a land of lotus-eaters with an air of repose, unruffled by the din and bustle of urban life. That is why Swami Ranganathananda of the Ramakrishna Mission perhaps in his talk on "Freedom and What Next" referred to Sibsagar as a sleeping town.

This escape from all hurry, clamour and jargon of slogans is the key to the beauty born of quiet and silence as if in observance of an austere vow. Functions take place but the town never loses its dignity and solemnity.

—:O:—

Here I.N.T.U.C. session passes resolutions and laymen lend a patient ear, the sporting season comes and goes but the all-pervading spirit of Nature is not withdrawn for a moment.



The bridge at Sibsagar

While we were on the way to Sibsagar from Jorhat my friend remarked, "Everywhere you see, man exploits nature, here nature exploits man." Truly Nature at Sibsagar is the "meet nurse of the poetic child."

BHARATA-NATYA AND HER GREATEST MASTER

By "ART-LOVER"

INDIAN dance art claiming its origin to the cosmic dance of Lord Shiva as interpreted to the world by Bharata in his great scripture, the *Natya Shastra*, has existed in six main schools—the Kathakali and Mohini Attam of Kerala, the Bharata-natya of the South, the Kuchipudi of Andhra Desa, the Kathak of U.P., and Manipuri of Assam. But Bharata-natya stands unique as the most flowery and chaste dance system while following a very rigid and complicated technique. It follows all the four canons prescribed by the sage for the dance art—the song is to be sustained by the throat, the hands should convey the meaning, the face should express the moods and the feet are to maintain the rhythm—and offers a variety of Nritta (pure dance), Nritya (dance with meaningful gestures), and Abhinaya (interpretation). Though it comprises both the Tandava (allegro) and Lasya (pianissimo) — the masculine and the feminine aspects, Bharata-natya has a softer and cooler beauty about it and is therefore best presented by young women. This was traditionally a monopoly of the Devadasis (temple dancing girls) who were born and bred up in a musical and dance atmosphere at home and followed from childhood a strict beauty treatment. After about five to seven years of strenuous training, the young girl in her carefully preserved health and vigour, presented this art in temples and wealthy households on festive

occasions. The Devadasis were very refined and devotional artistes who dedicated themselves on an oath before God to the art of dance and music. The menfolk of this caste, who also underwent the same training in the art, served as Nattuvanars (Masters and Directors), drummers and musicians. Attired in silken robes, gold and diamond ornaments, and exquisite "make-up," the Devadasis danced without any stage settings or arrangements, under the personal direction of the Guru. The moral degeneration of this community led to the legal abolition of the Devadasi system, but in this process the art of Bharata-natya received a severe death-blow.

The classical Bharata-natya recital starts with an invocation called "Alarippu," a pure dance piece, wherein the danseuse offers a charming collection of eye, neck and feet movements, all moving in the same direction.

The second pure dance sequence is "Jathiswaram" where the sound effect of music and drum, keeping time with the rhythmic patterns on the feet and graceful limb movements, is the most significant feature.

Then to give a little leisure to the artiste before she takes up the exacting item of the programme—*Varnam*—comes *Sabdam*. It is in the form of Abhinaya, and a song, generally in Telugu, of a religious theme, descriptive and poetic, is interpreted. Nowadays this is omitted to get more time for the Abhinaya part.

Then she enters the most interesting but trying section of the performance, *Varnam*, where she has to exhibit her mastery over the art and its technique. It is a fine mixture of *Nritta* and *Abhinaya* and takes over an hour when dealt with in detail. The *laya* (time) aspect is very prominent here and the harmonious combination of music (generally of a love sentiment), drum jathis, fast feet patterns, quick and graceful movements, facial expressions, and minute gestures, can raise the human mind to a world of spiritual beauty. The finale of the dance is a strenuous and rich *Nritta*, called "Theermanom." The "Charanam" forms an enchanting



Sri Minakshisundaram Pillay, the Grand Old Man of Pandanallur

dance composition when presented by cultured danseuses who can get into the soul of the art and dance. "Varnam" is the piece which should enable the beholder to judge the artiste's real worth and it is a pity many of the younger exponents, unhealthy girls having had a rudimentary training, are skipping through this section lightly.

"Thillana" is the dance piece which bears an international appeal. When presented by girls of a shapely build, having a perfect command over every limb and sinew of the body, we can actually see the inspiring sculptural conceptions in the ancient temples and architecture of India taking life and moving in rhythmic designs. Based on intricate foot rhythm, the "Thillana" reveals the strength and beauty of the art.

"Abhinaya" is interpretation of a song of a devotional or romantic theme, through multifaceted expression. Actually the danseuse is expected to sing and act, but now-a-days background music is employed. This section is least regulated by the rigid technique and does

not call for simultaneous movements of all the limbs as in the more trying "Nritta" pieces. But it is the "Abhinaya" part that offers the widest scope for the artiste's creative genius. We find the worst and senseless *Abhinaya*, as practised by the aristocratic "babies" of Madras, as well as the highly original and brilliant presentations offered by ace artistes like Balasaraswati, who blend themselves with the very spirit of the song and take the audience across to different plains of romance, devotion, pain and all the nine *rasas* (sentiments) of human character. Being less technical and more easily understood this part appeals to the masses most. The songs (or *padams*) selected usually are from Jayadev, Purandaradas, Kshetrajna, Muthuthandavar and Bharatiar. The more educated and spiritually-minded like Rukmini Devi, interpret fine Sanskrit slokas also.

The recital occupies about 2½ to 3 hours, the latter one hour engaging the "Abhinaya" part. The readers will note from the above how this school touches all aspects of bodily movements and changes in the mental moods and sentiments—the dance of human body and mind. This great art was systematized into its present form and order by four brothers, Ponniah, Chinniah, Sivanandam and Vadivelu, who flourished in the first half of the 19th century in the Royal Court of Tanjore, and Vadivelu was patronised by the great musical celebrity, Swati Tirunal Maharajah of Travancore. It may incidentally be mentioned here that it was Vadivelu who introduced the violin into Carnatic music, for which he was presented an ivory violin by Swati Tirunal—a century old heritage in his grandson's home. The brothers were great musicians, dancers and music composers, and it is their system as preserved in their family and by their noble descendant, Sri Minakshisundaram Pillay, that is acclaimed as the most classical style in Bharata-natya—Pandanallur style.

The Grand Old Man of Bharata-natya, as Sri Minakshisundaram Pillay is popularly known, has trained and presented wonderful exponents of the art like Tiruvalaputhur Jeevaratnam, but unfortunately the social contempt for the dance art and its exponents as spoilt further by the Anti-Nautch movement of Miss Tenant, kept this great Master of the most classical dance system in the world, within circumscribed fame. It was after the renaissance movement of the 1930s that Bharata-natya assumed its rightful place among the great arts of the world and many educated girls from the higher stratum of society came forward to learn the art and expose its richness. Many girls from other provinces and even dancers from the Western countries were enchanted by the superb style of the South Indian dance system and the unrivalled Master of the Art naturally attained international eminence. Indian dancers who visited foreign shores carried his style with them (especially Ram Gopal and Mrinalini Sarabhai) and dancers and critics from foreign countries visited and paid their homage to him. To-day in all the dance circles of the world, the Grand Old Man of Pandanallur is a familiar name.

Sri Minakshisundaram Pillay is 82 and his right eye is already blind, but when he begins talking on dance he

gets a new vitality and I am sure he can, even to-day, stand up and dance some swift movements. He is a scholar in Tamil and Telugu and has composed his own Varnams. He can also understand Sanskrit and he was an excellent violinist in his days. Since many of the *padams* are in Tamil and Telugu, Pandanallur feels a knowledge of the languages is a necessity for dancing with a proper understanding of the meaning conveyed therein. He still lives in his low-roofed ancient house in Pandanallur, a village six miles of dusty rugged road, from the nearest railway station, Kuttalam, in Tanjore District. He lives an ascetic life and wears just a knee-long towel. When I asked him why he did not settle in Madras where he will be of easier access to students of dance, and where he will be better off financially, he said he was not much worried about his material life and wished to live in a higher realm of thought. He feels those who really wish to learn under him would come and live with him as he does, a simple and artistic life, with no flourishes of modernism. The Pandanallur cottage has seen many a brilliant artiste bud and blossom and has entertained many a connoisseur of art. Rukmini Devi, "who through her social eminence added status and respectability to the art besides being a demonstration in herself of superb personality and its careful preservation for art," studied at the feet of the old Master and embellished it with a spiritual touch, with an understanding of the symbolic sense of the dance movements and gestures. Balasaraswati, the most brilliant exponent of Bharata-natya, whose recital at Benares in 1934, thrilled Gurudev Tagore, had her tuitions under Kandappa, a Pandanallur disciple. The idol of the Western dance fans, Ram Gopal, who created a sensation in Europe and America when he presented Bharata-natya in its purity for the first time during his recent tour, continues to be a disciple of the Pandanallur Master. Srijiut Pillay imparted a little of his knowledge to Shanta Rao, and Sarojini Naidu hailed her as the "Spring Time Dancer from the South" and Pandit Nehru rushed to compliment her and said, "Shanta, I never knew Indian dancing could be so beautiful." Tara Chaudhri, the glamorous Muslim girl from the Punjab, (if I could call her so), came down all the way to the little old village to be a disciple at the feet of the Grand Old Man. Pandanallur Jayalaxmi who till recently was a shining figure in the Indian dance sphere, was a pet student of the Pandanallur teacher. Usha, who has had a roaring reception in Bengal, was trained by the veteran with the assistance of his son, Sri Muthiah Pillay. Among his other well-known students are Krishna Rao, Chandra Bhaga and Periyannayaki. Many a budding talent has been nurtured by the Pandanallur waters and even to-day artistes and writers from throughout the world visit the village to meet the old veteran. A few weeks back Miss Beryl de Zoete, the world-famous critic of the *New Statesman and Nation*, London, spent a few hours with the old man. Many cultural organisations in the South have honoured the Master and the title of "Natyakalanidhi" has been conferred on him. It may

be stated here that the great Ram Gopal himself danced on this occasion to honour his Guru. Even dancers belonging to other schools of Bharata-natya co-operated in a function a couple of years ago to present the old Nattuvanar with a purse in recognition of his noble services to the dance art. In fact his name has come to stay so firmly in the art world that even dancers having had a few weeks' training under him find easy access to the stage by styling themselves as his disciples and make commercial capital of the Guru's name!



Swati Tirunal Maharajah of Travancore and Sri Vadivelu Pillay

The old teacher may not be able to offer us more talented artistes (though Sri Muthiah Pillay does have the capacity to step into his father's shoes) but the "Pandanallur mode" which he has established shall live for ever. It was Minakshisundaram Pillay that proclaimed that "Nritta" had a more important part in Bharata-natya than easy Abhinaya.

"The Pandanallur style is noted not only for its immense variety of dance patterns with chains of well-linked *adavu jathis* (dance units), made up of poses and movements, gaits, pirouettes (whirls), entrenchantes (jumps) and *theermanoms*, but also for its exhilarating precision in rhythm."—E. Krishna Iyer.

He told me if all the 120 *adavu jathis* could be mastered the dance will be completely under the artiste's control, but now-a-days when the danseuse wishes to complete her training within six months or even less, he gives her a grip over the movements by a few basic units. A perfect training in the Pandanallur school will take five full years. Mr. G. Venkatachalam who has had the privilege of a close study of the old Master's technique says:

"His art is rich in *adavus*, and as he teaches, he goes on improvising them in his dance sequences, which

often puzzles the learners. Strength, vigour and freedom of movement characterise his art which, when compared with the spineless and insipid movements taught by other *nattuvans* seems a veritable Himalaya by the side of the Vindhya. It is in the detail that his art is perfect and his ensemble of dance patterns is a thing of joy to the beholder. Hence the sheer beauty of his choreography. In the gentle glidings of the neck, in the poised position of the dancer as she stands to render the *rechakas* (not the erect stand to attention military attitude), in the outstretched hands at shoulder level, firm and even, in the correct bends of the body, in the sculptured design of the poses, in the free and forceful broad movements and in the perfect finish of the Thirumanoms by the full flourish of the arms and the complete curve of the body—all of which characterise the Pandanallur style—one really sees the vital beauty and inner strength of Bharata-natyam."

It may be added here that Mrinalini Sarabhai who was offered a great ovation in Europe, and Kousalya of Madras, follow the Pandanallur style and were trained by Sri Chockalingam Pillay, a nephew of the old man.



The violin was introduced by Vadivelu Pillay into Carnatic music

On the eve of the veteran's retirement, some newer *Vidvans* have come to limelight under their own label and have, in the name of improved technique, softened the movements to suit the requirements of the modern city girls, though some brilliant dancers like Kamala and Hemamalini, have no doubt, been produced by these schools.

But "the Tanjore school is a highly stylised art which has been developed to static perfection, where

the most perfected movements in their most fitting sequence have been fixed once for all and follow one upon another with the inexorableness of the laws of nature; where the aberrations of individual taste cannot mar the wisdom of centuries of collective experience; where generations of hereditary Shastra-trained dancers have evolved a system in which originality may be baffled but where the flock of adventurers and amateurs is rendered innocuous, for the individual may re-create but can do little to add or detract from the monumental architectonics of the Bharata-natya."—Bharati Sarabhai.

And actually even the new styles promulgated are just superficial innovations and the technique and even the syllabus followed are fundamentally founded on the Pandanallur system.

A new turn is seen in the flow of world politics and diplomacy, and materialistic ambitions have failed to achieve happiness for mankind and many an international conference based on those elements has revealed that higher methods should be tapped to evolve world unity, which is the prime necessity of human race to-day. It is a reflection of this bend of mind in every country of the world that is exhibited in the cultural revival noticed everywhere now. It is a reflection of the same thoughts that is seen in the new interest the Western world is evincing in India and her leadership. In this new set-up the Orient with her hoary traditions and her glorious resources has naturally a greater role and India as the undisputed leader of Asia has to play her part to mould the new world polity for the betterment of mankind and to construct, on the ruins of the Western civilization based on the baser instincts of inequalities, race prejudices and power-mongering, a united human race living a cultured life of beauty. The Asian Relations Conference initiated by Pandit Nehru has already attained considerable moral strength, but it has to bring to life more constructive proposals. The language of gestures and movements and the art of melody have been recognised as the most international, non-communal, medium of intercourse and it is in this light that a suggestion of a Dance University in India has to be viewed. Such a scheme, if put into operation, is sure to attract world-wide attention and will greatly help in creating a better understanding among the nations of the world. The Press and the connoisseurs of the ballet in the country should impress upon the Nehru Government the need for such a Dance centre in India, offering training in all the classical and folk-dances of this ancient land of spiritual charm, and affording extensive facilities for foreigners to stay. And if such an institution does come into being, who, but the Pandanallur Grandpa, having dedicated nearly a century of life to the dance art and having still nobler traditions, could adorn its presidential chair?



ANTI-FASCIST ELEMENTS IN RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By Prof. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

In referring to Tagore's anti-fascist attitude it is usual to point to his denunciation of Japanese imperialism in his letter to Yone Naguchi written in the year 1938. It is interesting, however, to conduct a scrutiny of his works, it reveals a consistent opposition to fascist ideology.

Fascism as a political system was smashed in the second world war, but its ideological equivalent may persist. There are certain categories of consciousness which are typical of fascism, they are reflected in man's attitude to his fellow men, to his nation and in his world-view. These may not be coeval with Fascism as a political phenomenon. Whether fascism is 'totalitarianism' and violence as the liberal thinkers would make it out to be, or the expression of capitalism in decay as the Marxists interpret it, a perusal of its historical context shows it to be a product of not only certain economic contradictions of the capitalist society but the full flowering of the teachings of Nietzsche, Hegel, Fichte, Spengler, etc. Nietzsche's sombre world of hopelessness, redeemed by the Superman, Hegel's conception of the State as Absolute, the Prussian professor's chauvinism and Spengler's fatalistic theories of the decline of civilisation, have provided the foundation and scaffolding to the Fascist structure. In this aspect of capitalist development when finance-capital threatens to engulf society and the civil revolts rock it we have the strange spectacle of a dictatorship holding the balance between the two.

Whether this sway was in fact the subterfuge of finance-capital or the revolution of the middle class, it was symptomatic of an acute social and psychical crisis. The fascist society was ruled by a 'corporate State' which eliminated for the time being class antagonism; the fascist citizen exhibited certain tendencies peculiar to him and contradistinct from those of his fellow-men in non-fascist countries. In the age of science the fascist exalted faith above reason, in the face of anthropological research he stuck to the myth of the purity of race, in the sphere of knowledge he started hounding out Freud and Einstein who make modern knowledge what it is, in the field of culture there was mass burning of books (in 1927 the Government of Lithuania banned the books of Rabindranath Tagore) and the boast of Goering, 'Whenever I hear the word culture I feel for my revolver.' There prevailed, as it were, a general psychosis in fascist countries.

Being a bastion against the upsurge of the masses fascism had to create a psychology approximating to its reactionary politics. A fascist therefore dreaded the ratiocinating process which would lay bare its cant; he in Japan discouraged 'thought' as dangerous, in Germany he started thinking with his 'Blood'. Alfred Rosenberg, the high-priest of fascism, wrote in 1935:

"Today a new faith is awakening, the Myth of the Blood."

And the Rector of the Frankfurt University said:

"Blood and soil as fundamental forces of life are the symbols of the national-political point of view, and the heroic style of life. By them the ground is prepared for a new form of education. What does 'blood' mean to us? We cannot rest satisfied with the teaching of physics, chemistry or medicine. From the earliest dawn of the race this Blood, this shadowy stream of life has had a symbolic significance and leads us into the realms of metaphysics. . . ."

Fascism, thus, is anti-intellectual in its attitude, it is demagogic in its methods, it lays a premium on man's unconsciousness, it regards the State as the social sensorium as well as manifestation of the Idea. It repudiates any claims of morality which may superimpose itself on national sovereignty. Being the 'philosophy' of the small shopkeepers, the rentier class and the petty bourgeoisie it has all the vulgarity of its advocates. Behind its facade of national stability lie lanes and by-lanes of murky consciousness.

Whenever the idea of the 'nation' sucks its energies from the cult of power, and becomes *raison d'être* of a sponging civilisation we have a manifestation of fascism. In India Rabindranath Tagore kept an untiring vigil over the country's cultural heritage lest it should be contaminated with fascist psychosis.

It is not only in his many political statements and writings that Tagore protested against any encroachment of this mental disease but also in his novels, plays and poems. So firmly grounded was his faith in 'man' that he regarded all shortcuts to political or social success with suspicion. Whenever the Indian national movement was fed on excitement and negative policies he protested. He abhorred inflated patriotism. To his poet's mind reason was sovereign in public affairs. A country which worshipped power and exclusiveness evoked his indignation. A system which crippled the personality of man never appealed to him. Easily the greatest humanist of the age Tagore exalted the Universal Man.

Tagore's interest in international affairs began in the 19th century. At the age of twenty Tagore wrote an angry protest against the forcing of opium on the Chinese (in 1881) in an article entitled "Traffick of Death in China". In 1898 he condemned in strong terms the lynching of the Negroes in the United States, the pogrom against the Jews in Russia and the atrocities in Belgian Congo. In the decade when colonial imperialism was at its apex and the formation of nation-states in process, Tagore with a prophetic eye saw disaster for humanity. He wrote in 1899:

"The nation is the organised self-interest of a people where it is least human and least spiritual. The spirit of conflict and conquest are at the bottom of Western nationalism; its basis is not in social co-operation. It has evolved a perfect organisation of power, but not of spiritual idealism."

At the close of the nineteenth century, just before the South African War broke out, the poet wrote in one of his *Naivedya* poems :

"The last sun of the century sets amidst the blood-red clouds of the West and the whirlwind of hatred. The naked passion of self-love of nations, in its drunken delirium of greed, is dancing to the clash of steel and the howling verses of vengeance."

A charge is often levelled against the poet that his bourgeois individualism had the better of the humanist in him, and that whenever there was agitation in the country for political freedom Tagore was found in his Ivory Tower. Particularly serious is the allegation that though Tagore fed the flame of Indian nationalism in Bengal, he dreaded its blazing into a wild fire, and that, it is said, is the reason why he wrote against the politics of Bengal's Swadeshi agitation. We have glimpses of the political agitation of that period in his novels like *Home and the World* and *Char Adhyaya*. His *Home and the World* is a finer index to the poet's ideas on Bengal's national movement.

Before examining the novel in question for Tagore's anti-fascist attitude, it would be worthwhile placing it in the context of Bengal's renaissance.

The re-awakening in Bengal dates back to 1814 when Raja Rammohun Roy settled in Calcutta to carry on his mission of reviving India's cultural heritage and harmonising it with enlightened appreciation of Western culture. He defended vigorously the theistic aspect of Hinduism. His breadth of outlook took within its ken different religions, particularly Christianity. His liberal interpretation of the preachings of Jesus Christ coupled with monotheism of the Upanishads found concrete expression in Brahmo Samaj. He was a social reformer and a pioneer in the field of education. His contribution to the growth of national consciousness is great. In that dim decade of the nineteenth century when the great mutiny had not broken out, Rammohun Roy envisaged freedom of his country from British tutelage. As practical steps he conducted agitation against Press Ordinances of 1823 and protested against the discrimination involved in the Jury Act of 1827.

This protagonist of the drama of Bengal's renaissance blazed a trail which, in due course, was trodden by Rabindranath Tagore. He initiated a practice of enlightened theism, of constructive efforts in social reforms and of a golden mean in life. And he stood for a synthesis between the East and the West.

Contemporaneous was a distinct ultra-radical movement known as the Young Bengal Movement. The philosopher and guide was a strange figure in

Bengal's history, an Anglo-Indian, Derozio. Derozio preached radicalism of the French Revolution variety. He stood for sundering social conventions and restraints and drinking deep at the fountain of free thought. In their psychological aspect his teachings glorified "Passion." The Derozians were drawn to the French revolution only in its wild and blazing aspects.

The contribution of the Derozians to the society was love of free thought and sensation. Lack of a positive value as the motivating force reduced the potentialities of the movement considerably. On the other hand, it bred a certain licentiousness verging on a cynical disregard of the ancient culture. The Derozians did not leave many footprints on the sands of time, but rather left a rough track behind. They stood as the symbol of anarchism.

Rabindranath's grandfather was a follower of Rammohun Roy and after him the house of Tagore continued to be an ardent supporter of moderation, constructive efforts and cultural synthesis. Tagore's father breathed a new life into the moribund Brahmo Samaj. In the post-mutiny era national consciousness in Bengal had many shades and undertones. Besides the Brahmo Samaj, the Tagores were instrumental in organising an economic movement known as the Hindu Mela. Its main aims were defined by Gyanendranath Tagore as "cultivation of national sentiment and the promotion of the spirit of self-help through indigenous industries." The accent was on self-help. When Rabindranath was mature enough to be interested in public affairs the Congress had been born. With all that glorious tradition of the Brahmo Samaj movement, its breadth and depth, its moderation and its emphasis on self-help, its cosmopolitanism and therefore its great humanism, he stepped into the political and social life of Bengal.

We have echoes of the two streams—or rather the river and the stream, for the Derozians moved within narrower banks—in the *Home and the World*. Its protagonist Nikhil represents the Brahmo Samaj tradition broadened by Tagore's own political and social ideas; its villain—for the conventional cap fits him—Sandip embodies the anarchical, negative and passion-worshipping ideas.

The background of the *Home and the World* is the Swadeshi agitation into which Tagore plunged himself heart and soul in 1905. He led mass processions, singing patriotic songs, addressed huge gatherings and collected funds for the movement. His was an unbending leadership of the anti-partition agitation. The politics of Bengal moved swiftly round to radicalism. In 1906, Tilak came to Calcutta and initiated Shivaji Festival which was another rallying point for radical nationalism.

Extremism seemed to be gaining ground. New prophets appeared with increasingly militant variations on the gospel of Swadeshi, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya and Bepin Chandra Pal came to the fore. Terrorism

now became the means; bombs were thrown at the British officials, fire-arm factories were unearthed and secret societies were formed. The Government came down upon the movement with full might and greater grew the strength of the movement.

Though this cult of the 'bomb' had all the emotionalism of Young Bengal, it did not have the cool strength which comes of a positive system of beliefs. Evidently 'hate' was supplying the motivating force. Rabindranath shrank at this mounting bitterness and retired to Santiniketan. That was in 1907.

The *Home and the World* was written in 1915. It reflects the trends in the nascent nationalism of Bengal, and how it shapes itself in the souls of a broadminded landed aristocrat, and of a fiery youth who is a worshipper of 'passion.' The plot hinges on the inner life of Sandip, Nikhil and Vimala. The novel strikes a lofty note on an idealist plane. Nikhil's wife Vimala is swept off her feet by the hypnotic speeches of Sandip and becomes secretive with her husband. Nikhil suffers inwardly but never gives vent to jealousy. In his wordy duels with Sandip he conducts himself with dignity; as against Sandip's passionate and narrow glorification of the country Nikhil sets forth the conception of his country within moral limits. For him Truth is greater than the country which Sandip calls "ideas generating weakness". Though passive and sicklied over with the pale cast of thought Nikhil is engaged in active inward conflict. This inner dialectics brings home to him the revelation that he has all along been a stranger to his wife because he was trying to force her into a pattern. He suspects an unconscious streak of tyranny in his relation with his wife. There was no flowering into harmony with each other. In the meantime, the logic of events tears the mask off Sandip's face, and Vimala recants. Sandip's politics create complications and the Muslims are in revolt. They loot a neighbouring Zamindar's treasury, provoked as they are by the doings of Sandip's followers, and molest women. Nikhil rushes to the spot and is shot through the head.

Though the hero Nikhil lacks the traditional tragic flaw and the denouement is too dramatic for a novel, the book depicts in a vivid way the conflict of ideas. Nikhil the scion of aristocracy is pitted against Sandip, a young man of uncertain respectability, one who has "to carefully count out the coins for an Inter Class railway ticket". But while Nikhil embodies in himself a visionary of the type of Tagore himself, Sandip is a frank anarchist.

Sandip in his mental make-up is a near approach to a fascist. Some of his utterances bear striking resemblance to those of Nazi-fascist leaders.

If Sandip is a fascist, Nikhil is India's answer to him in terms of cultural traditions. As the Darwinian biology was twisted by the philosophers of the *laissez faire* to rationalise cut-throat competition, and as Hitler alluded to natural selection being operative in

human society in an attempt to justify the theory of the 'herren volk', Sandip invokes Nature to bless his jingoism about his country. He says:

"Nature surrenders herself, but only to the robber. For she delights in this forceful desire, this forcible abduction."

That being so, whoever can possess the country by force is victorious, whoever maintains it by force truly deserves to be its leader. Pale ethics only makes it weak!

If Nature surrenders only to the robber, more so does the woman because she is primitive—nearest to Nature. He says:

"In the heart of a woman Truth takes flesh and blood . . . In man it is ugly, because it harbours in its centre the gnawing worms of reason and thought. I tell you, Nikhil, it is our women who will save the country."

If Aristotle said, 'Nature is the end', Sandip holds it to be the primeval, the beginning. So Nature in its primal darkness is the Truth, and not the mind of man with its reason and thought. The Truth of the country is this Truth of Nature—force above morality. This Truth takes its flesh and blood in woman. Therefore, Vimala is the goddess India. But whom can she belong if not to Sandip who understands Nature's secret—its insatiable greed, its force?

The portrait of Nikhil has all the grace of a traditional culture. He watches the Swadeshi agitation turning into racial antagonism, when English men and women are insulted in the name of the country and says:

"I am willing to serve my country, but my worship I reserve for the Right which is far greater than my country. To worship my country as a god is to bring curse upon it."

Vimala has a receptive mind. Sandip's flashing eyes at first shone false, but she observed that his eloquence grew when he caught sight of her.

By subtle suggestions he worms his way into Vimala's heart. When she finds herself on the high tide of excitement which was caused by Sandip's rant she seeks to take up cudgels with her husband. Nikhil would not surrender his reason to the *Vande Mataram* cult. He says:

"What I really feel is this, that those who can not find food for their enthusiasm in a knowledge of their country as it actually is, or those who can not love men just because they are men, who needs must shout and defy their country in order to keep up their enthusiasm or excitement—these love excitement more than their country . . ."

Sandip's jingoism is unabashed; he says:

"I am only human. I am covetous. I would have good things for my country. If I am obliged I shall snatch them and filch them. I have anger. I would be angry for my country's sake. If necessary I would smite and slay to avenge her insults."

This is a frank avowal of gangsterism clothed in Nature symbolism.

Nazi-fascism had features which were characteristic of Sandip's philosophy. He makes no truck with gnawing worms of reason and thought, he vulgarises science he extols what Hitler called 'Nature's iron laws'. For him 'Hate' is a powerful motivating force. When Nikhil asks him,

"How is it you propose to worship God by hating other countries in which He is equally manifest?"

Sandip retorts,

"Hate is also an adjunct of worship, Arjuna won Mahadeva's favour by wrestling with him."

Like the Nazis Sandip constructs a basis for the theory of 'brutalism'. He says:

"My theory of life makes me certain that the Great is cruel. To be just is for ordinary men, it is reserved for the great to be unjust . . . Successful injustice and genuine cruelty have been the only forces by which the individual or the nation has become millionaire or monarchical."

There is no place for compassion in his heart:

"The thing we call pity is at bottom only pity for ourselves. We can not bear to wound our own tender instincts, and so we can not strike at all. Pity indeed! height of cowardice!!"

This theory is similar to the Nazi cult of the 'Brutality' enunciated by the Nazi leader Ernst Mann in his book *The Ethics of Strength*. Its practical working was seen in the Nazi concentration camps, and in the rape of Czechoslovakia, Abyssinia and Poland.

Sandip's attitude towards the masses is typically fascist. He has no faith in the capacity of the common people. Like Hitler he advocates the principle of the Big Lie. He says:

"Those who are masters in the art of life advocate the biggest lies in their business, enter false accounts in their political ledgers with their broad-pointed pens, launch their newspapers daily laden with untruths, and send preachers abroad to disseminate falsehoods like flies carrying pestilential germs. I am a humble follower of these great ones."

Further, supporting the necessity for illusions he says:

"Illusions are necessary for lesser minds, and to this class the greater portion of the world belongs."

Sandip is a forerunner of Hitler who wrote in *Mein Kampf*:

"Greater the lie more likely it is to be successful, because,

"The capacity of the great masses of people to take in anything is very limited; their understanding is small; their forgetfulness is great."

In his long perorations on 'passion' Sandip betrays the negative side of politics of hate and excitement. Rabinranath shrank from the Swadeshi agitation in its later stages when it took a turn for violence and jingoism. The young terrorists who threw the bomb

with the shout of *Bande Mataram* sought to smite foreign domination in a trice. Without a programme of solid work among the people they drifted as thunderclouds, but the politics remained sterile. Sandip belonged to the petty bourgeoisie class. His weakness for money was a known fact. His dependence on the finances of an aristocratic house was sufficiently mortifying to him. In order to cover up the humiliation he loved to strut as a Superman.

Sandip's monomania led him to regard 'passion' as the central force in life. Without a systematic belief in reconstruction an anarchist is apt to view demolition as an end in itself. So Sandip apotheosises passion to hide in flamboyant speeches the lack of a positive creed. Fascism, too, invented myths of blood and race to cover up the deficiency of a reasoned ideology. Says Sandip:

"We shall not be ashamed of the flag of passion which mother Nature has sent with us as our standard into the battlefield of life."

Nikhil has the breadth of vision and a serenity. In the economic set-up he belonged to the feudal class; yet the best in the class seems to have been churned and deposited in his soul. He knows the idyllic relation between man and man. He hates coercion. Welcoming the onset of the Swadeshi movement he stoutly refuses to force Swadeshi on his tenants. It must come to them as an inner realisation. The best way to do it was to live Swadeshi and create a basis for it among the people in patient toil. "He sharpened his Indian-made pencil with his Indian-made knife, did his writing with reed pen, worked at night in the light of an old-fashioned castor oil lamp."

Nikhil set his face against pompous demonstrations of the Swadeshi cult which exhausted themselves

with slogans and burning of foreign cloth.

Nikhil has an aged friend and philosopher in the old Master. This old teacher sensed the impending catastrophe in the Sandip-Vimala affair. He knew the crippling effect of untruth on the sensitive mind of a woman. He said, "Take Vimala away to Calcutta. She is getting too narrow a view of the outside world from here, she can not see men and things in their proper proportions." Further he says:

"I tell you, Nikhil, man's history has to be built by the united effort of all the races in the world, and therefore this selling of conscience for political reasons—this making a fetish of one's country won't do."

Nikhil's self-analysis in the closing chapters reveals the magnanimity of his soul. He discovers an unconscious vein of tyranny towards Vimala in trying to mould her according to his dominant idea. When an idea becomes the ruling passion it is apt to destroy love for which freedom is so essential.

The Home and the World is a problem-novel depicting the poet's abiding faith in freedom as an integral part of human personality. At the same time it is an

Indian supplement to the *Dolls House* inasmuch as disillusionment comes to the husband and he discovers that in marital relation freedom is the essence of it. This freedom of the human person is the verve of his life. Totalitarian suppression of the individual or mechanical regimentation of man are the antagonistic forces to the full development of man's personality. By proclaiming his faith in true freedom as far back as 1915 Tagore was laying the philosophical foundation for the political freedom of his country, and, to change the metaphor, he was building a light-house warning the future ship of the State against rocks of fascist disintegration.

Seven years later the poet published a drama in 1922, entitled *Mukta Dhara*. The interim period saw many revolutionary changes in India and abroad. The first world war had ended, the Russian revolution was accomplished, and the Indian people had risen *en masse* under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The post-war epoch showed the deflation of the earlier optimism in a machine-ridden civilisation. The non-co-operation movement in India, though its 'negation' hurt the poet, was the spectacle of the down-trodden throwing off the yoke.

Mukta Dhara is a great anti-imperialist play written at a time when the League against Imperialism and Fascism had not seen the light of the day. If the narrow nationalism of Sandip in the *Home and the World* is denounced, the rather elusive meaning of *Mukta Dhara* is an index to the poet's vigorous anti-imperialist and anti-machine attitude.

The people of Shiu Tarai are held in subjugation by the king of Uttarkut. Shiu Tarai lies on a plane and has to depend for its irrigation on the water from the falls of Mukta Dhara in Uttarkut. The king had sent prince Abhijit as the Governor of Shiu Tarai, but the young prince instead of ruling with an iron hand, allowed the subjects their own way in matters concerning them. The king recalls the prince and commands the engineer Bibhuti to build a dam across the falls so as to stop the water supply reaching the fields in Shiu Tarai. This was a device to coerce the subjects into submission. Bibhuti accomplishes the task entrusted to him, and the big engine tower has been erected soaring into the sky. In the hazardous task of checking the waterfall Bibhuti had to employ conscripted labour. The people of Shiu Tarai show signs of active rebellion under Dhananjaya who preaches non-payment of taxes. In the meanwhile, the revelation comes to prince Abhijit that he was not of royal birth but was picked up under the falls of Mukta Dhara. Ever since the erection of the dam and consequent starvation of Shiu Tarai he had been feeling restless. The revelation gives a direction and purpose to his turbulent spirit. He not only wants to liberate Shiu Tarai from the threat of starvation, but to find true spiritual harmony by letting the falls run free. He therefore successfully breaks the dam at its

weakest point. And in the onrush of the water is himself swept away.

The emotional content of the play is intensified by the dam-symbol—a gigantic machine rising like an ominous shadow in the sky. The economy of the plot and the recurrent song of praise to Shiva invest the play with a precision which makes the unity of impression possible in a quasi-mystical drama like this.

The central problem of the play is psychological freedom. The growing identity which Abhijit regards between himself and Mukta Dhara becomes perfect when the waterfall freed from the man-made dam leaps up. This spiritual freedom which is the characteristic of human person is the recognition of a certain necessity—the inescapable necessity of recognising, controlling and changing those institutions which cripple man's freedom. The plot in its concrete, is rich in suggestions of political and economic domination. Exploitation, racial arrogance and servility to the machine are some of the plague-spots of the machine age. Tagore has skilfully portrayed the action and inter-action of the dead mechanical institutions and the human spirit.

The kingdom of Uttarkut is a fascist state in miniature. It had mercilessly sponged on Shiu Tarai—a small helpless colony. The Nandi pass was closed to it so that it may not trade with the foreign countries, but when prince Abhijit ordered its opening the prices of food and clothing in Uttarkut rose.

The way passions are inflamed against Shiu Tarai is typically fascist, too. Racial feelings are aroused, strongly reminiscent of the Nazi pogroms. The school master in Uttarkut is injecting the racial virus in the young minds:

Boys: 'They have not got high-ridged noses.'

Master: 'Right, now what has our professor proved?'

Boys: 'The greatness of our race!'

Master: 'Good! And what will that great race do? Come, speak up.....they'll conquer... out with it, do!...yes...they will conquer everyone else in the world, won't they?'

The schoolmaster of Uttarkut was the forerunner of the Nazi anthropologists one of whom Professor Hermann Gauch says in his book *Fundamental of Anthropology*:

"The non-Nordic man's teeth roots are more diagonally set than those of the animal, owing to the prominent snoutish character of his upper jaws. Nordic man chews his food with the mouth closed by the grinding movement of his jaws; whereas the other races tend to chew with a smacking noise like the animals, owing to the pressing movement of the jaws."

The character of the schoolmaster has been rounded off with a cynical comment the Minister of the State makes upon him:

"Fellows of this kind have their uses. They do mechanically day after day exactly as they are told. Things would not run on such oiled wheels if they had more sense."

Mental atrophy and intellectual automatism are the features of fascist social life.

At some place Tagore wrote :

"The soul's expression is joy for which man can accept sorrow and death; he who avoids the path of sorrow in this world in fear or laziness or doubt is denied that joy."

His plays seem to hinge on this motif, particularly in *Mukta Dhara* we find the soul's assertion of itself against regimentation and fear. The dam symbol heightens the emotional effect of the machine-ridden state. It seems to sap all joy and freedom from life and to fill it with fear and suspicion. At the very opening of the play the pilgrim senses it when it says:

"When I came in sight of it today my whole body shivered with a nameless fear."

It is the giant manifestation of imperialist greed, as Batu says :

"Have't you heard? Today they are going to thrust Shiva from his temple and thirst will sit enthroned on his seat."

Batu was the unfortunate father whose sons were forcibly conscripted in building the dam where they perished.

Abhijit and Dhananjaya are the moving spirit behind the play. The former broods over the fettering of the spirit by the machine and the consequent loss of joy, the latter carries on a crusade against the domination of his country. As the Governor of Shiu Tarai prince Abhijit was wrapped in the affection of the people. Love came to him unasked. But the imperialist machinations of the king prove too much for his love of freedom. Then came the huge machine with its deathly suggestions. He compares it with homely love that came his way :

"Just because such love exists I cannot endure that hideous, steel-toothed monster that mutes the music of earth and grins and guffaws against the sky. I am going to fight the demons which menace it."

Dhananjaya, the histrionic representation of Mahatma Gandhi, provides the second undercurrent of conflict. His is an anti-imperialist stand. He preaches

non-violent non-co-operation and no-rent campaigns. But the significance of his fight is not purely secular. He exhorts his countrymen, the people of Shiu Tarai, to shed fear. He remarks :

"As soon as you can hold up your head and say that nothing has power to hurt you, the roots of violence will be cut through."

Dhananjaya wants no blind obedience. Dictatorial methods are alien to his nature. When the Shiu Tarains say that their strength lies in him Dhananjaya rebukes him :

Ganesh : 'The strength of us all is in you alone.'
Dhananjaya : 'Then I am defeated. I must stand aside.'

All : 'Why master?'

Dhananjaya : 'Would you lose your own souls to possess me? And do you dream that I can make so great a loss?'

And further,

Second Shiu Tarain : 'Have you then no love for us?'

Dhananjaya : 'Better the love that sets you free than the love that smothers your spirit.'

Dhananjaya deepens the meaning of Abhijit's struggle and contributes to the background lyrically. His steady defiance of authority coupled with spirituality of means reminds one of Mahatma Gandhi. But it should not be forgotten that though, no-tax campaign and non-violence bring Mahatmaji to the mind, his is a character having an organic development. Tagore first introduced him in a play called *Prayashchitta*, written in 1909 and later improved upon him in his next *Paritran*. Dhananjaya of *Mukta Dhara* posits the maturity of Tagore's political thoughts during the preceding two decades.

Abhijit breaks the engine tower demolishing at once the imperialistic and the spiritual bondage. He is carried away in the rushing stream and finds his own fulfilment. The creed of power, exclusive nationalism and racial arrogance, set against the background of a soul-less machine, are all engulfed in the torrential flow of *Mukta Dhara*. (To be continued)

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INTERVIEW WITH PROF. EINSTEIN

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

I REGARD myself extremely fortunate in being able to meet Prof. Einstein during my recent world tour. To arrange a meeting with the great Professor is not an easy affair. Firstly, he is too busy with his own scientific researches, and secondly, his health has been very indifferent for the last few years. It was, therefore, a piece of very good news to know in New York that Prof. Einstein had kindly invited us to tea at his residence in the campus of the Princeton University. Shri Manilal Gandhi, the eldest living son of Mahatma Gandhi, was also to be with us. As we went to Princeton in the suburban electric train, I remembered those memorable words of

Professor Einstein which constitute, perhaps, the best tribute so far paid to Gandhiji :

"Generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this, ever in flesh and blood, walked upon this earth !"

The campus of the Princeton University is extraordinarily charming and picturesque. The Secretary of the Chancellor of the University was kind enough to take us round the campus. When we reached the cottage of Prof. Einstein, we were struck with the simplicity of the small wooden house which did not have even a name-plate in front of it. On hearing of our arrival, the Professor came down from the

upper study room and greeted us with a cordial smile. His dress was utterly simple and informal, his hair uncombed and silvery.

As the Professor sat down with us and tea was served by his secretary, our talk naturally began with Prof. Einstein's enquiry. "I was shocked to read Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. The whole world was sad. But who was this young crazy boy who killed him?" I explained to him how the partition of India embittered a section of the Hindus. When Gandhiji tried to protect the Muslims in India at a time when Hindus in Pakistan were being brutally murdered and looted, this militant Hindu group lost its balance. A few young men of this group conspired to kill the Mahatma and succeeded in their devilish plan!

The Professor heaved a sigh of sorrow and remarked: "Gandhi was a miracle of man. He never cared whether his ideas were popular or not, he never sought any protection from the police. The wonder is that he was not assaulted earlier. Such shameful tragedies happen with the greatest of men. But Gandhi's death was his greatest victory!"

After a short pause, Prof. Einstein asked me: "Mahatma Gandhi's idea of economic decentralisation in the form of cottage industries was meant mainly for Indian conditions or did he visualise a decentralised pattern for the whole world?"

"So far as I know, Gandhiji wanted the whole world to follow the decentralised economic and political structure because he thought that decentralisation was indispensable for a non-violent society." Shri Manilal Gandhi nodded assent. The Professor began to think aloud:

"I believe that decentralisation would be the future pattern of society. But I do not know how it is going to be so. There is always danger of tyranny by a centralized government. Large centralised cities are simply 'horrible.' I believe that local decentralisation is feasible. Every person must work for his livelihood. I am a convinced socialist."

In order to avoid too much strain on the Professor, we tried to change the topic of conversation. Mrs. Agarwal showed a beautiful album of Gandhiji which had been received by us from Kanu Gandhi only a few days back. She also presented to Prof. Einstein a small ivory statue of Gandhiji. The Professor was moved by the present and said that he would treasure it.

"What is the duty of women in modern life? If you do not mind I would like to know your opinion," said Mrs. Agarwal hesitatingly.

"In India, the duty of women is very clear," smiled Prof. Einstein. "They should not have too many children!"

"But is it not the duty of men also," enquired Mrs. Agarwal. "Certainly," added the Professor. "Women should be given more economic protection;

they should not be kept down as in Europe and America."

"How to raise the moral standard of men and society?" asked Mrs. Agarwal. "There can be no general solution or system," replied the Professor. "Each man or woman has to begin to improve himself or herself. At present, we glorify success instead of sacrifice. Therefore, people are ambitious. This ambition is the worst enemy of mankind. We must learn to serve and not to collect 'dollars.' Schools can do very much to bring about a change in our outlook and make for a better and happier world."

Shri Manilal Gandhi had come to America as an unofficial visitor to watch the proceedings of the United Nations in connection with the South African issue. He was, therefore, eager to know the views of Prof. Einstein about the U.N.O.

"Do you think that the United Nations Organisation would be able to serve any useful purpose?"

"Its faults are those of its birth" remarked the Professor. "It was given birth by governments which suffer from definite limitations. But there is no reason why, despite evident limitations, the U.N.O. should not be able to do well."

The Professor paused for a while and then continued: "The United Nations can succeed if there are sufficient men in it who sincerely desire to promote peace. But the pity of it all is that even such good-intentioned men are constantly 'weighed down' by their respective governments."

"What do you think about the next war?" asked Shri Manilal. "Who can tell?" observed Prof. Einstein in a sad tone. "I know that majority of people in all countries never want it. War is precipitated by the Army leaders who, I honestly believe, are 'mad' men. But it is curious how these 'mad' men get on so well in politics!"

All of us laughed at this pithy but humorous remark. Prof. Einstein joined us in the laughter. We had been with him for about an hour. So we did not want to switch on to any further serious topic of conversation. Mrs. Agarwal requested Prof. Einstein for his signature and message. In her Album, the Professor wrote the extremely significant sentence:

"Nothing is more important to man than man."

We expressed our deep gratitude to Prof. Einstein for his kindness in sparing so much of his very valuable time. He was good enough to walk out into the small garden lawn of his cottage for a group photograph. As we bowed before him in reverence and left his house-door to catch the evening train, I experienced that simplicity and humility were the signs of true greatness. One of Prof. Einstein's sentences was also resounding in my mind: "Gandhi's death was his greatest victory!" How true, but how tragic!

ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY IN SELECTION

By C. T. THOMAS, M.A., B.D.

In a country like India where a number of religions, sects and communities exist, it is indispensable for the Government to command the goodwill and respect of all sections. Unless the people are sure that impartial justice is done in favour of personal efficiency and merit in questions of appointments and promotions, it cannot be considered that the foundations of the Government have been securely laid.

A scientific approach to the problem is required. Introduction of modern psychological procedure is the only way to improve the selection methods. Psychological tests are among the tools that are necessary for the most effective selection and placement of employees.

It should be clearly recognized that psychological methods are not infallible. Any new procedure, whether in employment, production, advertising, or the like should be evaluated not in terms of whether it achieves perfection, but whether it results in some improvement over other methods. Evaluation of a testing programme should be made in terms of a statistical comparison between the employment situation with the tests and without the tests. Also we have to bear in mind that a testing programme should be evaluated in terms of averages rather than in terms of specific cases.

By the modern psychological methods complete personality of the candidate has to be evaluated, and his fitness for selection judged against the traits required for the job. The aim of any selection method is to sort the best out of the group available, and to evaluate how far each one selected is fit for a particular job. The short interview method often followed by the employer cannot do this satisfactorily. For half an hour or less a candidate is asked questions of various sorts to find out as to his fitness for the job for which he is an applicant. The interviewer thereafter comes to his own conclusions which are mostly subjective. The mood of the interviewer and the reserve of the candidate or his boldness very often vitiates the clarity of judgment. Examination system also is not satisfactory for this purpose.

The scientific selection purports to choose or prefer an individual to another for a particular job by a method comprising of analysis and synthesis. Firstly, a job analysis is essential. Job is analysed into its various aspects, such as the minimum physical requirements, mental, temperamental and attainable qualifications required. Secondly, the individual analysis should follow. Each individual available for the job is analysed by the use of psychological and personality tests. The following factors should be borne in mind when the individual is analysed.

1. Physical fitness
2. Intelligence
3. Aptitude

4. Attainment, both academic and professional
5. Temperamental and attitudinal characteristics

The first step, then, is the analysis of the job and of the candidate who should fit in that job. The method of synthesis should supplement that of analysis. Without analysis synthesis is not possible. By the method of synthesis each individual is compared with the others competing for that particular job, a comparison in no way easy. This method is certainly out of place in a half-an-hour interview with the candidate by either one person or by a group of persons though it should be realised there is a definite value in the interview.

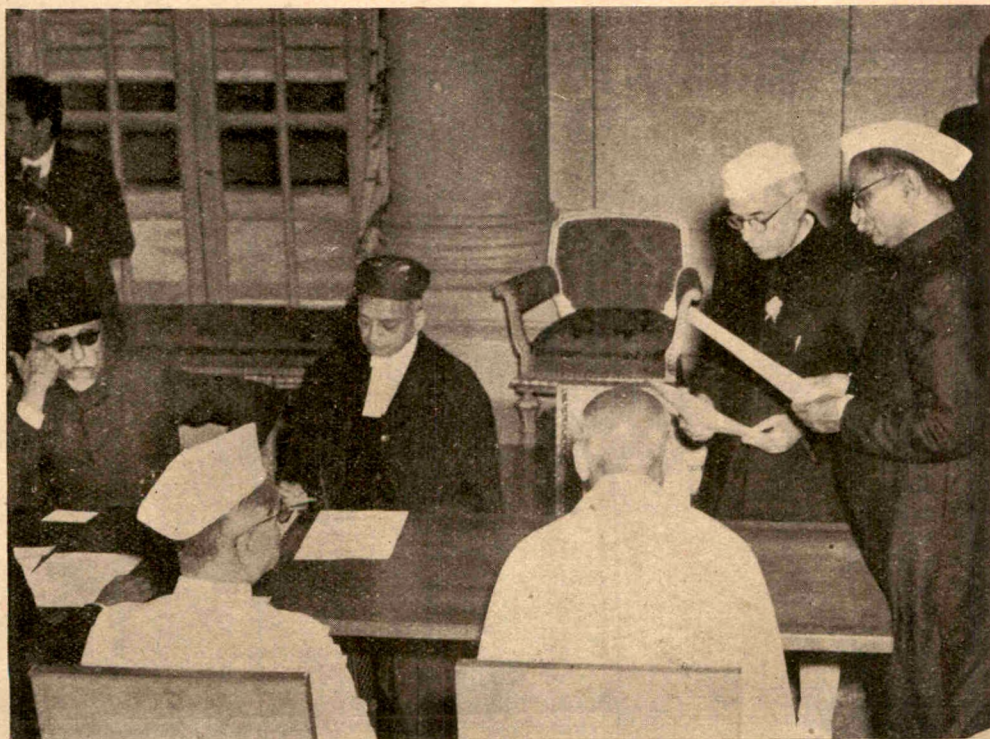
The success of modern methods of selection depends entirely on the comparison of one individual with the others competing for a particular job. This method can become objective to a considerable degree by standardization. No one hitherto has attempted at a cent per cent standardization of psychological methods of selection in India, though efforts in that line have been made by the Army Selection Boards and the Civil Selection Boards though short lived, did make a real contribution to the problem of recruitment. The value of these Boards lies in the emphasis they placed on psychological methods of selection. The abortive end these Boards experienced was unfortunate and the country has to put up with a definite set-back inasmuch as the progress in scientific selection procedure is concerned. A hopeful situation now arises in the recent recommendation submitted to the Government of India to set up a Central Institute of Psychology with a view to begin research in applied psychology. This Institute can become the "power house" where officers in psychology can be trained and supplied to the selection systems.

Organizations responsible for selection require a competent team of individuals who are complementary to each other. Great care should be taken in the choice of members of a selection committee. No one should be employed who is not imbued with a spirit of scientific integrity. The psychologists employed should be competent to design, to administer, and to analyse the results statistically and constantly to ascertain their validity. Differing procedures are required for differing recruitments. What these procedures may be depends on the job analysis which should come as the first step. Without a job analysis there is no criterion for the selectors.

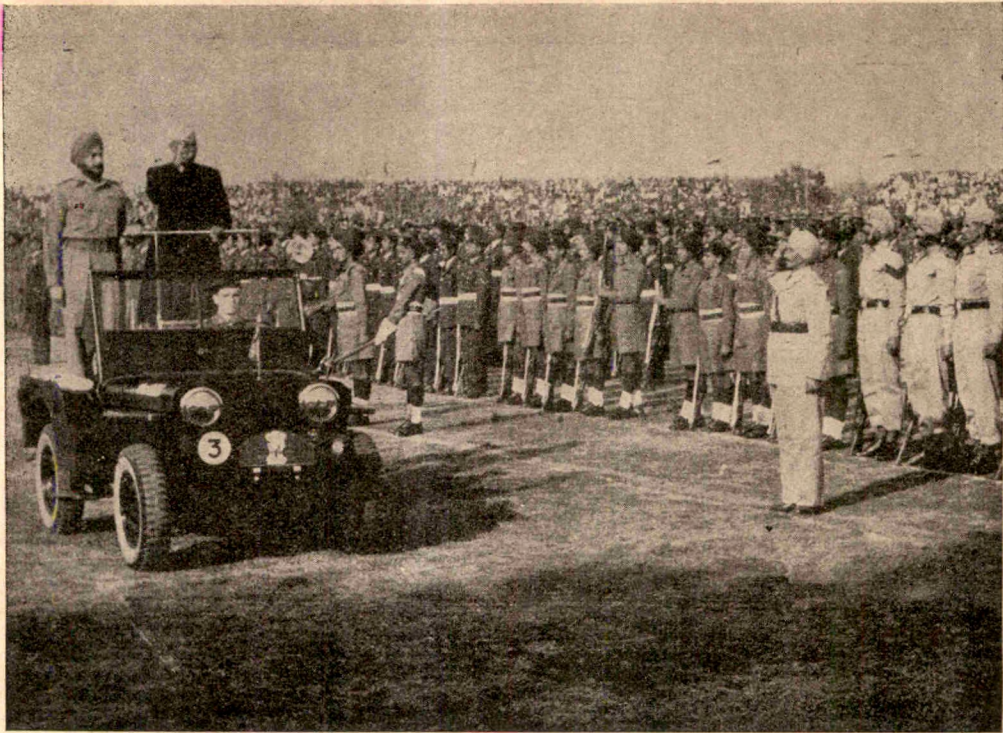
No part of a psychological procedure in selection can be introduced piecemeal. For instance, we can not judge a person simply on the basis of his intelligence alone. Intelligence tests are only a part of the whole procedure and should be fitted in as such. It is an unscientific step to introduce intelligence tests alone into an old-time method. Such action would amount to the acceptance of a conception of a quarter of a century out of date. An analogy in the medical field



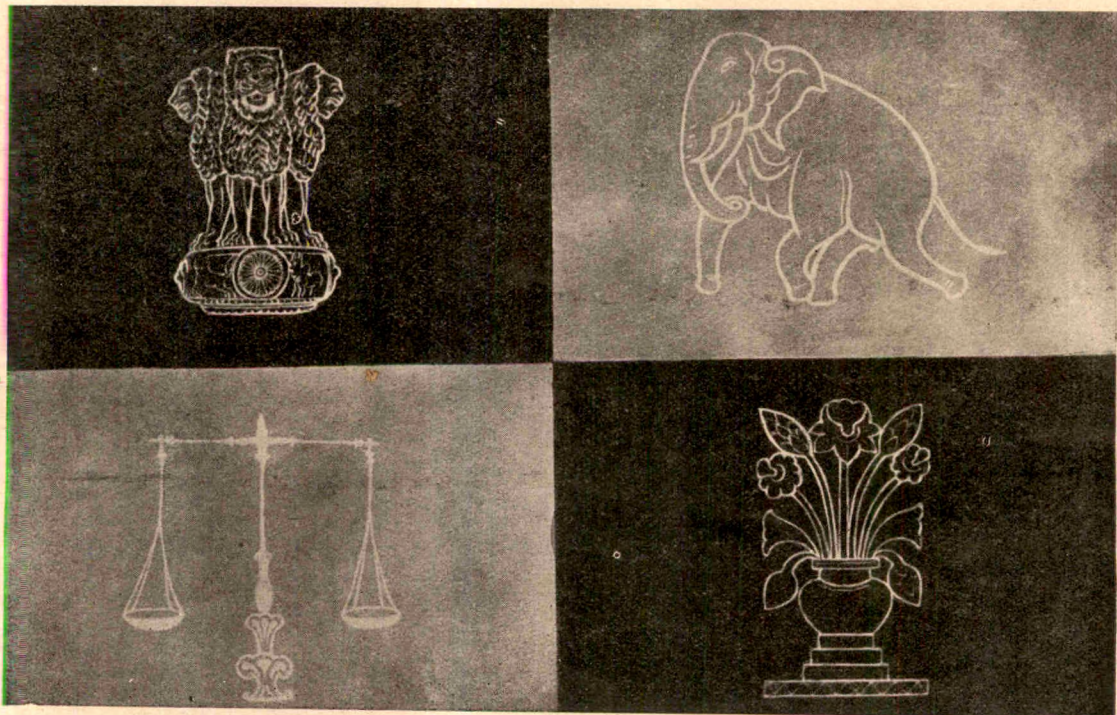
Sri Rajagopalachari receives farewell blessings from one of his numerous well-wishers, just before his departure from the Government House on January 27. Standing behind is Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Republic



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru being sworn in as Prime Minister by Dr. Rajendra Prasad after the swearing-in ceremony of the President in the Government House, New Delhi, on January 26, 1950



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, first President of the Indian Republic, inspects troops in the Ceremonial Parade held in the Irwin Stadium, New Delhi, on January 26, 1950



The flag of the President of the Indian Republic. The motif of the Asokan capital represents unity, equality and fraternity ; that of the Ajanta elephant, patience and strength ; the pair of scales, justice and economy ; and the lotus bowl (*pooran ghat*), prosperity and plenty

would be to condemn our country to surgery as practised before the time of Pasteur or Lister. Such an action would do much harm to many, and it would prejudice the whole of psychological methods bringing in its trail an air of magic and sorcery. It is difficult to convince the layman that there is no magic in scientific psychological methods. They are well studied and experimented on a wide scale. There were test aberrations in the early twenties as administered by the Continental and American psychologists. Fortunately these were short-lived. Psychologists soon agreed that intelligence was found to be only one factor in personality, and not an over-riding one at that. Different aspects of personality including aptitude and attainment began to loom large in the horizon. Aptitudes are now recognised as not necessarily inherent, but conditioned to a considerable extent by training and environment, and that there are no satisfactory tests to discover or discriminate them. To determine aptitudes one has to tackle the different aspects of man, not only his intelligence. Assessment should be directed to the whole man to delineate his basic set and his attitude to the group and of the group to him. The Germans developed these psychological theories and tried to amalgamate them into a technique for selection of their armed forces. A few other nations followed suit and have been benefited by the great value of this technique. It is not yet standardised by any one as the technique is based entirely on the growing conception of psychological methods. The pattern used in the year 1927 was out of date in 1945.

These methods should be built by organisations of skilled technicians including statisticians as well as psychiatrists and psychologists working together as a team. Their main concern should be to place on every job individuals who are able to do the job well and who are temperamentally adapted to the job in question. The success of personnel placement depends upon placing every individual on a job that matches the capacity of the individual. If the job is too difficult the result is confusion, piling up of files, reproof from the officer in charge. If the job is too easy the result is boredom, mind-wandering, day-dreaming and dissatisfaction. An employee is best adapted and most satisfied when he has found an outlet for his energy, drive and ability. Basic capacities of the employee can be detected by special and standardized test procedures.

No single test will measure all of the capacities or abilities required on any job. Even the simplest of jobs is complex. Aptitude for any job consists of a syndrome of abilities. This fact makes it desirable to use a battery of tests rather than a single test. By means of statistical methods the results can be combined into a composite score. The value of the testing procedure is enhanced by the use of several tests in combination since no single test gives a high validity coefficient as the battery as a whole does. Different

tests differ in content, emphasis, and extent to which they measure aptitude. They differ in value for different jobs. To find out with certainty the relative value of the tests one should carefully study the relationship between test scores of employees on that job and their actual job success.

In Government offices these tests can be used with great advantage. Clerks, stenographers, assistants and superintendents should be tested periodically to measure proficiency and standard of work. For purposes of training, promotion and transfer they will prove beneficial. Seniority should not constitute the whole criterion of promotion. The tests should supplement such factors as qualification, seniority, needs of the offices, and the like. It is desirable that the help of outside experts is sought to supplement the work of departmental officers in making job analysis, fixing scales of pay, deciding in respect of placement, training and promotion.

Personality traits, attitudes and morale of the employee can be also measured to a certain extent. An applicant might be high in mental ability or in manipulative dexterity, and yet have a personality that would make him an undesirable individual to employ. Personality characteristics make it difficult for him to fit into any organization and to work co-operatively with others. This aspect should be found out before employing any, which can only be done with the help of personality tests. It is possible that a psychotic or mentally ill person produces an undesirable profile under conditions of testing and it can be detected.

Applicant's interests also should be evaluated by means of tests in which questions are asked about such topics as present and past activities, hobbies, how vacations are spent, games in which interested, etc.

Morale cannot be induced into a group by logical argument. Employee morale is made up of a combination of attitudes towards different aspects of the total situation. Congenial atmosphere should be set in the offices so that the employees may keep up their morale. The blustering bully type of "straw bosses" should not find a place where the morale of the employees is desired. Even morale can be measured by means of tests if the testing officers can find means to encourage employees to express their honest feelings and reactions with regard to the offices where they work.

It is a legitimate responsibility of the Government to see that a Psychological Research Bureau is set up. The staff trained therein should advise the bodies responsible for selection of personnel. The contribution of psychology to methods of selection is essentially one of bringing order and method into a field where previously the main instruments available have been individual likes and dislikes. The possibility of a scientific study of the applicant and also of the job into which he is to be fitted is a challenge to the old-time methods of selection.

A BOOK FOR INDIA TO CREATE

By TERENCE WHITE CERVAIS

"An Indian Social Bible!"—By this we mean a type of book which it is to be hoped may be created in India itself during the next decade: a work which will describe, maybe in a quasi-poetic vein born of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, a social and individual philosophy that may unite democracy with the innate Indian myths, and reconcile Hinduism with Islam.

This book could contain a unique blending of explicit and implicit democratic teaching with an explicit reference to traditional Hindu thought, even though such thought be originally (and to some extent always, in its implicit core) anti-, or at least non-, democratic.

Every philosophy contains certain dynamic, and certain static, elements; but in India the concept of dynamic activity, of the value of multiplicity, of ambiguity even, has always taken precedence. Nonetheless, a complementary static aspect is present, in the form of fatalistic indifference to the earthly destiny of individual men alike amid the dynamic processes of tropical Nature and the languor-fashioning Indian sun. This static quality is present in high degree in the institution of caste. Now, cannot this very dynamic core of Indian thought be used to oil the static wheels of caste? — Caste is based largely on belief in the single activity of each man; a carpenter is merely a carpenter, and so forth; yet surely each man comprises a variety of possible functions, all of which—whether professional, personal, or social—he should be free to develop. Cannot this western view be infiltrated through the Hindu love of "multiplicity of forms" into the caste-dogma?

Moreover, we could teach that the aristocratic concept of hierarchy, though true in a spiritual sense (which the West forgets) is by no means essential in the social realm. In identifying inner with social rank, caste is seen at its most lazy and static. Nonetheless, social and inner meanings cannot be completely divorced, else society loses a spiritual basis. Thus can we not teach that, even if the social privilege of a Brahmin give him an ideal to live up to, the selfish price paid for that ideal is actually contrary to the ideal itself? *Noblesse oblige*: alas, throughout history *Noblesse s'abuse*. Therefore the highest path to nobility is through one's self; and this ideal could be related to many concepts even of Indian aesthetics. If, as a concession, certain social privileges are allowed to stay, this is due to the weaknesses of the privileged, and can at best be regarded as an alternative aspect among the multiple view of man which we are striving to derive from Hindu conceptions. The external brilliance of a widespread, spiritual aristocracy could even be related to the important concept of *Lila*

(play: Schiller's *Spieltrieb*), which, as Dr. Betty Heimann shows, pervades the Hindu view of the universe.

A similar widening of interpretation could be given to another caste-argument, that of "service to the community." The variety of possible services within each man, as also the infinite interlocking communities and semi-societies to which each belongs, could be suggested by parallels from Hindu philosophy. Or again, we could stress a concept not alien to Indian thought; that of "Truth by Vibration," in which the breath of Brahma blows experience from one aspect to the other without implying that either alone is truly valid; Hindu theoretical tolerance could apply this to the relations between Hinduism, Islam and other faiths. It can also be applied in the social sphere, as suggesting a vibration between spiritual-aristocratic and social-democratic ideals. Men are equal, yet unequal, and the fan vibrating in this tension gives the breath of life.

Another useful concept, this time due mainly to Western science, though not without historic Indian affinities, is the distinction between a thing (or idea) in its own right, as a substance and in relation to others, as a function. There is no space here to explain its huge and complex ramifications, but could not this concept be used to inject mobility into both the Hindu-Moslem rigidity and the standstill of Caste? It would be an advance if we could show different religions as, not only themselves in their own right, but functions, partial explanations, or corrective mirrors, of each other; an equal advance, if we could reveal the true inter-penetration of the castes,—to practise, for instance, the holy-scholarly aspect of the prince or the artisan, the workmanlike qualities needed for priest, poet, or prince, and the princely element in labour, especially in artistic craftsmanship. Further, just as there is a "Triad of Fires," the first form from heaven, the second from men, the third in the waters, so is there also *Alatacanti*, Gaudapada's image of the multiplicity of the world: "As a stick, burning at one end, when waved round produces the illusion of a circle of fire..." It should not be impossible to apply these fire-conceptions to the problems of Caste, of peace among religions, and so forth. The West catches each separate flicker of fire as the stick is waved: India must learn this in the social sphere, yet still she can keep her sense of the illusory movement of the flames.

This deep-set sense of illusion can be used still further to India's profit: it can enable her to penetrate, more deeply than Europeans, the tragic paradox of politics and ideals,—how, to fulfil themselves, ideals must to some ex-

tent deny themselves; how movements grow, fulfil, and distort their own purpose; how men are *caught* at diverse moments and levels of these dynamic processes, and need our sympathy for the partial background from which they thus act; how no social scheme or change is uniformly good, and how, therefore, we must always watch for and help those who are caught in the transitions of society, and every exceptional case, and those who suffer through the margin between an ideal and its setting-out. Above all, such reflections should teach us to revere and assist the individual human personality, which can never be exhausted by any single label or act. Each human being contains elements of every caste, of every aspect of the Divine and of the World; each of us belongs to a million "societies" and groups with the living and the dead, which inter-penetrate like the patterns of Indian sculpture, or Indian logic.

But, it may be urged, is not this emphasis on the human person contrary to Indian traditions? It need not be. Each created soul is an image of its creator; do not the Upanishads reiterate the likeness between the universal and the individual Atman? And here we touch on the Western psychological concept, already mentioned, of Gestalten or Wholes: a key to many distracting distresses in politics. For through this can be glimpsed the infinite aspects contained in every person, which demand our respect, the infinite variety of societies to which each person belongs (hence the State can never claim omnipotence), the bewildering variety of viewpoints from which groups or persons think or act, and the likelihood of achieving different results when a situation is viewed as from larger or smaller "wholes," and from their inter-penetrations. Not only from psychology does this conception derive, but from the nature of Western microscope. Yet not only from the West does this view derive: the problem of Macrocosm and Microcosm, Immense and Small, the setting and solving of pattern within pattern, the concept of different levels of a Scale,—all these are recurrent motifs in Indian thinking.* Finally, we may thus widen—and, in a sense, make more provisional—the narrow, if blazing, ideal of Nationality. In all the circumstances, it would be priggish not to sympathise with the nationalist consciousness of India; but the perils inherent in such a conception, as Europe has fully proved, can be mitigated if we understand the provisional, depen-

dent, and mobile validity of any single society, or majority, or minority, of which a man is part. The present partition of India lends urgency to this concept.

Let us now sketch a few methods by which the various faiths of India (and elsewhere) can reconcile, and even improve, each other. For this is required, first, a kind of "Grammar and Logic of Religions" which will analyse the structures of different systems, and their inter-relations, the balances, compressions, and omissions of ideas, both within each faith and between them all.† One feature in this "Logic of Religions" will be the technique of "Scale." Let us only have sufficient inclusiveness on the one hand and at the same time enough power of minute analysis, and we can then regard Hindu polytheism as an enlargement, and intensification—or, to use a filmic image, a "close-up"—of the attributes of God, as proclaimed in monotheistic faiths. Islam asserts attributes of God; then let the philosopher of religion, or the possessor of all faiths regard these as related to the vivid 99 (or more) "godheads" of Hinduism through different patterns of Micro- and Macro-cosm, and of explicit or implicit intensities. But let also the devout Moslem, who cannot see his way to this transcendental synthesis and analysis, accept the Hindu attitude as a call to himself to intensify the vividness of his perception of God's attributes, and thus—since to him the unity of God is ever more vivid still—his perception of God's unity. And the Hindu likewise can be grateful to monotheism for stressing the unity of his Brahman.

Furthermore, in each religion can be found principles which should conduce to a wider approach: the Koran, for instance, distinguishes many "Names of God." He is: amongst other titles, *Al-Jani*, the Collector, the Combiner: He is *Al-mani*, or He who keeps things separated from each other; He is *Al-Basit*, who expands things; or else He contracts them, under His title of *Al-Cabiz*. Surely the variety of approach suggested here can create a number of methods suitable for solving the issues of the inter-relations between doctrines, or between religions,—or even between religion and science. Other possible techniques would be concerned with "spiral" processes between different religious conceptions. *e.g.*, between a "personal" and an "impersonal" conception of God, or a creative and a non-creative origin or the world.

Such, then, is a brief review of the type of book which, if composed with inspiration by Indians, could tide over the present spiritual and social era of transition. We have actually displayed but a few of the possible themes; yet the same—or similar—patterns of thought can be applied to such further issues as : Industrialisation; Speed, Mechanism, and concentration; Depth as against Speed. Nature as against Mechanics; and the soul in friendly or hostile relations, with every one of these.

* A few random examples may be useful :

(i) The subdivisions within Brahma itself (Universal nature, etc.) are echoed in the subdivisions of the Prajna-Manas (internal organs of self-consciousness).

(ii) As Hegel showed, the relations between the three Members of the Hindu Trimurti (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva) are repeated within each separate Member,—Trinity within Trinity, and of similar structure.

(iii) According to some interpretations, the Buddha, having first denied any divine immanence in man, proceeded to deny any unity, such as that given by a "self" to the activities of what is termed a "man."

† See my *After Leonardo*, Gh. XIX.

TOWNS IN INDIA

A Study

By SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

There are 2,703 towns all together in the Indian Union and Pakistan. Of this number the United Provinces and the States within the provincial boundary have the largest number of towns numbering 456. The province of Madras with the States has 420 towns; Bombay with the States has 332; the Punjab with the States has 286; Bengal with the States and Rajputana have each 156; Hyderabad has 138; the Central Provinces with the States 130; Mysore 108 and Bihar with the States 93. Besides these, the Provinces and States that have towns numbering 50, or more than 50 are: Baroda (64) and Central India (71); less than 50 but more than 25 are: Travancore (46), Gwalior (46), Assam and States (32), Orissa and States (29), Sind (26), North-Western Frontier Province and States (28) and Jammu and Kashmir (28); 25 or less than 25: Baluchistan and States (17), Ajmere Merwara (5), Delhi (8), Coorg (2) and Cochin (15).

Considered according to the strength of population, there are 58 towns, both in the Indian Union and Pakistan, that have each a population estimated to be over 100,000. Of these 58, the United Provinces and States have 12; the Punjab and States 8; Madras and States 6; Bombay and States 5; Rajputana and Mysore each 3; Sind, Delhi and Central Provinces with States each 2; Jammu and Kashmir, North-Western Frontier Province and States, Ajmere-Merwara, Gwalior, Central India, Baroda, Hyderabad and Travancore each one.

With a population between 50,000 and 100,000 there are 97 towns of which Madras and States have 21, Bengal and States 15, the United Provinces and States, and Bombay and States each 12; Bihar and States 8; the Punjab and States 6; Central Provinces and States 5; Hyderabad 3; Cochin, Travancore, Rajputana and Sind each 2 and Baluchistan, Jammu and Kashmir, North-Western Frontier Province, Orissa and States, Assam and States, Gwalior and Central India each one.

With a population between 20,000 and 50,000 there are 301 towns in the Indian Union and Pakistan of which 58 are in Madras and States; 43 in Bengal and States; 41 in the United Provinces and States; 37 in Bombay and States; 34 in the Punjab and States; 17 in Central Provinces; 14 in Bihar and States; 13 in Rajputana; 7 in Hyderabad; 6 in Central India and Baroda; 5 in the North-Western Frontier Province and States; 4 in Assam and States; 3 each in Orissa and States, Gwalior, Mysore and Travancore; 2 in Sind; one each in Ajmere-Merwara and Cochin.

There are 2,247 towns in the Indian Union and Pakistan with a population below 20,000. In this category, the United Provinces and States come first with 391, then come Madras and States with 335, Bombay and States with 278, the Punjab and States with 238, Rajputana with 138; Hyderabad with 127; Central Provinces with 106; Bengal and States with 94; Bihar and States with 68; Central India with 63; Baroda with 57; Gwalior with 41; Travancore with 40; Jammu and Kashmir with 37; Assam and States with 27; Orissa and States with 25; N.-W. Frontier Province and States with 21; Baluchistan and States with 16; Cochin with 12; Delhi with 6; Ajmere-Merwara with 3 and Coorg with 2.

From a close study of the statistical abstract given in the above it may be said that the United Provinces and States lead the rest of India with a total of 456 towns, of which 12 have each a population over 100,000; other 12 have each a population between 100,000 and 50,000; 41 have each a population between 50,000 and 20,000 and 391 have each a population below 20,000. In respect of the first-class towns on population basis the United Provinces with States occupy the foremost place. But in respect of the second class towns with a population between 100,000 and 50,000 the United Provinces and States are competed by Madras and States with 21 such towns and Bengal and States with 15. Bombay and States claim an equal honour with the same number of towns, that is, 12. Also, in respect of the third class towns, with a population between 50,000 and 20,000, the United Provinces and States have to admit defeat before Madras and States with 58 towns and Bengal and States with 43. Bombay and States with 37 and the Punjab and States with 34 may be counted as the probable competitors. However, in respect of the fourth class towns the United Provinces and States are again in the lead with 391 towns; following them are Madras and States with 335, Central Provinces and States with 278, and the Punjab and States with 238.

The reasons that may be put forward to explain the leading position of the United Provinces and States in urban development are fairly these: (1) The United Provinces and States having mainly occupied the Gangetic plain, people have since immemorial time concentrated in this territory more than in any other place in Northern India; (2) the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim monarchs built many thriving cities in this tract of land; (3) most of the renowned places of pilgrimage of the Hindus are located in the United Provinces; (4) a number of military cantonments has

been stationed in the province since the days of the Mutiny of 1857, and also, (5) various industries, arts and crafts have prospered here in quite a number of places, respectively distinguished for such endeavours.

Any way, the United Provinces and States enjoy a glorious past in the history of urban development in India, which very few of the provinces can lay claim upon.

Coming next to the United Provinces and States is the province of Madras with States having 420 cities and townships. This total is less than that for the U. P. and States by only 36. Besides, although Madras with States is behind the U.P. and States so far as the first class and fourth class townships are concerned, it is leading the U.P. and States in respect of the second and third class towns. The following comparative table may be interesting :

Provinces	Total No. of Towns	1st Class Towns	2nd Class Towns	3rd Class Towns	4th Class Towns
U.P. and States	456	12	12	41	391
Madras and States	420	6	21	58	335

Archaeological discoveries have now proved beyond doubt that the Pre-historic Man once came to settle in this province. Since then a particular race of people rose in this tract of land with unique cultural gifts, and then these people even carried overseas commercial activities to Old Egypt and to the island countries in the Far East. We have very little knowledge of the earliest towns of South India but from the architectural remains and also from accounts of efficient city administration of much later days we can easily form an idea that South India attained urban development since the very early days of the world.

There are some well-known places of pilgrimage for the Hindus, associated with the name and exploits of the mythological king of Northern India, Rama. There are a number of ports in the province, and also, only the black soil of the province being very productive, people have not had occasion for living thinly scattered over the country. Moreover, the Southerners have the earliest knowledge in India of the benefits of living together in small towns. Yet, if we take into account some of the 130 towns of the Central Provinces, 138 towns of Hyderabad, 108 towns of Mysore, 46 towns of Travancore and a number of other towns existing on the Malabar coast and in Central India, the number of the South Indian towns will be less than the number of towns in Northern India by a few hundreds.

While comparing the town development activities in Madras and States with those of the U.P. and States, one must take into consideration two very important causes that helped the U.P. and States to lay out a number of towns in the mediaeval and the modern ages which were almost absent in the South. The Muslims could not go much down in the South,

and they sowed there more discontent than peace, so that they were scarcely helpful to the building of cities there. Then, during the British Rule in India although the first settlement of the British in India was established in the city of Madras, they built their Empire first on the soil of Bengal. The industrial and commercial activities that followed the British in India raised Bengal and Bombay more than any other province.

With 332 towns Bombay Province and States come next to Madras and States. Of these towns 5 are first class ones compared to 12 of the U.P. and States, 8 of the Punjab and States and 6 of Madras and States. In the number of the second class towns Bombay and States have 12, the same number as the U.P. and States have, and this number is excelled only by Madras and States with 21 and Bengal and States with 15. With regard to the third class towns, Bombay and States with 37 are behind Madras and States with 58, Bengal and States with 43 and the U.P. and States with 41. As regards small townships, Bombay with States, with 278, is preceded by only the U.P. and States with 391 and Madras and States with 335.

Bombay and States have towns of three different types : (a) The province, having a long coast-line famous through the ages, has quite a number of flourishing ports; (b) towns of historical importance; and (c) towns of great industrial enterprises. Alone the commercial status of the city of Bombay has maintained a number of suburban townships. Since the rise of the national movement in the country, cloth mills and other industrial undertakings have flourished raising a few of the previously small towns to the first class. The industrial activities of Bombay having uniformly spread over the territory small townships have grown up in number in contrast to the position in Bengal where a few towns have drawn in large numbers of people. The province of Bengal is predominantly a stretch of fertile agricultural plain profusely watered by a network of rivers. Thus, this province offers less favourable chances for extensive urbanisation. Any way, the first spurt of industrial and commercial activities of the British began here, and hence signs of such activities have remained. Transport difficulties in Eastern Bengal have left that part of the country without many towns, that have cropped up in West Bengal on account of natural facilities for communications with the city of Calcutta, the heart and soul of the province.

In the Punjab and States, that stand fourth in order, so far as the total number of towns in a province with States is concerned, have 8 first class towns. As such, they are next only to the U.P. and States, and occupy the fourth place in respect of the small towns. The Punjab and States have a number of old towns. It was here that the Aryans built their first home in India. The Greeks established their

empire here. The relics of some very old cities have been excavated in this province. The overland trade traffic from Tibet, China and Siberia having passed through this province, certain towns in that connection grew up in course of time. Then, the constant inroads of foreigners into this province led to concentration of people in particular localities, and towns resulted thereof. Then, again, in the Punjab and States there are the Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus, having cities of their own respective religion and culture. Military reasons, and particularly the Punjab being the main recruiting ground for soldiers, have attached special importance to a number of cities. Now-a-days some industries, special to the province, have contributed to the growth and development of urban life. In the present days, the upper tens of the people of this province with States have adopted Western modes of life in so great a measure that this too has also become a contributory force to the rapid development of town-life in the province.

From the above causes of urban development the Punjab and States have, out of a total of 236 towns, 8 first class, 6 second class, 34 third class and 238 fourth class towns. On account of the forces of urban development operating since the early days, now associated with commercial and military activities, the Punjab and States stand next to the U.P. and States

so far as the first class towns are concerned. The urge for urban life among the people has in the present days given the Punjab with States the fourth place in respect of small towns. But as regards the second and third class towns, that give the idea of a progressive growth of urban life in a province, generally in connection with commercial and industrial activities, the Punjab and States occupy the fifth place of importance.

Up to this, the study of urban development in the different provinces of India Undivided has been made. Now, with the partition a fresh consideration of the nature and distribution of population particularly in the Punjab and States and Bengal and States is due.

It is a fact that a majority of the Indian population lives in villages, the total population living in towns, each having a population of 5,000 and over, represent only 10 per cent of the total population of the country. Considering the percentage of urban population province-wise, it may be said that such percentage is the highest in Bombay and States and the lowest in Assam and States. And, Bombay and States have 332 towns whereas Assam and States have only 32.*

* The population and other figures in this article are based on the Census Report of 1941.

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THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION

By CAPT. K. B. ROY, M.B., D.P.H.

THE history of effective international co-operation for the prevention of diseases, as of all other fields of organised scientific Public Health activity, is of very recent origin indeed. Even as late as a century ago outbreaks of diseases like plague, cholera, etc., in a country and their rapid spread to other countries—sometimes throughout the world—were taken to be natural phenomena like earthquakes and tornadoes which human beings could do very little to prevent. But with the discovery of the bacterial origin of most of the common diseases and with the realisation of the fact that man himself is the main reservoir of these bacteria, scientists came to understand that war against diseases is a 'global war' in the sense that if an epidemic disease is raging unchecked in any country, then every other country however distant is liable to that disease unless organised effort is made to check it at its origin.

Even before the modern sciences of Bacteriology and Epidemiology came into existence, it was observed by the administrators of different maritime countries of Europe that the incidence of an epidemic disease

on board a ship coming from a foreign country was often the signal for the outbreak of the same disease in all subsequent ports of call of the ship. It was about 400 years ago that the Government of Venice which was then the gateway of all seaborne trade between Asia and Europe, took action on this observation, and was the first country in this world to promulgate what have since then come to be known as the Quarantine Regulations; under these regulations all ships coming from countries where epidemic diseases were suspected to be prevalent, were compelled to stay at anchor outside the harbour for 40 days before they were allowed to come in and work their cargo or embark and disembark passengers. Even though for various reasons 'Quarantine' has not been very successful in preventing spread of diseases from one country to another and though it entails many inconveniences to the travellers and traders, this system is at least a definite practical step towards a desirable end and it now finds a permanent place in the Port Regulations (both sea ports and air ports) in every civilized country. Quarantine regulations, as

at present practised, are based on scientific data and not on empirical observations as during the Middle Ages; and they are enforced by international co-operation for the benefit of the whole world and not by individual countries for their own protection only. We thus see that 'Quarantine' was the first example of organised effort, on a national and international level, for prevention of diseases.

The first International Bureau of Public Health was established in Paris in 1909; its membership was limited to the maritime nations of Europe and its main function was to facilitate the working of the Quarantine Regulations. Thus for the first time in the history of international co-operation the member nations of the Bureau undertook to inform each other of the prevalence of epidemic diseases in the ports and ships under their control. The Bureau drew up an International Sanitary Convention naming the five diseases—Plague, Cholera, Small-pox, Yellow Fever and Typhus—the control of which would be their main objective. Though the activities of the Bureau were thus very limited in their scope, the Convention did help to a large extent to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases to Europe from their primary sources in Asia and Africa, because at that time the member nations of it controlled between themselves practically the whole of the seaborne traffic of the world.

Then came the First World War of 1914-18 bringing in its wake widespread epidemics of Influenza and other diseases; it also demonstrated for the first time the efficacy of preventive inoculations and similar other scientific methods in stopping the spread of epidemics. Also with the rapid industrialisation in different countries and the need to step up production more and more, the new science of Industrial Hygiene came into being.

In 1919 the International Labour Office at Geneva started its Industrial Hygiene Section for international effort to prevent the diseases and disabilities that arise out of modern industries. In the field of mechanical industries, a few countries are the leaders and the others only follow the leading countries, and so unless there is pooling of the latest knowledge in Industrial Hygiene as practised in those leading countries and free dissemination of that knowledge, the industrial workers in the more backward countries are bound to suffer. The International Labour Office has done and is still doing very good work in thus promoting the health of the ever-growing number of industrial workers in different countries.

The Health Organisation of the League of Nations was established in 1923. The co-operation of the members of this Organisation was very lukewarm and it did not succeed in doing any substantial work besides the revision of Quarantine Regulations and collection and distribution of vital statistics. It continued to exist till 1946 when its functions were taken over by the newly formed World Health Organisation of the United Nations.

In July 1946 an International Health Conference was called in New York under the aegis of the United Nations Organisation. The main objective of this Conference, which was attended by delegates from about 60 independent countries, was to draw up a constitution for a really effective organisation for prevention of diseases through international co-operation. On the 22nd of that month such a Constitution was unanimously adopted by the Conference and the new Organisation was named the World Health Organisation (W.H.O.). The main feature of this Constitution is that any nation, whether a member of the United Nations Organisation or not, can become a member of W.H.O.

An interim Commission, composed of 18 members, functioned for two years till 1948 when the full-fledged Organisation came into being. Briefly the structure of the Organisation as at present functioning is as follows :

(1) The World Health Assembly, composed of delegates of member nations. It meets once a year in regular session to determine the broad policies of the Organisation, to decide on its future programme and budget, and to adopt such international health regulations as may be necessary.

(2) The Executive Board, composed of 18 members selected by the Assembly, meeting at least twice a year to give effect to the policies and decisions of the Assembly, and to take emergency measures for dealing with events requiring immediate action.

(3) The Secretariat, composed of the Director-General and the Organisation's administrative and technical staff.

The Headquarters of the Organisation are located at Geneva but it has Regional Offices in the main geographical areas of the world, Europe, Americas, Africa, South-East Asia, Western Pacific, Eastern Mediterranean, to meet the special regional requirements of the areas. The office of the regional headquarters for South-East Asia is situated in New Delhi.

The main functions of W.H.O. are adumbrated as follows :

(1) Special programme for the prevention of diseases like Malaria, Tuberculosis and venereal diseases; promotion of maternal and child health; promotion of Environmental Hygiene.

(2) A long-range campaign in Public administration, including hospitals and clinics, Industrial Hygiene, medical social work, nursing, health education and hygiene of seafarers.

(3) Research in special medical problems.

(4) A uniform system of Health Statistics and a unified Pharmacopœia for all countries.

(5) Revision and enforcement of international Quarantine Regulations.

(6) Collection and dissemination of epidemiological information and vital statistics.

It is a grave defect of the W.H.O. as it is constituted to-day, that it does not count U.S.S.R. and her satellite countries among its members, and this means that China may also soon be out of it;

thus the Organisation is deprived of the co-operation of almost one-third of Europe and one-half of Asia. Whatever might have been the reasons which made U. S. S. R. leave it, it is very desirable that the Organisation—being a non-political body—should create conditions to ensure the co-operation of that nation because, apart from the scientific value of the medical knowledge developed in that country, U.S.S.R. is the only country except Great Britain where medical and social services on a national scale on an organised basis have been adopted for a long time, and the experience of the administrators of those services will be invaluable to other countries that are going to adopt the full responsibilities of a 'welfare state.'

From its inception India has been a very active member of the Organisation. She pays a large contribution for its upkeep and some of her citizens occupy high positions in the Organisation. But it appears that so far as this country is concerned the activities of the Organisation tend more to be of the spectacular or official type than of substantial work of lasting benefit. At present the three main works of interest to the general public in which it is engaged in this country are—(1) Field trials in malaria control with D.D.T. in selected hill-tract areas, (2) Field trials in prevention of Tuberculosis with B.C.G. vaccine, (3) Teams for Field Survey for the control of Cholera are going to start work very soon.

It is a well-known fact in Malariology that every particular part of a country requires its own special type of anti-malaria measures; the measures that may be highly successful in, say, the Wynad Hills area of Malabar may fail completely if adopted in the Duars area of Assam and Bengal even though both the areas look similar. Besides, the most urgent problem in India to-day is to increase agricultural production which is hampered to a considerable extent by the high incidence of Malaria in the rich deltaic areas of this country. One has to travel only a dozen miles out of even the biggest cities like Calcutta or Madras and he can see the havoc that this disease is causing in even the most highly developed and thickly populated parts of the country. One has to take a walk through the big cities like Cochin in the coastal areas of India, and he can see the widespread prevalence of other mosquito-borne diseases like Filariasis. In view of these urgent problems at our very doorsteps, does it not seem a bit strange that W.H.O. thinks of sending highly expensive teams of European medical

men to distant places like the Jeypore Hills in Orissa and the Malnad Hill tract area in Malabar to do field trials in new methods of anti-malaria work? What will be the result of these costly expeditions except that a few more pamphlets will be added to the medical literature of the world?

In the matter of B.C.G. vaccine it is very difficult to imagine what exactly is the aim of the work that is being carried out in this country at the moment. Even if we take it for granted that B. C. G. vaccine is as effective in preventing Tuberculosis as, say, the smallpox vaccine is in preventing smallpox, the fact remains that the former is too costly a procedure to become feasible of even a limited application in this country in any foreseeable future. Tuberculosis is only one of the many causes of child mortality in this country; but it is to-day one of the main causes of death among the young adult. Does it not go to show that it is more socio-economic factors like poverty and faulty nutrition, and other concomitant diseases like malaria, etc., that cause the young adult to fall a victim to this disease by breaking down his internal resistance? And what vaccine is there potent enough to raise the internal resistance sufficiently high to stand the onslaught of so many adverse factors that surround the life of the middle class and poor class people of this country to-day? Is it not a fact that want of proper education in 'individual and community' life is largely responsible for making the conditions of life in this country much worse than it need be? In the context of present conditions in our country, propaganda should be the bedrock of all anti-tuberculosis work and not spectacular methods like B.C.G. vaccine. If we can bring home to the general public the dangers of common habits like indiscriminate spitting, repeated motherhood in quick succession, faulty nutrition and other such common or garden occurrences, we have gone a long way in preventing Tuberculosis in this country.

There is no doubt that W.H.O. is doing some substantial work in the field of Public Health; one very good example of this is its help in effectively checking the outbreak of Cholera in Egypt in 1947 within the remarkably short time of two weeks. Considering the fact that it has been in existence for only three years, it can be expected that it will be more and more effective in its efforts in future. But it should avoid the pitfall of considering Asia and Africa as fields for experiments only, reserving its more constructive efforts for Europe and America.



FREE INDONESIA

By K. SHARMA, M.A., Sahitya-Ratna

THE Draft Constitution of the United States of Indonesia, accepted by all the delegations at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference at The Hague, anticipates the actual transfer of sovereignty to a provisional government sometime before January 1, 1950. Under the transfer charter, the Netherlands "unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic" and recognizes it as an "independent and sovereign State" as from not later than December 30, 1949. Described as a "democratic constitutional State of Federal structure" the Indonesian State will for the first time in the history of the Archipelago be based on the sovereign will of its people as expressed through their directly elected organs of government. The United Nations Commission would supervise the implementation of the transfer arrangements.

The pact to cover the interim period says that each party will appoint a High Commissioner for the other's territory with the rank of Ambassador and expenses will be shared equally. Netherlands forces will be withdrawn from Indonesia "as soon as possible." Dutch naval forces will go "within a year but the Netherlands Government will help to build up the Navy of the new State." Sourabaya will be the naval base of Indonesia although a Dutch naval officer will be in charge. Other naval establishments will be gradually transferred to Indonesia. The Royal Netherlands Indonesian Army will be absorbed into the Federal forces of the new State and all members must be Indonesian citizens. So members will be given the choice of Dutch or Indonesian service. Dutch forces awaiting return to Holland will be "guests in the territory of a friendly Government" but the Dutch do not expect they will be able to repatriate all their troops within six months. Equipment of the Indonesian Army is to be transferred to the new State. Dutch Air Force units will be withdrawn and the new State will be responsible for its own Air Force and air defence. A Dutch military mission will stay for three years to build up and train Free Indonesia's fighting forces.

On the question of the Dutch debt in Indonesia which the new State was to take over, the Dutch had at first wanted to saddle the Indonesians with 6,400 million guilders while the Indonesians, rightly refusing to foot the bill for Dutch aggression against them, countered with an offer of 3,400 million guilders. According to the terms of the agreement, Indonesia takes over the compromise figure of 4,300 million guilders (including debts to U.S.A., Canada and Australia). Dutch external debt to the tune of 2,000 million guilders has been cancelled.

The new Republican territory consists of seven *negaras* or autonomous States, nine independent

constitutional units and certain other territories which are not participant areas. There is to be a Representative Assembly of 150 members of whom 50 will be from the present Republican State and a Senate composed of two members from each of the participating States. The members of the first People's Representative Assembly will be elected or nominated according to the most suitable method in the various territories composing the United Republic. The loose federation now proposed means a great concession on the part of Jogjakarta. Constituting the militant yet moderate platform of Indonesian nationalism, it had to bear the brunt of the 4-year-old struggle for freedom, but rightly agreed to dissolve itself in the larger Republic.

The main source of difficulties in negotiations on the Indonesian conflict was the difference of opinion between the Republic and the Netherlands Government. For the Dutch, this problem was nothing more or nothing less than a purely internal quarrel within the Netherlands Kingdom with a part of the Indonesian population, who were not able to subscribe to the Netherlands point of view and conception of an independent United States of Indonesia within the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. The difference between the Federalists and the Republicans was always stressed by the Dutch Government while defending their policy and actions in Indonesia. The Republic, however, declared in unequivocal terms that the growing unrest was nothing more than the materialization of the feelings of the people against Dutch oppression. Conveying the greetings of Indonesia to the First Asian Relations Conference, Dr. Abu Hanifa, leader of the Indonesian delegation, said :

"For centuries Indonesia has been visited by various kinds of guests. Some came with good intentions, like the Indians, while others entered our country with deception and force, like the Dutch imperialists. . . . During these foreign dominations it was only the Dutch and the Japanese respectively who drew advantage from their arrival in Indonesia. Neither the world at large nor the people of Indonesia could enjoy any blessings from their presence. Monopolist imperialism drew the riches of the country to itself."

The above situation called for far-reaching readjustments. In the changed context of international relations, it became all the more necessary for the Dutch Government to consider the charge made by the Republic. The appointment of the Security Council's Committee of good offices on the Indonesian question, consisting of an American delegate, an Australian delegate and a Belgian delegate, was the result of the Security Council's decision of August 1, 1947, to bring about the settlement of the Netherlands-Indonesian conflict, which had drawn

international attention after the Dutch military attack on July 21, 1947. The Renville Agreement was the result of the C.G.O.'s proposals which provided for subsequent negotiations towards a political settlement. Dr. Hatta's cabinet chalked out a programme, which included :

1. Implementation of the Renville Agreement, which meant formation of the United States of Indonesia.
2. Rationalization of the Armed Forces.
3. Internal Reconstruction.
4. Stabilization of the Republican Government.

The Sultan of Jogjakarta, the Deputy Premier of the Republic, asked for immediate withdrawal of the Dutch Army and several prominent spokesmen of Jogjakarta threatened resumption of the struggle in case of further delay. The moral support given to Indonesia by the Asian Conference summoned at Pandit Nehru's initiative convinced European diplomats, hitherto inclined to make excuses for the Dutch,

that Asia, with good reason, felt strongly on the matter. This sentiment was, no doubt, of large international importance. Mr. L. M. Palar, Chief Indonesian delegate to the U.N., recently expressed Indonesia's gratitude to India and Australia for bringing the Dutch-Indonesian dispute before the Security Council and the General Assembly.

There is much more to be done, such as the ratification of the draft agreement by Holland's Parliament and the transfer of sovereignty on January 1, 1950. Nevertheless, the present Republican Government has shown itself effective both in administration and in diplomacy. There seems, therefore, no reason to suppose that the United States of Indonesia cannot weather these storms.

India has reason to rejoice that her South-Eastern neighbour is slowly and steadily evolving a freedom which must conduce to the consolidation of Asian democracy for which India has set the pace and model.

December, 1949.

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SNOBBERY IN EDUCATION

By PROF. L. H. AJWANI

FREE INDIA has many problems to tackle and not the least of these problems is the problem of the education of its youth. Only the other day the Prime Minister admitted it with regret that "the standards have gone down in our universities, the standards of the teachers as well as the standards of the learners." If the universities are not up to the mark the schools are perhaps worse—in spite of the plethora of schemes adumbrated by educational officers and advisers, and the ever-increasing number of training establishments and imposing edifices meant to be temples of learning.

One cause of this state of affairs is the slave mentality deliberately cultivated by those in charge of education and appointments of public offices. Most of those who govern the destinies of India are afflicted with a certain snobbery which has become specially marked after the achievement of Independence—the feeling that only they can educate or be administrators who have obtained a degree or certificate or diploma from the West. Under the British rule such a feeling or snobbery was only natural and perhaps inevitable. It was necessary for the ends of Imperialism that a stay in England should be prescribed as a pilgrimage to be performed by those who coveted responsible positions in the State, or those who expected to be taken up by big commercial firms. Several Indians who found it difficult to pass an examination in India left for "home," stayed for some time at some educational institution, brought with them some paper or parchment in recognition of the studies they had undertaken, and, on return, were promptly rewarded

for their efforts by appointment to a superior post. In schools and colleges, too, the England-returned Indian was placed over the heads of those who were unfortunate in not having foreign qualifications, and the man with a 'pass' degree from abroad was in authority over first class men from the Indian universities. This arrangement or procedure could not be abolished while India was ruled by foreigners. But why should this feeling of snobbery continue and the inferiority complex maintained in Free India? It is a matter of pity and shame that snobbery in education has become more pronounced than ever, and it has now been established as a sort of convention that the products of Indian universities, however qualified and capable, should be considered as inferior to the veriest tyro, who is in possession of a foreign degree or diploma. Every cloud has its silver lining and one of the happy results of this snobbery is that displaced persons from Pakistan have been speedily 'rehabilitated' if they have adduced proofs that they were educated in a foreign land. Some of them have been pitchforked into positions they never dreamed of in their old habitations, and after a lifetime of obscurity have found themselves now in positions of importance and power.

Indeed, one of the first impressions of highly educated persons who have been catapulted from Western Pakistan to India is that a strange worship is being offered in India at the altar of foreign degrees, and foreign education, no doubt to the vast detriment of education and educational standards in India itself.

If the student or the teacher in Indian schools and universities is being perpetually reminded that his highest achievements or qualifications are not worthwhile as compared to those of the lucky fellow who holds a pass certificate or diploma or degree from some European or American institution, it is useless to expect him to grow to his full stature or maintain a high standard of attainment and efficiency. The corrupting influence of this snobbery has gone so deep that even the Principals or Directors or Advisers (of Education) who are themselves products of Indian universities and have risen high in their profession without the aid of a foreign degree, once they find themselves in a seat of power, endeavour to surround themselves only with men who have 'foreign' qualifications, and look down on those unfortunate colleagues and subordinates who are not so privileged.

With the coming of Freedom offices have multiplied, and any one who is anybody is Director of this or that. The heaven to which many of our youth aspire is one that signifies a cushy job in the Secretariat, —a cosy room with a big desk, telephone, and "steno" inside, and a name-plate on the outside and a chaprasi to take in visiting cards and visitors. The

passport to this heaven is a parchment or a piece of paper which should bear the seal or signature of a functionary in some Western University or Institute. And, so, a pernicious slave mentality is engendered, and kept alive, and a snobbery maintained which should have been extirpated two years ago. Our best teachers now are intent on becoming only Directors or Secretariat officials and all their zest for learning and teaching is gone. No longer is the teacher the man who "gladly he would learn and gladly teach." It is foolish to talk of raising standards of education in India as long as snobbery in education exists, as long as the man who has only 'Indian' qualifications continues to be branded as an inferior to his confrere with foreign qualifications, and, of course, as long as the teacher in India is made to feel that his goal in life should be not to become a good teacher but to manage to have a pull, somehow, with some Secretary or Minister so as to become some Director or Adviser or Secretariat official. I am of opinion that our educational standards would go up surprisingly, if it were made a criminal offence for a Minister or Secretariat official to send his children to a foreign land for the sake of a diploma or degree.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BUDDHIST SHRINES IN INDIA: By Devapriya Balisinha. Published by the Mahabodhi Society of Ceylon, Colombo. 1948. Pp. 282 with Appendix, Index and Illustrations. Price Rs. 5.

To no single institution does the credit for fostering the very remarkable and welcome revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth in recent times belong more fully than the Mahabodhi Society of India which was founded as far back as 1891 by the late Anagarika Dharmapala of revered memory. It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that this first handy guide-book to the Buddhist shrines in India (and Pakistan) should come from the pen of the present energetic General Secretary of that renowned institution. Dedicated, aptly enough, to the memory of the illustrious founder of the Mahabodhi Society, this work brings together for the convenience of intending Buddhist pilgrims a mass of useful information about nearly thirty ancient Buddhist monuments and sites, and it concludes with some general notices about Buddhist iconography and the incomparable work done by, or under the auspices of, the Society in founding Buddhist centres in various parts of our country. While

there can be no doubt about the high value of this book not only for those for whom it is specially meant, but also for the general reader, it is permissible to point out a few inaccuracies and omissions which may be rectified in the next edition. There is no warrant for attributing the destruction of Sanchi shrines to Mihirkula (*sic*), (p. 88), or for including Angulimala and Bandhula among "the graduates of Taxila" (p. 213), or for claiming a Buddhist origin for Udayagiri and Khandagiri group of caves in Orissa (p. 243), or lastly for identifying Odantapuri with Puri (p. 244). The translation of *bali* as 'religious cess' (p. 4) is equally unwarranted. The location of Kathiawar in Sind (p. 244) is a slip, while the identification of Sattapanni cave at Rajgir with Sonbhandar (p. 126) is a disputed point. The description of the Bagh caves as lying "25 miles from Malwa" (*sic*), with Mhow, the nearest railway station 70 miles to its east (p. 241) is loose and inaccurate. There are a number of misprints, such as Jngal (p. 29), Dhyana-Buddha (p. 98), Jhambhala (pp. 147, 259), Michael Angello (p. 196) and Khandhagiri (p. 242). In a descriptive list of Buddhist shrines in this country one would have expected some reference to such outstanding monuments as Bharhut, Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda,

not to speak of Paharpur and Mirpur Khas in East and West Pakistan respectively. A map illustrating the ancient sites would have been very welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL.
ANTON P. CHEKHOV (A biographical note): By Hiranmoy Ghoshal, Ph.D. (Warsaw). Orient Longmans Ltd. 1949. Price Rs. 4-8.

The Russian story-writer, Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) had won an international reputation even by the first decade of the 20th century. Born in 1860, he took his degree in medicine at Moscow University, but he wooed his mistress, literature, more ardently than he loved his "legal wife," medicine. His short stories and plays won him name, but medicine again asserted its claim, and for a time he thought of taking up some job as a doctor. He effaced himself, however, in his literary work and his gift of satirical humour served as a great relief to drab surroundings. He died in 1904, probably a victim of the *mania* for work from which he had suffered all his life.

The author of the "biographical note," Dr. Hiranmoy Ghosal, modestly declares that he would leave the work of writing Chekhov's biography to a more competent hand because, after all, a foreigner is bound to remain a stranger to Chekhov's inner life and development without which it is not possible to arrive at a correct appraisal. He has drawn plentifully, and rightly so, drawn upon the letters written by the eminent story-writer, but after all he ends with a feeling that the work has remained a "patchwork quilt!"

The reader who works on Chekhov and who had been charmed by his stories would thank Dr. Ghosal for this handy introduction to Tchekhov, in which the lovable traits in the Russian author's life—love of nature and love of peasant life—have been well brought out. Students of literature will appreciate this "note."

P. R. SEN
GLIMPSES OF GANDHIJI: By R. R. Diwakar. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Publishers, Bombay. 1949. Pp. 90. Price Re. 1-8.

Sri R. R. Diwakar had been in, more or less, close contact with Gandhiji ever since 1918. He has recorded in the present booklet, a number of incidents, of which he has personal knowledge, and which throw light on the character of Mahatma Gandhi. The narration and the choice of incidents is good: but the author often breaks into the habit of dilating upon theoretical matters, which is not always called for.

A few errors have crept in when the author deals with history; and it is perhaps necessary to point them out for future correction. The formula repeated by Satyagrahis during the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement of 1940 as recorded in the book under review, is slightly different from (p. 61) the official formula as published by the A.I.C.C. Bulletin. Again, with regard to the same Movement, it has been said that, it was not revived after 1941 'in view of the impending Japanese invasion' (p. 64). Gandhiji however used to give a different explanation, as is evident from his statement, as published in the Congress Bulletin of January 8, 1942. According to the latter, this was more due to differences on the score of non-violence.

In spite of these historical mistakes, which can be easily checked up and corrected, readers will appreciate the book because of the personal stories which it contains.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME—ITS MEANING AND PLACE: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Reprinted. 1948. Pp. 31. Price six annas.

The rich experience that Gandhiji gathered during his incessant work regarding India's regeneration led him to suggest some concrete proposals with which to translate the Swadeshi spirit earlier incorporated in the *Cent Per Cent Swadeshi*. The eighteen-fold programme which he placed before the nation gradually evolved in course of his experiments and regarding which he himself holds that "given an indomitable will on the part of a band of earnest workers, the programme is as workable as any other and more so than most."

The pace may be slow or fast, these steps are the only ones that would help to develop an India of our dream and hence the publication should be in the hands of every national worker.

KANANGOPAL BACCHI.

BLADE (Life and Work of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya): By Animananda Roy and Sons, 79/25D Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. Appendix viii. Pp. 213. Price Rs. 4.

The author of this book, Animananda, was a Sindhi, a disciple of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya who followed his guru into Roman Catholic Christianity. He came to Calcutta and co-operated with his master in helping to lay the foundation of Santiniketan, Rabindranath Tagore's sylvan school, which has developed today into a centre of Visva-Bharati of world culture. He left his master when the latter favoured a return to Hindu ceremonialism with the ultimate object of leading the Indian *intelligentsia* to "the God-Man Jesus Christ." to quote the words of the Preface written by P. Turmes, S. J. of the Society of Jesus. The author is no longer with us. As a founder of the *Boy's Own Home* institution, he held fast to the mission of his master—to make new men and women of their people devoted to their country and devoted to the work of bringing India's hundreds of millions to the Son of God incarnate in the son of Mary, the Virgin.

As a biography of the spirit of this Bengali Brahmin in quest of Ultimate Truth, of the story of his varieties of religious experiences, the book under its poetic nomenclature has a value of its own. For here we have in his own words, a story of the travail of his restless soul that wanted to reconcile his inherited beliefs with the needs of a new birth in Christendom. Born in 1861 he was caught in youth within the fervour of patriotism that had started overflowing Bengal during the seventies of the last century. He could not reconcile himself to "constitutional agitation" as a path to political freedom, he left home and family to be a soldier at Gwalior whose one dream was to ride at the head of an Indian army fighting to wrest State power from "Feringhi" hands.

To the general body of his people this side of his life-work was of greater interest. But unfortunately for us all his fellow-workers and followers in the fight for *Swaraj* have not cared to write the story of his part in it. The author of the present book was by habit and thought unequal to the great argument of the epic character of this fight. Members of the Nan family suffered from the same handicap; Shyamsundar Chakravarty and Narendra Nath Set could have done it. But they did not. Sarada Charan Sen and Atindra Basu yet remain. Will they do it yet?

In the absence of these fuller interpretations, we have to be thankful to Animananda and the reverend gentleman for what they have been able to present us with. Today when "Feringhi" power no longer dominates over our life, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya

as a leader of thought in line with the makers of Bengal like Vivekananda, Brojendra Nath Seal, Rabindranath Tagore, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, of Sind like Prof. T. L. Vaswani, will shine forth the more brightly. The present volume helps to throw a little light on this phase of his life.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SIR WILLIAM JONES—BICENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH COMMEMORATION VOLUME (1746-1946): *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1948. Illustrated. Price not mentioned.*

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones in 1784, and it is but meet that the Society has published this volume. It contains greetings of learned societies from far and near and some valuable papers on the different aspects of Sir William's activities in connection with the Society as well as his researches in Oriental arts and sciences. Some papers have been written on Sir William Jones as a worshipper of the Muses. There are still some other papers which throw much light on India's cultural activities abroad, Indian Archaeology, Anthropology, as also our pre-historic civilisation. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dr. B. S. Guha, Dr. P. K. Acharya, Professors Priyaranjan Sen and K. P. Chattopadhyaya and other prominent scholars have contributed these important papers. There are some illustrations in this volume, including one in colours of Sir William Jones as a boy. This has enhanced the importance of the volume.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

ADVENTURES IN EDUCATION: *By K. L. Shrimali, M.A., B.T. With a Foreword by Dr. Zakir Husain. Published by Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur (Rajputana). First edition. Pages 92. Price Rs. 3.*

As the fascinating title indicates, the volume under review records educational experiments conducted under the guidance of the author at Vidya Bhawan, a well-known progressive secondary school in Rajasthan. The method of instruction adopted here is entirely different from the traditional one in vogue all over the country. The entire life of the school and its programme, so says the author, are permeated by a new spirit of all-round development of the pupils—social, intellectual and cultural. Democratic way of living enlivened with the ideals of self-help, mutual co-operation and social service is being practised here through the process of learning. In the midst of vocal and loud condemnation of the present system of education, the enthusiasts at Vidya Bhawan have been doing pioneer work in giving a practical shape to the ideas of New Education.

The book is a collection of 13 articles published in educational journals from time to time, and hence the reader misses the completeness and full view of the institution including greater details of the staff, curricula followed, results achieved, response of the local people and neighbouring institutions. In short, teachers and other educated men of ideas would expect fuller accounts of the school and its achievements in the 'adventures' undertaken by the learned author and his colleagues.

We commend the book to the study of teachers and other thoughtful men who feel that the present system of education should make room for a better and lively one.

NARYAN CHANDRA CHANDRA

CONTROLLED PARENTHOOD. *By Abul Hasanat. Published by Standard Library Press, Dacca. Price Rs. 3 or 4s. 6d.*

The author has earned well-deserved renown as a writer on matters relating to sex. His writings are characterised by a scientific outlook and clarity of expression which unfortunately are not found in many other similar books published here. The present volume deals not only with the problems of birth control but also of birth promotion. The author has dealt with arguments both for and against birth control and the reviewer agrees with him that the spread of the knowledge of birth control is a necessity of our times and in our poverty-stricken country. All the scientific methods have been well explained and a good deal of scientific information about the effectiveness of the different methods may be obtained if the readers answer the questions that the author has included at the end of his book. The paper, the printing and the illustrations, however, leave much to be desired. There is a cheap look about the book which detracts much from its value.

S. C. MITRA

BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT, 1947 (Vols. I and II): *By Prabhudas B. Patwari with a Foreword by Sj. Jagjivan Ram. Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ltd., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pp. 628 Price Rs. 28.*

Industrial peace is a *sine qua non* of our industrial progress. Besides the statutory measures adopted by the Government of India for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes, some of the industrially advanced provinces, notably Bombay, have enacted special Acts to meet their own requirements. The lead was taken by Bombay which passed the Trade Dispute Act in 1938 partly as a result of the Bombay Departmental Enquiry on wages and partly to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission on labour for the setting up of the conciliation machinery. With the recrudescence of industrial unrest immediately after the assumption of office by the Congress Ministry, this Act was replaced in 1938 by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act—a more radical measure. It was a novel experiment in India and aimed at preventing and settling industrial disputes by the establishment of a comprehensive machinery for conciliation and arbitration.

With the changed post-war conditions and in the light of the experience of the working of the Act of 1938 during 8 years, especially during the war, a new measure—the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1947, was passed. It seeks to perfect the machinery set up under the Act of 1938. The Act cuts new ground in several directions. It completes the Labour Judiciary by providing for the establishment of Labour Courts. Considerable changes have been made regarding the system of representation of employees, and rights and duties of trade unions have been increased. Powers of the Government to make arbitration compulsory have also been increased and maximum duration of conciliation proceedings has been curtailed. Other innovations of the Act are provisions for setting up of joint committees and for maintenance of records of labour conditions in each undertaking.

In the two volumes under review the author has undertaken the task of clear exposition of the origin and mechanism of the Act. In the chapter, 'Brief Hints to Employers and Employees,' the provisions of the Act has been briefly and lucidly explained. The table of Labour cases is very useful to those who have to deal with the Act and references to the pages of both the *Labour Gazette* and the *Bombay Gazette* have been given. All important points have been discussed in the annotations with sufficient clarity and precision. Comparative table of sections of the Bombay Industrial Relations Act and the Bombay Industrial Dis-

putes Act has simplified the task of finding the old law. In the second volume Rules and Forms under the Act, and the Labour Court Rules and Forms have been given. The two volumes together almost form an encyclopaedia of the law on the subject. Although it is a Bombay Act, students of labour legislation and labour leaders of other provinces would do well in reading these two volumes.

J. M. DATTA

SHORT STUDIES IN THE UPANISHADS: By *Diwan Chand, formerly Principal, D. A.-V. College, Cawnpore. Published by the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 2.*

The learned author is an emeritus professor of Philosophy and hence well acquainted with the philosophic thought of the West. His studies in the Upanishads contained in the book under review though short are substantial. He approaches the Upanishads through the Western methods and studies them in the light of Ontology, Cosmology, Epistemology and Axiology. The demarcating line he draws in the Preface between the thought of the West and that of the Upanishads is quite distinctive. In this connection he asserts that the Upanishad is not always as intellectually understandable as a book on Western Philosophy; for there are passages in the former some of which are obscure and some inscrutable. 'The Upanishads', therefore he pertinently observes, 'are not philosophical treatises in the ordinary sense of the word. Their method is neither ratiocinative nor polemical. . . . The seers have an experience by intuition and communicate it to some one qualified to receive the knowledge.' The thoughtful author neither attempts a systematic survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy nor traces the development of the philosophic thought in them. He picks up some important passages and expounds them in terms of Western Philosophy. Thus he explains the parable of Pippalada from the Prasna, those of Svetaketu and Sanatkumar from the Chandogya and that of Prajapati from the Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad, etc. While explaining the parable of Nachiketa from the Kathopanishad he compares one of its verses with a passage of Plato's *Phaedrus*. According to the former, the Path of human life is two-fold—the Good and the Pleasant. Plato similarly says that there are in every one of us two ruling and directing principles, the one being an innate devise of pleasure and the other an acquired judgment which aspires after excellence. The comparison is very significant and appropriate. The book is divided into fifteen short chapters and is throughout readable and instructive. Twenty-six pregnant sayings culled from different Upanishads are presented in the last chapter. The book is a result of profound study and mature thinking. It deserves to be read as an introduction to the philosophy of the Upanishads and I believe students of Indian Philosophy will find it immensely interesting.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

MAHATMA HANSRAJ: By *Khushal Chand. Arya Pradeshik Pratidinhi Sabha, Lahore (?)*. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an understanding and appreciative account of the life and labours of Shri Hansraj, an eminent educa-

tionist of the pre-undivided Punjab period, who was long associated with what was known then as D. A.-V. College, Lahore. The nobility of the character of the subject of the writer's sketch, painted with deep devotion, reveals him as every inch a true Aryan. An inspirational biography, indeed.

HINDI WALO SAVDHAN: By *Ravishankar Shukla. Kashi Nazari Procharini Sabha, Banaras. Pp. 323+Appendix. Price Rs. 3-8.*

An ardent apologia on behalf of Hindi as National Language of New India. It is marked both by the fire of logic and the logic of fire!

G. M.

MARATHI

MAHARISHI ANNA KARVE: By *B. A. Virkar. K. B. Dhanwale Samarth Sadan, Bombay, 4. Pp. 35. Price annas eight only.*

A short biography of the great-souled founder of the first and foremost Women's University in Modern India, which institution by giving our women an adequate and ample scope for development of indigenous talents and traits of character conferred on them a veritable boon, while on Shri Karve it conferred the title of "A benefactor of Indian women."

SHIVSHAHICHA AST: By *V. G. Iele. Mangal Sahitya Prakasham, Poona 4. Pp. 453. Price Rs. 8.*

The decline and downfall of Shivaji dynasty—this is the theme of the book. It has been written with a pen, dipped in the depths of patriotism, though the facts laid under contribution, are all historically true. A warning, indeed, against the politics of disunity and its poisonous fruits.

C. M.

GUJARATI

1 **MOTA UPAR MANAN:** By *Prof. Pheroze K. Davar, M.A., LL.B. 1947. Paper-cover. Pp. 374. Price Rs. 4.*

2 **MANAS ROGA VINIAN:** By *Balakrishna Amarji Pathak, M.B.B.S. 1947. Paper-cover. Pp. 214. Price Re. 1.*

Both published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, now called Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

Prof. Davar has always been a deep student and thinker and extensive reader. Religiously inclined, he has thought and pondered over Death and produced this learned discourse in which apt quotations from Persian, Urdu, Gujarati and English languages figure galore. He has treated a serious subject seriously. Dr. Pathak, Principal of the Ayurvedic College, Benares, was eminently fitted as a doctor to treat of Psychology. He has tried his best to render a technical subject, much beyond the intelligence of a layman, as attractive and full of guidance as possible by giving a glimpse of the symptoms of various diseases. Pathology and Physiology which are closely allied to Psychology have also been referred to, and thus the book has become a pioneer in the language, on the subject concerned.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Ethics of Prohibition

Liquor has through the ages been the chief agent for inducing conduct that man, when sober, would not dream of. John Barnabas writes in the February number of *The Aryan Path* :

Prohibition contributes to the building of a nation's morals by removing an important source of immorality. But the Individualist and the Utilitarian may suggest that enforcement of morals is not the business of the State. And yet they cannot quarrel with the view that the State must not aid or abet immorality. It is at least its duty to create an environment in which the individual may live a decent life, by removing the obstacles thereto. In any event the State ought not to be an active agent in perpetuating the source of evil and that is exactly what it does when it runs a Department for obtaining Excise Revenue.

It is the Government that controls the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants and drugs. It auctions toddy shops and licenses the sale of liquor and drugs. It provides the poisonous intoxicants and drugs to the people in an organized manner. And for doing this the Bombay Government got Rs. 9 crores as Excise Revenue in 1945-46. Of this Rs. 6 crores came from toddy and country liquor, which is the drink mostly taken by the poor, the workers and the peasants. It is these masses, economically the poorest and least able to pay, who pay 16 per cent of the Government's total Revenue and the Excise Revenue accounts for 26 per cent of the total Revenue.

The Government of India formerly manufactured or obtained opium from across the border and sold it to the Provincial Government at Rs. 37½ per seer, while at the Departmental Drug Store the Provincial Government sold it at Rs. 180/0 per seer! This colossal profiteering was an oppressive measure which no canon of taxation can justify. The present Government has tried to undo the mischief perpetrated by its predecessor.

It may be legitimately questioned if the State should indulge in this exploitation of the poor and trade on people's vices in the name of its need for money. Even if the end is to use that money for the good of the people and to meet the cost of amenities for them, is the means by which it is gained of no concern to the State?

Gandhiji continually taught us that the means must justify the end. His giving top place to Prohibition in his constructive programme was closely related to this need for the means justifying the end.

It is also an accepted fact that there must be equity in taxation. When less than 10 per cent of the people—and that too the poorest of them—are made to pay 16 per cent of the State's Revenue this means blatant exploitation. And yet economists have advised against the losing of much needed revenue. But I believe that the fiscal policy of any Government must be based on ethical principles. Is economics to govern ethics or is ethics to influence economics? Prohibition is the result of a

conviction that the fiscal and economic policy of a Government must have a moral basis.

The pure materialist may, however, accuse me of confusing ethics and economics. Gandhiji, when charged with mixing up politics and religion, replied that he who said religion had nothing to do with politics knew neither religion nor politics. It is because he based his political struggle on the moral laws of truth and non-violence that India was able to achieve political independence in a manner which has no parallel in history. It is because of this that today the materialistic, war-worn world looks to India for showing the way to world peace. It is as an advocate of a moral basis for human affairs and the idea that the means must justify the end that Pandit Nehru came to be looked upon as a world leader during his recent tour of the United States of America.

Some say that, while the end of Prohibition, being human welfare, is just, the means, being force—the force of law—is wrong.

The State by enforcing Prohibition is using the force of law not to "enforce morality" but only to create an environment which makes it possible for the individual who so desires to be moral. It is an error of judgment to suggest that the liquor addict is responsible to himself for his acts of omission and commission. As Dr. J. C. Kumarappa points out :

"When a drunkard takes his earnings to the toddy shop and gets intoxicated, it is easy to understand that there is violence and dishonesty in his deeds. His wife and children have a right to his earnings. He is depriving them of these and so there is dishonesty and untruth in it. He loses his rational life and so does violence to himself. A devotee of Truth and Non-violence, therefore, will work for Prohibition to realize Truth and Non-violence in the daily life of the people."

The drinker's "violence" thus makes it necessary for the State to step in to enable him to fulfil his obligations to society, to prevent him from being a hindrance in the pursuit of the supreme end of human existence—virtue.

Colombo Conference

The New Review observes :

With her traditional policy of wide-awake muddling-through, which thrives on intuition rather than on logic, Britain is ceaselessly building up the strength of the Commonwealth. As she has a stake everywhere, she buzzes everywhere. So Mr. Bevin came to Colombo to revive Commonwealth solidarity which events of the past years had undermined in the East. The sorority was all there; the sister dominions spoke with grace but with assurance whilst Mr. Bevin held aloft the regal umbrella which replaces the crown of former days. They fully agreed to Britain seeking military security and democratic alliance in South-East Asia, but they came out with views of their own. India, in particular, was positive that strategic security presupposes economic stability, and that well-fed and contented peasants and workers are a greater strength than serried armies, as was again illustrated in Chiang-Kai Shek's debacle.

What was striking in the Colombo Conference is that nobody alluded to the family quarrels, Kashmir,

South-African Apartheid, Indo-Pakistan trade deadlock, Ceylon-India relations, White Australia policy, etc., save in a few asides. They talked about others, Western Europe, U.S.A., China, Indo-China, Japan. About themselves, they said that they were peaceful and hungry, that they wanted to improve their standard of living, and countenanced no war. The sorority was in good-spirits; all was well for the moment. The coming conference in Australia would show more positive results.

Such is the British tradition: to gather as much goodwill as possible in all quarters, even if regular treaties are not feasible, since the spirit is a stronger tie than the letter. A Pacific Pact complementing the North-Atlantic Pact could not be had just now because of the youthful nationalisms of resurgent Asia; but all the Dominions had grown interested in the peace-treaty with Japan and had reaffirmed the solidarity of the Commonwealth. Was not that little a great success?

IN THE WEST

Britain's task in the west is even more complex and delicate than in the east. The North-Atlantic Pact and the Brussels Pact are the main anchors of her hopes. Yet both pacts are embarrassing; they give her the military security she wants, but she wants also to resist American domination and resume the leadership in Western Europe. Her economy is not on all fours with her strategy. She devalued sterling to strengthen her trade position against the U.S.A.; she cold-shouldered Benelux and Fritalux to prevent a continental bloc of economic production and distribution.

The crucial point for Britain and for the west in general is the fate of Western Germany. Associating Western Germany with the Western democracies on a footing of equality, and rearming her, might raise a Frankenstein; putting her aside would mean throwing her into the arms of the Soviet. This fear of Germany siding with Russia in the next war is aggravated by the propaganda launched from Argentina by a German group taking its inspiration from Haushofer's geopolitics; in their view an East-West showdown can only end in a victory for Russia, hence siding with her is the indicated policy; they moreover argue that Germany can only revive under the inspiration of a great ideology and that communism is more inspiring than democracy.

This alarming trend of thought is also discernible in Western Germany where politicians and even prelates speak of 're-writing history.' Roosevelt's nightmare of a Russian-American split over Germany leading to a Russia-Germany combination against the U.S.A. has passed into the realistic vision of western democracies, and its dread commands western policy and dictates concessions to the Bonn Government.

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Shipping on the West Coast of India

PRESENT SHIPPING POLICY

The 1950 Annual Number of *The Economic Weekly* contains, besides editorials and other features, several interesting and informative articles on current economic and political affairs. The following is an extract from an article in the journal by U. Shankar Rao on shipping on the West Coast of India, the rise in rates, and its causes and cure:

When a careful analysis is made of the cause of high rates, it will be found that, to a certain extent, the present shipping policy has acted in a detrimental manner. The shipping corporations that have been proposed mostly foster India's foreign trade. We have to admit that State-sponsored shipping programmes have been proposed under the worst conditions in present world affairs. This is a time when construction, fuel, stores and other operating costs are high, with a decidedly uncertain outlook. These difficulties have been aggravated by mixing sentiment with ideology. India's overseas trade is to a large extent nebulous. The recent freight war had shown to what extent Indian ship-owners could be made to suffer in a quarrel which is not of their making. Shipping has ceased to be a matter of private enterprise. Thus, so far, state-aided schemes, upon which the taxpayer relied to lessen his burden, have given little relief. Our present shipping policy has to be re-orientated and impregnated with a certain measure of realism and wisdom. Waving the National Flag and painting the tri-colour on our ships cannot achieve results.

To the common man high freights have added to his burden. Indian shipping has become a myth. The Vizag travesty is a singular instance where funds from the public exchequer may have doubtful results. Many years ago, the reservation of coastal trade was the prime objective. At that time argument was made subordinate to power. Today with changed circumstances, the common man has a right to question why these high rates prevail in our coastal trade? In direct contrast to our maritime ambitions, the accounts issued by the Asiatic Steam Navigation Company Limited offer much food for thought. For the year ended 31st March 1947, the Company showed a trading profit (after providing for depreciation, Dominion and foreign taxation and transfers to the fleet depreciation reserve, and reserve for contingencies) of £422,839, and a dividend and interest of £40,140. The balance brought forward amounts to £36,451. After providing £388,000 for U.K. taxation on profits, a dividend of 12½ per cent less tax, has been recommended, leaving £38,324 to be carried forward. The company has a fleet of 16 cargo ships and operates her vessels on the coastal trade. These figures will show that India's coastal trade can be of a lucrative nature.

Impressions of My World Tour

Principal S. N. Agarwal writes in *The Indian Review*:

I am glad to be back to my country after a world tour of about five and a half months. During my tour I visited China, Japan, Hawaii, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Pakistan. Everywhere people showed wonderful love and admiration for the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Even in the remotest countryside, I did not come across any person who had not heard of Gandhi as a great leader of the Indian

nation who had a special message for the world. Although they had no clear idea about the social, economic, political, educational and spiritual ideology of Gandhiji, they knew that he stood for peace, non-violence and world brotherhood. The way he achieved political independence for India evoked their universal praise.

People everywhere hoped that Gandhi's land, India, would be able to present to the world a new, positive, rational and dynamic socio-economic order which could establish a much better pattern of human life.

China, though distressed by the civil war, showed deep interest in Mahatma Gandhi's thought. Many Buddhist leaders, professors, and students desired closer cultural co-operation between India and China. Japan, now a slave country under the American Military authorities, evinced extraordinary faith in Gandhian ideals partly because of the moral and political frustration and partly because they feel that Japan needs a great leader like Gandhi to regain its lost freedom. The Gandhi Society in Japan has about 50,000 members including political leaders, members of the Diet, professors and many Buddhist priests. America showed unexpected warmth and affection for Gandhiji. Many Americans realised that mere wealth and political power were not conducive to real human happiness; it was necessary to reinstate certain moral and spiritual values for which Gandhi lived and died. Many professors of economics in the American Universities expressed their deep interest and conviction in the decentralisation of industrial organisation. They were of definite opinion that excessive centralisation and mechanisation of industries lead to dictatorship, fascist tendencies and undesirable congestion in cities which does good to nobody. England naturally takes keener interest in Gandhian thought after the freedom of India. Still there are people in England who have not forgotten Gandhiji as a political agitator who caused many inconveniences to them and ultimately broke up their Empire. Most of the European countries that I visited evinced much greater interest in India and Mahatma Gandhi than I had ever expected. They are weary of wars and the scars of the fast global conflict are yet fresh on their faces. They shudder to visualise the possibility of another atomic war in the near future. Although nobody wants war, they do not know how to avoid it. Gandhi seems to be their only hope and ray of light in the midst of this enveloping darkness. Germany which has suffered the most can easily be a very good soil for the experimentation of Gandhian ideals. Switzerland is another country which has shown how decentralisation of economic and political administration is consistent with economic solvency and prosperity. In many phases of her national life, Switzerland follows Gandhi more than any other country not only in Europe but, perhaps, in the world.

Even Turkey was very enthusiastic for the ideals preached by Gandhiji. But Pakistan continues to be as hostile to India as ever; it seems to tolerate nothing that is Indian or Gandhian.


This was a very shocking experience, indeed, after a travel of five months in countries which had warm appreciation for India and its glorious leader, Gandhi.

It is but natural that the whole world expects much from Gandhi's country, India. They sincerely hope that India will be able to place before the peoples of other countries better solutions of many social, economic, political and educational problems that confront them in modern life. But when they read in newspapers that India also is following the large-scale industrial pattern of the West and is spending very substantial part of her total revenues on the Military establishments, they naturally feel extremely disappointed. Still they have faith in the noble and dynamic ideology of Gandhi and they continue to hope that India will ultimately follow Gandhi and show to the world a better way of life. India, however, seems to be going from bad to worse day by day. Our public morals and sense of civic duties are at a very low ebb. Corruption, inefficiency, and indiscipline plague our country more than, perhaps, any other nation that I know of. This is a tragedy of the highest order.

Another spectacle that made me extremely sad is the rapid growth of Fascism in America and Europe.


In their inordinate anxiety to crush the gushing tide of Communism, America is following a very suicidal policy both inside and outside her territories. In the United States, every activity that is not convenient to the capitalists and the financiers is at once dubbed by their press and radio as "Un-American", and the forces of the State are let loose on it with the greatest violence and intolerance. Even in the Universities, the professors and students dare not discuss economic and political problems with perfect freedom. Professors are being asked to sign pledges that they will not in any way associate themselves with "Un-American" activities. In Europe, under the guise of the Marshall Aid, America is actively trying to encourage the old fascist tendencies to serve their immediate objective of destroying Communism and Soviet Russia. This is happening in Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey. When they are asked as to the future consequences of such a short-sighted policy, the convenient reply is: Let us first finish our first task; when Communism is finished, we shall tackle fascism. Thus the world seems to be destined to be torn between Communism and Fascism without any end in sight. Here again the only golden mean between the two extremes is Gandhism.

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people in the West who clearly realise the potentialities of Gandhian thought.

They do not regard Gandhi as a medieval saint and thinker but earnestly believe that he was many decades ahead of the times. I have, therefore, often felt that Gandhism may spread and take roots earlier in the West than in the East. While we content ourselves with paying only lip-worship to his great ideals, the Western countries may have to resort to Gandhian way of life out of sheer necessity and force of circumstances.

In conclusion, I would add that my world tour has convinced me that nothing lasting can be attained without hard and honest work. Countries which are to-day prosperous and powerful are full of numerous citizens who know their duties and discharge them with earnestness. It is the keen sense of discipline, honesty and efficiency which promotes welfare and prosperity. If India has to attain greatness as a nation, all of us will have to work for building up a New India day and night with incessant vigour and sincerity. Instead of criticising others, each one of us will have to understand his or her duty and fulfil it to the utmost of our abilities. Only then can we expect to rise as a great and powerful nation showing to the world new ideals of life taught us by the Architect and Father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

The State of Our Knowledge in Physics

N. Sri Ram writes in *The Theosophist*:

In an introduction to a book, *The Universe and Dr. Einstein*, by Dr. Lincoln Burnett of New York, published last year, Albert Einstein remarks that in attempting to present an abstract scientific subject, the scientist "either succeeds in being intelligible by concealing the core of the problem and offering to the reader only superficial aspects or vague allusions, or else he gives an expert account of the problem but in such a fashion that the untrained reader is unable to follow the exposition." The problem is to understand the world we live in, as a whole and in its parts.

The two theories which between them divide today the whole field of scientific explanation are those of Quantum physics and Einstein's Relativity, both of which, dealing with phenomena quite beyond our vision, work with concepts which are in reality symbols, the meaning of which there is no way of knowing by the methods known to Science at present. The equations of Quantum physics, in their latest form, are so framed, Dr. Burnett points out, that they apply equally whether radiation is regarded as waves or as separate and discontinuous particles. It does not matter, therefore, whether electrons are particles or waves; the scientist has an equation which fits the phenomena in either case.

The gap between scientific "reality" and the world of men's experience was not created of course by Max Planck and Einstein. Even previously, when wave mechanics held the field, appearance and reality were not the same from the standpoints of Science and human experience. Dr. Burnett ironically remarks: "What the scientist and the philosopher call the world of appearance—the world of light and colour, of blue skies and green leaves, of sighing wind and murmuring water, the world designed by the physiology of the human senses—is the world in which finite man is incarcerated by his essential nature. What the scientist and the philosopher call the world of reality—the colourless, soundless, impalpable cosmos—is a skeleton structure of symbols." He points out that the crimson of a rose, which is a subjective sensation, was according to last century physicists, "in

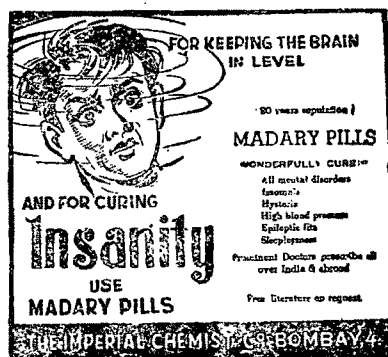
reality," an oscillation of the luminiferous ether. Today it is just a wave-length or alternatively the energy content of photons.

The gulf between appearance and a scientific "reality" devoid of the content of human experience has become now profounder than ever.

It is enlightening to realize what Science has not been able to tell us amidst the facts with which it concerns itself: enlightening because we tend to skip over our ignorance and imagine a knowledge which we do not possess. Though electricity, magnetism and gravitation are constantly being made use of for practical purposes, their ultimate nature is as unknown to Science now as ever before. The mechanism of radiation, the mode in which light is propagated, is a mystery. As indicated already, the question whether light is waves or particles has not been answered. The existence of the ether, which was the "end-product" of Newtonian physics, as Dr. Burnett styles it, has been discarded, but we cannot say that ether will not come back in some form.

Science has discarded ether, because, for its purposes, it needs only wave-lengths, lengths to measure relations, waves to explain the nature of the movement. It is not now concerned with the medium, as it was found by certain experiments to make no difference to the velocity of light in relation to the movement of the earth. The theory was that, if there were a medium, it should be affected by the movement of the earth and flow in the opposite direction as sea-water flows when a ship moves forward. If it is a medium not affected by the earth's motion, then the supposition of such a medium whose phenomena affect the physical eye involves the existence of inter-connected planes of different types of matter, a theory which Science does not entertain.

Einstein posits a space, a "primordial field," to which an increased curvature and certain local irregularities are imparted by each celestial body, thus determining its path and the paths of other bodies that swim into its field, and dispensing with the need of Gravitation to explain their movements. What elements of objective reality may exist in this concept no scientist can say. Scientists are admittedly empiricists; that is, they report what they observe and establish the relations that exist in such observations. Thus they have worked out certain figures which are constants, such as the speed of light (186,284 miles a second) and Planck's constant, which gives the relation between the frequency of radiation and the energy thrown out (a decimal of 30 figures, beginning with 26 zeros). But these are just mathematical facts; there is no explanation of them.



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It is conjectured through computations of different sorts that the universe probably had its beginning two billion years ago.

The geo-physicists, astro-physicists and cosmo-physicists all see that it must have had a beginning, judging by the phenomena they respectively observe. Nevertheless the scientific view most favoured is that, after the end to which everything is tending, there will be no beginning again. But then how did the beginning come about two billion years ago? There is no answer to the question. It is said that "Nature moves just one way"! Dr. Burnett observes, however, that according to Einstein's concept of Relativity, which postulates the interchangeability of matter and energy, it is conceivable that somewhere the radiation that takes place throughout the universe is being congealed into mass, and that mass or matter may be the stuff for a fresh beginning, a new cycle in an ever-recurring pulsation of Nature.

The difficulty which the scientists in general (with a few exceptions) find in accepting the possibility of a fresh generation of the universe is that "nothing in all inanimate Nature can be identified unmistakably as a pure creative process." In this view the inanimate and the animate are totally and unrelatably divorced. Science cannot tell how life arose on this planet, when conditions were once such as to prohibit its existence. The unified view which Science attempts to take does not embrace life and all its forces, along with the inanimate facts on the basis of which alone the future of the universe is predicted. May it not be that creation belongs to the life-side, and we are unable to see how creation can take place, because it is left out in the modern cosmological theories?

The scientist is concerned with quantitative facts, the qualities being discarded as subjective effects.

Within limits this separation of quantities from qualities may be justified in an analytical understanding. But if qualities should have as much of reality as quantities and be rooted in an efficient cause, can they be ignored as of no significance in probing the secret of origins?

Science has its own proper field of enquiry. When an attempt is made to explain facts beyond the range of our normal experience, with an apparatus of thought built to deal with such experience, the attempt yields, as it inevitably must, the form of an abstract representation, which is somewhat like a surrealist picture.

Einstein is unique among scientists in the boldness of his thinking, apart from all conventions. Gravitation was accepted for three centuries after Newton, as a force of attraction between bodies (counterbalanced by inertia), simply because it explained certain things. No one could say why one body should attract another, especially when they were supposed to be composed of inert particles. Einstein has invested Gravitation with a quite different meaning. It is no longer a force. In his view, objects move because of the geometric properties of space. His theory of a universal gravitational field is accepted, because it explains phenomena not explicable by the previous theories. He is still at work, we are told, as he has been for a quarter of a century, to produce a Unified Field Theory which will encompass the phenomena of both outer space—the galaxies—and the atom and give a single explanation of Gravitation and Electro-Magnetism. "Within its framework matter, energy, force, space, time (will) merge finally into one." The star by which he is guided is his intuitive conviction of the harmony of Nature and the universality of its laws, which has all the time determined his efforts.

The Theory of Relativity is not only part of the body of modern Science, but also, Dr. Burnett points out, "a major philosophical system," illumining various points on which speculation has ranged or raged in the past.



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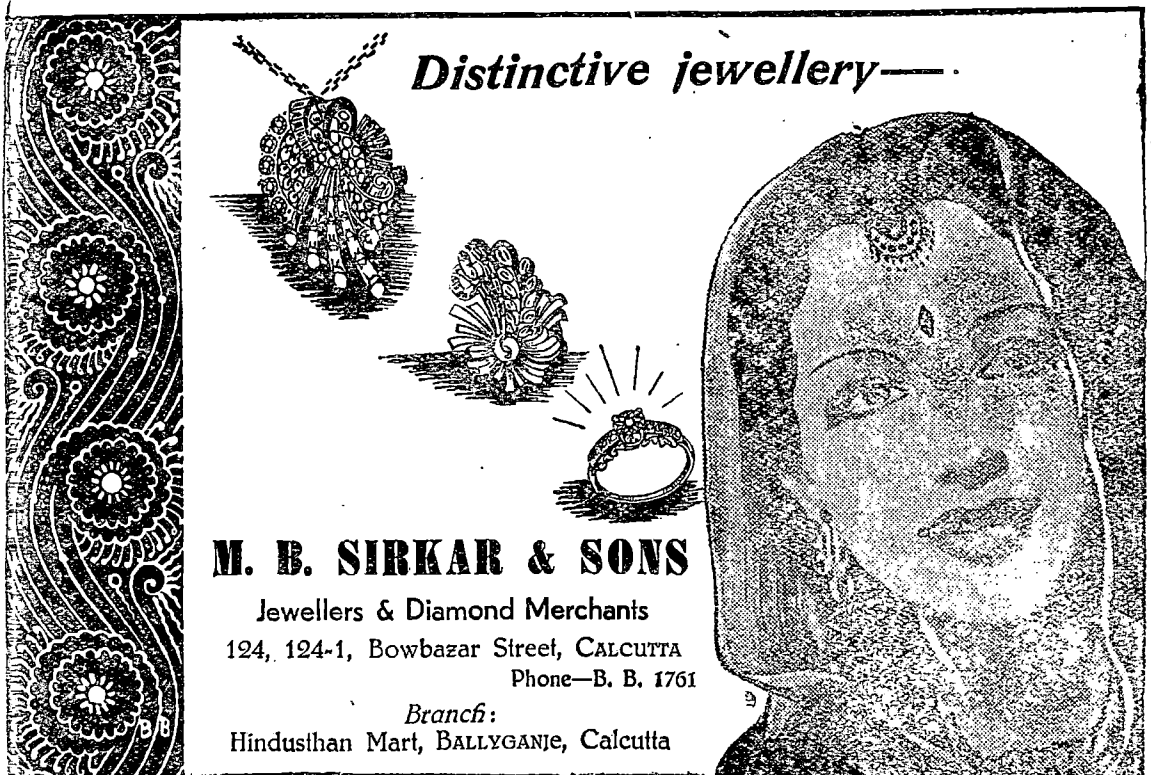
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Aristotle

The article on Aristotle by Leonard B. Gray is reproduced in full from the Chicago journal *Unity*, September-October, 1949:

When one studies the intellectual history of mankind, one is strikingly impressed by these four significant facts: great flowering of the human intellect occurs but seldom; each flowering is confined to a comparatively small section of the globe; each flowering is generally best incarnated and represented by some one city or town; and any great intellect comes fully into his own only in those periods when the contemporary intellectual tastes and capacities are capable of it. We know that there were at least four great flowerings of the human intellect, not counting the great intellects here and there and now and then outside of these flowerings. These four remarkable manifestations of the intellect of man were Greek philosophy and literature in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., German philosophy and literature during the first half of the nineteenth century, Russian fiction in the second half of the nineteenth century, and American literature in the middle part of the nineteenth century. With the exception of the Russian, each of these flowerings had its great center: that of the Greek, Athens; that of the German, Weimar; and that of the American, Concord, Massachusetts. To be sure, Hegel, Kant, Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville, and others who were expressions and parts of these flowerings did not live in these centers, except Hawthorne for a short time in Concord, and yet these three places were obviously the centers of these three unusually fruitful periods of human thought.

Aristotle appeared in and to a large degree accounted for the great period of Greek intellect, and he appeared in Athens at a time when he could be best appreciated there. Then the intellectual glory that was Greece passed with his passing, and the decadent age that followed him almost lost sight of him, and was the means of nearly losing him from the history of human thought. During the great Roman age Aristotle remained somewhat in eclipse, partly because Cicero, naturally the best prepared in that day to be a sounding board of praise for Aristotle, was not quite intellectually up to the philosopher's major works, and confined himself to the dialogues, the lesser productions of the Greek thinker. The latter part of the thirteenth century produced a favorable intellectual climate that appreciated Aristotle, perhaps a bit extravagantly, and brought him to the height of his glory. Indeed, it was in the year 1300 A.D. that the highest honor came to him, when Dante in his *Divina Comedia* called him "the master of those who know." For over two thousand years this great Grecian philosopher dominated philosophical and theological thinking. Then, reaction against him set in and gradually grew, until the eighteenth century, a period of mechanical philosophy and shallow learning, brought about the greatest neglect of him since the Christian era. And then in the first half of the nineteenth century there came in Germany her greatest intellectual period and the second great period of philosophy in the world's history. Hegel, Kant, and Goethe studied Aristotle earnestly, advocated his writings, and lifted him again into recognition and honor. Indeed, I think that it can be rightfully

claimed that the great Germans in this period gave this great Greek philosopher the truest estimate in all history, an estimate that avoided the neglect and the extravagant praise, and the condemnation that at various periods Aristotle had received. Hegel, who considered Aristotle the most worthy of study of all the ancients, and also Kant, found more affinity with the great thinkers of the Grecian period, especially with the subject of this essay, than with the philosophers of any other period. Goethe, both scientist and philosopher like his Greek ideal, and possessing a universal mind as the Greek did, said that if he had his life to live over again he would devote it to the study of Nature and Aristotle, and in enthusiastic wonder and praise exclaimed: "It is beyond all conception what that man espied, saw, beheld, remarked, observed."

The city of Stagira in the mountains of Macedonia was the birthplace of Aristotle and 384 B.C. was the year of his birth. The boy's father, Nicomachus, was a physician of ability and success in the city, the author of several medical works, a friend of Amyntas, the Macedonian king, and his physician when the king came to the mountains for several months each year, chiefly for the exciting and dangerous sport of hunting wild hogs. When Nicomachus accompanied the royal party on hunting trips, little Aristo, as he was called, refused to be left behind. What adventurous and halcyon days those were for the eager lad when he trotted by his father's side, carrying the formidable bow which he had made himself, locating for the king the gulches where the boars fed, and the bee-trees by watching the flights of bees! The king was fond of his skilled doctor and the doctor's bright boy, and one year on returning to Stagira he surprised and delighted little Aristo by giving the lad the finest bow that ever was, a bow all tipped with silver and feathers.

One summer when the boy was quite young, tragedy in those wild mountains came in the form of a huge avalanche of sliding stones that struck and crushed Nicomachus to death. Proscenus, a near-kinsman, took over the care of the youth. The next summer there was another surprise for the boy. The king brought Philip, his own son, about the age of the mountain boy. As they climbed the mountains and hunted, the two boys formed a fast and wonderful friendship. A stranger, seeing Aristo, complimented the king on his remarkable son. Amyntas replied: "The other boy is mine—but I wish they both were." Indeed, he would take his favorite back to the capital and make him a member of his court. But the studious had always been the dominant element in this athletic mountain boy. Not the court, but the great school of the great Plato in Athens was the object of his ambitions. And so the next year Aristotle, aged seventeen, tall, straight, bronzed, and strong, with an unusually alert face, attracting all who saw him, rolled his belongings in bearskin, tied with thongs, and started for the intellectual center of Greece.

At once Plato was impressed by the youth from the mountains. At once he recognized that an intellectual giant such as seldom appears had come into the world of thinking men. The great teacher was then a little over sixty—about the same age that Socrates had been when he himself, as a bright youth, became a pupil of

the first great Greek philosopher—and as delighted with his new find as Socrates had been with his. To both masters there was given the supreme joy—the joy of a great teacher finding a great pupil. But at sixty Socrates had been older in appearance and in spirit than the sixty-year-old Plato now seemed to be. The master that greeted the boy from Stagira had been kept exceptionally well-preserved and young-spirited by his wealthy, aristocratic, easy life. To an advanced age he was to wear his purple robe with a dignified, proud manner and with the eager look of a youth. But enduring severe Thracian winters in bare feet and picking up cold snacks of food here and there had prematurely taken the youth out of Socrates.

Plato gave his best to his great discovery. How moving to think of those wonderful twenty years the master kept the young man with him, at least of those happy years before shadows fell on that famous school! In that ideal place, that garden school, what halcyon hours the two knew together, often in the lecture room, more often perhaps in conversation on marble benches on cool evenings under the trees while the quiet stars looked down upon them. The mountain boy had not been there more than three years when his teacher called him the chief ornament of the school and his fellow students called him "The Mind." Already the youth was acquainted with the sages of the past and with the leading thinkers of his day. Early whispers that the pupil would excel the teacher, and evidences that he did in some respects, did not make the large-souled Plato jealous. The large mind of the master took pride in watching the mind of the youth reaching out to interests and realms of study that he himself had not explored to any great extent, to the delving into natural history, to the collecting of plants and rocks and animals, and to the consideration of practical working of economic schemes.

And yet towards the close of his life the grand old sage was hurt, perhaps severely, by his favorite pupil. We know that the old man spoke of the young man as a foal that kicks his mother after draining her dry. The naturally independent mind of young Aristotle increasingly became independent in his studies as he said: "Dear is Plato, but dearer still is truth." And so there began "the little rift within the lute" that gradually developed into a big rift. First inwardly, and then openly, more and more strongly, the young independent repudiated the Platonic teaching of poetry, rhetoric, elocution, polite accomplishments, and especially Plato's famous doctrine of ideas. Schism broke out in the beautiful, peaceful garden school as vigorous mind clashed with vigorous mind. We have it from Proclus that Aristotle "proclaimed loudly in his dialogues that he was unable to sympathize with the doctrine of ideas."

We have to understand that, aside from their eager and universal search for truth that they had in common, these two great minds were essentially different. Plato's mind was poetical, mystical, intuitive. It believed in and sought a truth of which glimpses only could be obtained, partly by the most abstract powers of thought, partly by imagination. It aimed not at demonstrations which could be stated concretely and once for all, but rather preferred analogies and hints of truth. To this greatest and most original of metaphysical philosophers, eternity, the life of the gods, the supra-sensible world of ideas were more real and important than the world of affairs. His pupil, on the other hand, possessed a scientific matter-of-fact mind that was not guided by poetic impulse and imagination in its search for truth. His passion was for definite knowledge so methodized that it could be stated in a general principle or law. Not for his type of mind were half-lights nor much interest in the nature of God, in the operation of Providence, and in the immortality of the soul. Only naked truth for him. While we see the poet in the artist, grace, beauty, and ornamentation of Plato's style, we see the scientist in Aristotle's compact, terse, sparse style that close-fitted his thought. Plato's passion was truth above the scientific; Aristotle's passion was definite and methodized experience.

From these two great and independent thinkers posterity has named and kept these two distinct types of mind, the Platonist and the Aristotelian—the realists who make reason independent of the senses and assert that the universal is more real than the particular, and the nominalists who assert the superior reality of individual objects. The latter with their originator "proclaim loudly" against Plato's doctrine of ideas which disparaged the world of sensible objects. When we form a conception, or think we do, of any particular object by means of our senses, this doctrine claims, we are really like men sitting in a dimly-lighted cavern and staring at shadows on the wall. The world of the senses is a world of shadows, but the world of ideas is the true world. In the world of sense what we call good or beautiful things are merely those which have a faint resemblance to the idea of the good or the beautiful. Not only are ideas the causes of qualities and attributes in things but they are also heads of classes or universals, and these ideas alone have complete reality. But the matter-of-fact, tough mind of Aristotle in the nominalist has always attacked this Platonic realism because it believes that such realism is the root of endless mysticism and scholarly nonsense.

The opposition of his favorite pupil was the only thing that marred the otherwise complete peace and happiness of Plato's old age. The grand and lovable old philosopher was honored and loved by nearly every-

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body, and at his death in the year 347 B.C. his school remained loyal to him. This meant that Aristotle paid for his independent thinking. There was no place for him in the Academy or even anywhere in Athens.

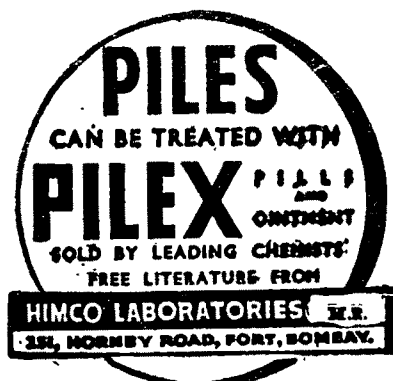
Adventurous indeed were Aristotle's years away from the intellectual center of Greece, sometimes in dramatic action, always in thought, as our scientist-philosopher traveled, observed, taught, and enjoyed ample leisure for experimentation and contemplation. He married the fair princess, Pythian, daughter of the enlightened Hermeas who welcomed him to Atarneus when he left Athens. He taught Alexander, son of Philip of Macedon, his boyhood playmate and friend; experienced carefree leisure and happiness at court for a few years; and left such an impression upon the young prince that he was moved to say: "What Aristotle is in the world of thought, I will be in the world of action."

After Philip's assassination in 336 B.C. and the boy-king had turned his mind to imperial business and plans for great conquests, there was no longer need for Aristotle to remain at court. So with the prestige of Alexander's favor and money, he returned at the age of fifty to the city of his happy student years to fulfill a long-cherished dream—the founding of a school of his own. He was now widely-traveled and experienced, seasoned with ripened wisdom, the passions of his youth somewhat tempered, strong and healthy, his intellectual powers matured and at their best. His early independent views were about the same, but stronger, deeper entrenched, and more developed. Naturally there was no place for him in Plato's old school which he found in the same groves of Academe and still flourishing under the able leadership of Xenocrates. They would not welcome him there had he wished it, and he did not. Almost immediately in the grounds attached to the Temple of the Lycean Apollo on the eastern side of the city he set up his own school soon to become the famous Lyceum. At last his great hour had come.

And so, Aristotle started what were to be twelve years of study and research work, teaching and writing, which for their intensity and quality were seldom, if ever, equalled in all history. Both the substance and method of his teaching were to be different from Plato's. His manner was more energetic and enthusiastic than that of his former teacher. Unlike his aristocratic master who carefully selected his pupils, the head of the Lyceum welcomed students of all types, including many foreigners, it is said. We know that many young eager minds flocked to him. Soon from lecturing and free intercourses under the covered walks, he and the Aristotelian scholars were to acquire the name, "Peripatetics." Clear in Aristotle's mind was exactly what he wanted to do. He would reconstruct each branch of science and frame his own philosophy. He would trace out the laws on which human reason proceeds, become the first to reduce these laws to a science and produce a logic. Out of his efforts was to come his famous syllogism, an argument stated in logical form, consisting of three propositions, the first two being called the premises, and the last the conclusion, which is the matter to be proved. He would organize and direct his pupils in the exploration and the compilation of vast stores of knowledge. Some say that at one time, financed by eight hundred talents (\$4,000,000 in our purchasing power), his own large fortune supplemented by what Alexander supplied for physical and biological equipment and research, Aristotle had a thousand men scattered throughout Greece and Asia, collecting specimens of the fauna and flora for him. Such immense enterprises and his "Method of Induction," which he was the first man to comprehend and expound and apply, make him the father

of all true science and the one, above all ancient men, before whom present-day scientists bow with respect. He contributed, many claim, more than any other one man in all history, to the scientific education of the world. Although some of his claims, such as attributing headaches to the wind on the brain, asserting that people with large heads have small ability to recollect, ascribing to powered grasshopper wings the power to cure gout, and the assertion that man has only eight ribs on each side, have been proved wrong and absurd, many of his observations and experimentations were surprisingly accurate in scientific matters. He anticipated Harvey by two thousand years in calling the heart a pump that forces the blood to the extremities of the body. He discovered more about the horse than any man before the time of Leonardo da Vinci and his discoveries about this animal were used by the great da Vinci as the basis of still greater discoveries. Professor Sundevall, the great zoologist of Stockholm, reckoned that the Stagirite showed himself acquainted with five hundred species, seventy mammals, one hundred and fifty birds, twenty reptiles, one hundred and sixteen fishes, sixty species of insects and Arachnids, twenty Crustaceans, and forty molluscs and annelids. Simply ravished with astonishment are scientific authorities about the multitude of facts collected by this Greek scientist who, many claim, was the first man to use his eyes. In science, however, it was not the amount of knowledge, great as it was, that was Aristotle's most distinctive contribution to posterity. Rather his most valuable scientific contribution was his method of analytic insight which consists in the concentration of the mind upon the subject in hand, marshalling together all the facts and opinions upon it, and dwelling on these and scrutinizing and comparing them until a light flashes on the whole subject. In this great and enduring contribution, the father of science became history's strongest opponent of ignorance and most ardent promoter of truth, enlightenment, and maturity of mind.

And then, partly to rest his mind, but chiefly because his mind was insatiable, versatile, and universal, Aristotle would abruptly interrupt his scientific studies and give his whole attention to literary criticism, politics, philosophy, or one of the many other subjects that attracted him. Indeed, our philosopher reflected and wrote upon almost every conceivable subject during those intense and happy years at the Lyceum. One wonders that one mind could produce so many volumes and regrets that so many of Aristotle's works were only partially completed when his studies were quite suddenly and sadly interrupted by the death of Alexander, his protector, in 323



B.C. and by the overthrow of the Macedonian Party that soon followed the passing of the great conqueror. How pathetic to think of the Stagirite remembering the fate of Socrates, and saying that he would not give Athens a chance to sin a second time against philosophy, as he left his beloved school and unfinished manuscripts and fled to Chalcis where he died a few months later! But he left many contributions of high worth that are vital parts of our contemporary thinking, and since this article cannot be much more than suggestive, we will mention only a few more of these permanent contributions.

In his little book, *Poetics*, Aristotle's superb powers of analysis, which took him straight to the essentials and which have never been surpassed in all history, were at their best. The fifty pages of this book are pregnant with ideas that have dominated Western critical thought for many generations and remain today fundamental in literary criticism. Few books are so valuable as this to the present-day reader. In answering the basic question of the book, "What makes literature meaningful to us?", the author claims that the function of poetry is imitation, that the object of imitation is to portray the universal, and that the test of poetry is whether or not it gives us pleasure. While one function of art is surely to enrich us with more abundant emotions, it is also clear, as Aristotle claimed, that another function is catharsis, purification, releasing of emotions accumulated in us under the pressure of conventions and social restraints.

We like and accept our philosopher's insight in his claim that pleasure, contrary to the assertion of some philosophers, is not "the sense of what promotes life," but rather "the sense of life itself, the sense of the vital powers, the sense that any faculty whatsoever has met its proper object."

Aristotle's famous "mean," we believe, eternally remains the best guide to sensible and well-balanced living. Deficiency and excess are equally fatal. Extremes in gymnastic exercises or in eating or drinking are injurious to strength and health, whereas a suitable amount produces, sustains, and augments one's physical well-being. Even so, the means of temperance and of courage and of all other virtues promote one's entire well-being. The mean is not necessarily the mid-point between two extreme qualities. Rather it is the mid-point relative to the moral agent. What is too much or too little for one man may not be so for another. Six pounds of meat, the numerical mean between ten and two pounds, would likely be below the real mean for Milo, the famous Crotoniate wrestler, and above the real mean for some other men. Between foolhardiness and cowardice, courage is the mean; between boorishness and buffoonery, wit is the mean; between vanity and little-mindedness, high-mindedness is the mean; and between flattery and quarrelsomeness, friendliness is the mean. And so Aristotle goes on to show that virtue is a state of deliberate moral purpose consisting in a mean, determined by reason, that is relative to ourselves.

As regards the relation of the mind to external things, this Greek philosopher said that passive reason becomes all things by receiving their impress, while the constructive reason creates all things just as light brings colors into actual existence, while without light they would have remained mere possibilities. The mind contributes to the existence of things only what light does to color. The external world is a product of two sets of factors, namely, the rich and varied constituents of

the universe and reason manifested in perceiving minds. Without the presence and co-operation of this perceiving reason, everything would be at once condemned to virtual annihilation. Aristotle said: "The possible existence of a thing is identical with the possibility in us of perceiving or knowing it," and again, "nothing exists except plus me."

And reason with our philosopher was a road to God, not chiefly as an instrument to be used to prove His existence, although it was surely this, but rather as a divine endowment and hence an evidence of God. Aristotle gloried in reason as something unique and divine. While everything else, he believed, could be traced to a natural origin, he did not believe that this faculty in man could be. Nature is instinct with God, and God, this great thinker claimed, is the Supreme Being, unmoved Himself, but the cause of motion in all things. The divine is an immanent idea operating in nature and in human thought and reason, but it is also more than immanent. There is the transcendent mind of God, over and above the divine in nature and in man, determining Himself through Himself, and bearing the same relation to the divine that the sun bears to light. And man may enter into the consciousness of God and become a partaker of His life. The soul or life is not a chance guest but rather a function. As sight is to the eye so the soul is to the body. It is, in fact, the perfect action of all the conditions of the bodily organization.

To man, Aristotle attached great importance. Man has a divine nature, especially in his reasoning faculty, as we have just said. He is so important, so much the center of things, that the state must not be considered as an end in itself, but rather as the prime necessity for the well-doing and well-being of man. This philosopher gave his highest praise to the great-souled man with his virtues of courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, and magnanimity. Friendship and all the other virtues are of such high worth in and of themselves that they are ends in themselves, not merely means for something else. But Aristotle attached great worth and importance to men only within the circle of his elite. He had the typical Grecian disdain of the rulers towards the ruled. He saw little or no worth in the slaves and in the barbarians. He was a strict adherent to his contemporary Greek conception of man that did not rise to our Christian conception which attaches divine worth and dignity to every man.

Aristotle's greatest contribution to history and to us today was not his huge accumulation and arrangement of facts, great as this was; nor his interpretation of the universe and man's relation to the universe and of the meaning of human existence, profound as this was. Rather this great Greek scientist and philosopher is most meaningful to posterity for his love of facts, his splendid example of the inquiring mind, his clear analytic separation of the different sciences, and his earnest attempt to answer the major questions of life which encourages in us the belief that to raise the questions themselves clearly is a great matter and that there is truth in the saying: "It is a half-way to knowledge when you know what you have to inquire."

We are indebted to Aristotle chiefly not for what he saw, even though what he saw is beyond our conception, as it was beyond Goethe's conception, but rather for what this great ancient thinker encouraged us to seek.



Stucco head of a young man from Gandhara, belonging to the 3rd century



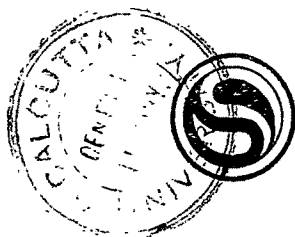
THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR IN THE COURT OF SHAJAHAN

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Tilak Banerji

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 4

WHOLE No. 520

NOTES

Bengal in Turmoil

The sorriest part about the tragic atmosphere enveloping West Bengal today, is the lackadaisical indecision at the Centre regarding the situation. World opinion has been given an undue priority over the opinion of the people at home—as is always the case with Pandit Nehru—despite the fact that the Press abroad is either actually hostile or totally indifferent to the case and cause of the Indian Union. World opinion is no doubt a potent factor in all matters that are not purely domestic, but today we find that the Press of the English-speaking world is whipping up public opinion in their own spheres purely on the basis of partisanship in the line up for or against the Soviet Bloc. In dealing with any issue, international or domestic, concerning India and Pakistan, the Press abroad is taking sides on that count alone, irrespective of the question of justice or injustice, or else maintaining a strictly indifferent attitude. In short, we find that world opinion is degenerating into malicious propaganda, so far as Indian affairs are concerned, in the more powerful sections of the Anglo-American Press.

The *Times* of London published at the beginning of March an editorial on the Indo-Pakistan situation, *apropos* the refusal by Premier Liaquat Ali Khan of Pakistan of Pandit Nehru's offer of a joint tour, which was an astounding effort in the distortion of facts even for that British Tory organ. Its opposite number in the United States, *The New York Times* has the same attitude as evinced by the following news item in the daily press of March 30 :

"No one should underestimate the grave potentialities of the India-Pakistan quarrel," the *New York Times* said in an editorial today.

"It was the one place in the world today where war was a real possibility.

"The Hindu extremists have now actually called for war against Pakistan," the newspaper said.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has throughout its history caused the sort of trouble to be expected from an extreme racial and fanatically religious organisation. It has campaigned frankly at all times for a United India run by Hindus.

"It is the lunatic fringe of Indian politics and while its following is relatively small its capacity for mischief is large.

"It was the Hindu Mahasabha's reckless statement against the very existence of Pakistan last December that set the match to the Bengal powder keg."

The paper concluded that the meeting in New Delhi of the Prime Ministers Liaquat Ali Khan and Pandit Nehru should do much to counteract the inflammatory campaign of the Hindu extremists.

There could be no question of lack of information. The editorial in the *Times* of London appeared a month after the beginning of the trouble and that in the *New York Times* nearly two months after. Both these papers have staff correspondents and special correspondents in Delhi and Calcutta, and so there can be no other explanation besides pre-determined malice in such propaganda. These papers, and others of the same ilk, are the mentors of public opinion in matters concerning Asiatic nations in their own respective spheres, and therefore Pandit Nehru's anxiety regarding world opinion is based on faulty premises altogether.

Here, at home, in the midst of the turmoil that is going on in West Bengal, we find that the exasperation of the people has boiled over after the indiscreet pronouncement of Pandit Nehru before the Indian Parliament on March 17. An extremely tense atmosphere still prevails, though the flare-up that caused great anxiety all over the country has been brought under control by the strenuous efforts of the military authorities. We do not want to go into details of what has happened, we would only remark that the police organisation has miserably failed to measure

up to the situation, in Calcutta and in the suburban areas.

Of the occurrences, the best summary we have seen is an extract from the *Economist* of London published in the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi. It is in the form of a despatch from a special correspondent. We quote :

"It is significant that the total casualties in the last three months have not been large. In India they do not go far into three figures, in Pakistan they do not go far into four; on the most unfavourable estimate the total figure is less than the 5,000 killed in August, 1946, in Calcutta, when there was still British Rule in India. But the 1946 riot created no refugees, while today 130,000 refugees have arrived in India and keep on coming at the rate of 5,000 a day, and in Pakistan the Chief Minister of East Bengal says that 116,000 refugees have arrived from India."

The deduction which the writer draws is that it has now become "painfully easy" in both countries to turn out respectable people from their homes, and their stories of woe are readily believed and magnified. "But," he says, "while the danger is great on both sides, for reasons often beyond Pakistan's control, there is more danger in Pakistan than in India for the minorities."

The correspondent explains his reason for the above conclusion thus :

"India is a Secular State. The preamble to the constitution talks of justice and liberty and does not mention Hinduism. The doctrine that Hindu and Muslim are one is a cardinal tenet of the Congress. One quarter of the Muslims used to vote Congress and they therefore still have leadership and an ideal despite the dissolution of the Muslim League in India; there are two Muslim ministers at the centre and several in the Provinces, the inspector general of police in Bihar is a Muslim and so on. That the Muslims have fair confidence in India is indeed shown by the return of 300,000 from West Pakistan and by the very large emigration from East Pakistan into Assam since 1947.

"Pakistan, on the other hand, is a State deliberately built on Islam. The League was specifically a Muslim League, there is a widespread demand that the constitution should be based specifically on Islam's principles. There is, therefore, a double difficulty in assimilating the East Bengal Hindus into the body of Pakistan. It is very easy for a Muslim public, which knows how bitterly and almost unanimously opposed the Hindus were to the idea of Pakistan, to see a fifth column inside every dhoti."

Tracing the genesis of the disturbances, he says :

"The incidents which started the trouble occurred in Khulna and Rajshahi in mid-December. By the beginning of January there were 15,000 refugees in India; yet the East Bengal Government only issued its version at the beginning of February, and when the Hindu Members of the Assembly tried to discuss what had happened in the House, their motion was disallowed by the Speaker, and they were treated as virtual traitors."

In the correspondent's opinion, the Government of East Bengal has been firm "after a bad start." "It has used its troops and police, it has clamped on curfews, it has in fact succeeded in restoring order." On the other side the Government of West Bengal has been "quicker and even firmer." It did not permit Holi to be celebrated. The correspondent pleads the Pakistan Government's "remoteness from the scene of action" in defence of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's refusal of Pandit Nehru's suggestion of a joint tour.

Discussing the position of the East Bengal ferment, the writer says :

"Their police is inadequate, their communications bad, their revenue is only £18 million for over 40 million people, their Muslims are backward, their Hindus comprise most of the middle and upper classes, so that a wide range of government actions (requisitioning of houses in Dacca, abolition of zamindari, etc.) are necessarily mistaken for discrimination.

East Bengalis, both Hindus and Muslims, get on well together but the presence of Punjabi officials, alien elements, and a number of Bihar Muslim refugees (from whom 'Ansars' are drawn) makes the situation "explosive."

It is apparent from the figures given that the despatch was sent sometime about the third week in March.

Today there is some lessening in tension, in anticipation of results from the imminent meeting at Delhi between the Premiers of India and Pakistan and their counsellors. Mr. Horace Alexander of the Friends Society, who is a tried friend of the peoples of both the dominions, has voiced the feelings of all right-thinking people in the interview quoted below :

"The meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in Delhi must lead all men of goodwill to hope that the two Governments will find a genuine basis for mutual accord," said Mr. Horace Alexander in the course of an interview to the Press today. "A recent visit paid by me to East Bengal leads me to believe that there are hopeful factors in the situation. Terrible things have happened, and the story of these horrors has aroused the fiercest passions.

"It may be hoped that the leaders of India and Pakistan will agree on policies that will call out the courage and generosity latent in the common people everywhere."

What of the prospects of any concrete results? He would be a bold prophet indeed who can give the answer in positive terms. Of course, a great deal depends on the sincerity and determination of the two parties that will soon engage in deliberations at Delhi. In the light of what has happened during the period of two years and a half, that have elapsed since the Partition, we might be permitted some pessimism regarding the attitude of the Pakistan authorities. They have gained all that they possess

today, freedom, territory and status, as guerdon in payment for services rendered to British Imperialism in its attempt to keep India subjugated in chains. The Moslem League was a natural child of the Empire-builders and Pakistan is the legacy to which it has succeeded. As such there are but few persons in authority in Pakistan who are not convinced today that political treachery and subterfuge, added to intransigence, would yield rich dividends in the future—as in the past—where deals with India are concerned. They are confident of the tacit backing of British-vested interests and of British Permanent officialdom in all their moves—and they have substantial reasons for this belief.

For the time being therefore, nothing seems to be in prospect beyond a regional exchange of population, on a strictly voluntary basis. Even under those circumstances the migration in the two directions may well reach into millions. It will be more than futile to attempt to stop this flow until such time as the panic in the minorities and the frenzy in the major communities subsides. Indeed we would say that any attempt to stem it would be disastrous. The police in both parts of Bengal are demoralised, what difference there is between West and East Bengal in this matter lies at the topmost quarters.

Perhaps the Pakistan authorities would be in a more amenable mood after the impact of a million or more of violently uprooted humanity on their administration and economy. We in West Bengal are witnessing the severe strain put on the public and the administration by the influx, in vast numbers, of displaced persons. We have also seen how easily these demoralised peoples could be utilized by the lawless and unprincipled elements amongst their own peoples to upset the entire scheme of a stable government. We should like to see how Pakistan reacts under the same stresses, of insatiable demands, of endless waste, of a continuous wail, of importunities and of a total disregard of the accepted laws of society.

There has been, and there still is, a good deal of calls for war under various terms, outright or modified. The persons who were taking the lead in all this clamour are evidently innocent of all knowledge of matters martial. We are neither preaching *ahimsa* nor do we rule out war as the ultimate means of decision, all other means of settlement having failed. Indeed we would go further and say that the State that is not prepared to assert its rights or to preserve its integrity by force of arms has little chance of survival in this present-day world of Real politik. *But war means no quick solution*, we would say to our armchair strategists, indeed it would certainly mean prolonged suffering for decades and may be the extinction of millions. For that the State must be fully prepared, and the people must stand solidly behind the State or else it would be asking for a catastrophic disaster.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's Statement

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, after his five-day visit to East Bengal, made a statement in the Karachi Legislature on March 28. The main points of his statement, as reported by the *Associated Press of Pakistan* are :

(1) Course of events preceding the disturbances showing how the trouble originated : (a) A campaign in India for several months past by extremist elements led by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the R.S.S. and a body of mischievous malcontents for the absorption of Pakistan in India and to Hindu against Muslims. He referred in this connection to the Mahasabha Session in Calcutta from December 24-26.

(b) India's Deputy Prime Minister's visit to Calcutta on January 15 and "references to his speech to the communal disturbances of 1946 in Bengal in term which could not but encourage irresponsible elements among Hindus in their antagonism to Pakistan."

(c) Communal incidents in different parts of Bengal in which Muslim life and property had been destroyed.

(2) Hindu leaders used a minor incident wholly non-communal in character which had taken place weeks earlier to fan the flames of communal passion. Following the killing of a policeman who had gone to search the house of a communist in Khulna district communist elements spread rumours regarding the likelihood of police action and in consequence a number of people, not all of whom were communists, left the area. Some bad characters in the neighbourhood took advantage of this situation and helped themselves to the property left behind in some of the houses.

(3) It was on February 10, that "repercussions took place for the first time."

(4) Besides Dacca, there were disturbances on a much smaller scale in Chittagong, Feni and the districts of Barisal and Sylhet.

(5) Some 15,000 to 20,000 refugees were coming into East Bengal daily, while 1,200 to 1,500 refugees were entering West Pakistan. The number of Hindus who have left East Bengal is probably in much the same order as the number of Muslims who have come to East Bengal.

(6) "There were two main reasons why Hindus were leaving East Bengal even though completely peaceful conditions now prevail in that province." Firstly, Hindus in East Bengal were apprehensive that they might once again become the victims of reprisals. Secondly, "the Indian Press and several Indian leaders have been persistently urging that India should invade Pakistan and their friends and relations across the border have been telling them that it would be suicidal for them to continue to stay in Pakistan."

(7) Malicious exaggerations and fantastic lies about recent events in East Pakistan continue to appear in the Indian Press. "At the same time we must condemn certain sections of the Press in Pakistan for mischievous treatment and presentation of news."

(8) "The Prime Minister of India and I have under consideration the question of issuing a joint declaration.

This joint declaration we on our part have every intention of implementing."

Veracity of the Statements

The eagerness to minimise happenings in East Bengal and exaggerate those in India are clearly noticeable in the above statement. Both the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Premier of East Bengal have sought to trace the origin of the present disturbances to the activities of the Council for the Protection of Minorities, the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. since December last and the speech of Sardar Patel in Calcutta. Sardarji has given a fitting reply to Mr. Amin's accusation. It is regrettable to find Mr. Liaquat Ali repeating the same false accusations even after that. Both the Premiers have however omitted to admit that the Bagerhat incident itself was the culmination of a long series of planned encroachments on the rights of the Hindus in East Bengal which had made the position of the minorities not only insecure but extremely vulnerable to all sorts of attacks. Immediately after the creation of Pakistan, the licensed fire arms from the Hindus were seized and they were thoroughly disarmed. Most of the few Hindus that had opted for government service in Pakistan were removed from key posts and placed mostly on relieving duties. As a result, it became increasingly difficult for the Hindus to get legal remedy for wrongs and offences done to them. Then came the economic boycott of the Hindus and an onslaught on their language and culture. All agitations went in vain. Large-scale arrests of Hindus, including very respectable people, on flimsy or false pretext and indiscriminate requisitioning of Hindu houses made the Hindus extremely nervous and it was after this official attack upon them that the minorities became seriously apprehensive of the real intention of the Pakistan Government about them. Up to this time only about 1.5 million Hindus out of a total of 12 millions had left East Bengal and the remaining number had decided to stay on. In spite of the fact that they had become foreigners in their own land and had lost their right to utter "Vande Mataram," they accepted Pakistan as their homeland. The declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic State, in which non-Muslims are not granted political and citizenship rights equally with the Muslims, made the Hindus apprehensive, its functioning made their position insecure. It is not the question of major riots that needs greater attention but the first and foremost thing that should be taken into most serious consideration is whether the Hindus felt or are feeling security in Pakistan. Not the good intentions of the Government or sweet declarations of Pakistan leaders, but the actual feeling of security and condition of economic subsistence that should be the main planks on which the Indo-Pakistan question should be thrashed out. Mr. Basanta Kumar Das's memorandum deserves the closest and the most serious attention as it clearly shows the factors hitting at the sense of security in the Hindu minority of Pakistan.

It is needless to enter into controversy over the priority of incidents in one's desire to find out which one

was the action and which one the reaction. One who really means business should go as far back as the Pakistan resolution in the Muslim League Conference at Lahore in 1940. Creation of Pakistan has closed one chapter and declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic State opens the present one with reactions that we experience today.

Governments of India and West Bengal should take serious note of Mr. Liaquat Ali and Mr. Nurul Amin's speeches. Both of them have made our government responsible for everything that have happened in their territory following their own actions. The sincere eagerness of our Governments to maintain law and order even at the risk of unpopularity here has failed to satisfy Pakistan, which has construed utterances of Premiers and Press Notes as active abetments to communal frenzy in India. The anxiety of the Press to withhold news has also been misconstrued. If a news item is published, it would at once be cited as an incitement; if nothing is published the incident will be denied on the ground that it was not published; if a late publication is made, aspersions will be cast on the Press, saying if it were true, why was it not published earlier? Under such conditions, it is much better that every incident should be published, but in a colourless and purely objective way. Our Administrators and Political leaders should do well to remember how appeasement has failed.

The disturbances have so far culminated into two major events, the murder of Mr. Cameron by a mob when he was trying to protect his Muslim servant, and declaration of Martial Law in Howrah. The murder of Mr. Cameron has been a foul and dastardly crime and has deeply shocked all sane persons. Not only Mr. Cameron but others have also met with death and violence in their effort to save the lives of victims of communal passion. In this connection we may mention the death of Dr. Sudhir Chatterjee of Bogra who lost his life when trying to save the lives of three Hindu Marwari women victims of the Santahar Assam Mail attack.

Mr. Basanta Das's Statement

Shri Basanta Kumar Das, Leader of the Opposition in the East Bengal Assembly, submitted a 23-point memorandum to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan during the Pakistan Prime Minister's visit to East Bengal.

The suggestions made in the memorandum are :

1. Drastic punishments to the wrong-doers in different affected parts of the province. For that purpose immediate intensive and impartial investigation should be made to find out and arrest the wrong-doers. There should be vigorous and extensive searches for looted articles also. Having regard to the colossal nature of the havoc caused by the happenings and to the fact that the causes and facts thereof are so patent, self-evident and telling that there is hardly any necessity for merely any fact-finding committee.

2. The investigations should be conducted in such a way as would demonstrably help removal of insecurity and panic.

3. Imposition of punitive tax in the affected areas.
4. District authorities are to be warned not to be lackadaisical about complaints of the minority members.
5. For fostering confidence in the minds of the minority community and to bring back their sense of security, intensive propaganda throughout the province should be organised.

Vigilance committees composed of persons of influence and integrity in different areas should be set up. Strict control of the press and the radio should be ensured.

6. Steps should be taken to find out persons missing while travelling.

7. Immediate and effective steps for recovering the abducted women should be taken.

8. Trains and steamers should be provided with armed guards more adequately.

9. Enquiries should be undertaken to find out the railway officials on the train and at different stations who are accused of having taken part in murder and stabbing of passengers and looting of properties from trains.

Particular enquiries into the conduct of the G. R. P. should be undertaken for neglect of duty.

10. Independent enquiry should be held as to the conduct of those Government officials, police or Ansars who are alleged to have helped or connived at the commission of atrocities.

11. Release of all persons of the minority community arrested during the period of disturbances.

12. Full compensation for life should be paid to the family of those persons who were done to death in different places.

13. Full compensation should be paid for the loss of properties. Immediate relief in the shape of free rations and rehabilitation grant and house-construction should be given.

14. Full compensation for temples desecrated and looted should be paid.

15. Generally the precautionary and protective arrangements throughout the province (in urban and rural areas) should be more tightened.

16. Those who want to go away should be ensured uninterrupted and safe passage. No customs searches should be held on the way inside the province. Customs formalities at the transit points at the borders also should be fairly relaxed, if not withdrawn temporarily.

17. Measures should be taken so that no restriction or obstruction may be put in the way of selling the movable or immovable properties of the minorities.

19. Indiscriminate arrests on mere vague allegations should be stopped.

20. Indiscriminate requisition and forcible occupation of houses of the minority community members should be stopped.

21. Payment of rent of the requisitioned houses should be speeded up.

22. Requisitioned guns of the members of the minority community (even if sold out) should be immediately returned to them. Fresh licences should be granted to those members of the minority community who may

apply for the same for protection of their life and property.

23. The State should be declared a secular and democratic one and further the minorities should be treated as equal citizens.

India's Budget

Dr. Matthai has presented a surplus Budget this year. The Budget was indeed a great surprise. Six months ago the situation was regarded as rapidly deteriorating and from all accounts a deficit of Rs. 30 crores was considered a certainty. The Deputy Prime Minister took personal interest in seeing that the capital budgets were slashed and economy measures were introduced with the result that the country was let off with a deficit of about three and a half crores.

There will be a revenue surplus of Rs. 9.62 crores for 1950-51 as against a deficit of Rs. 3.71 crores for 1949-50. Revenue receipts for the next year are estimated at Rs. 317.5 crores and expenditure at Rs. 337.88 crores. Revenue receipts for 1949-50 are now estimated at Rs. 332.38 crores and expenditure at Rs. 336.1 crores. The Budget speech this year has not followed the previous custom of a set and prepared address. The Finance Minister delivered an extempore speech in an unconventional manner which was of the nature of an informal talk on matters covered by the Budget. It was considered as a good analysis of the general economic background. An innovation made by the Finance Minister was the presentation of a White Paper on the Budget in addition to the usual explanatory memorandum. The Finance Minister, in his speech, referred to the formation of an Estimates Committee in addition to the Standing Finance Committee, Planning Commission, Finance Commission, financial integration of States, revenue and expenditure, economy move, capital budget and taxation proposals. The Finance Minister also announced that there would be no fresh tax proposals, instead a number of tax concessions were given. The abolition of the Business Profits Tax removed the last remnants of the Liaquat Ali budget. Dividend Limitation Act will not be renewed after March 31. Minimum rate of Income tax will be reduced from five annas in the rupee to four annas in the rupee.

The maximum rate of super tax will be reduced from ten annas in the case of unearned income and nine annas in the case of earned income to a uniform rate of eight and a half annas in the rupee and will be applicable to an income of rupees one and a half lakhs. Corporation tax is to be increased from two annas to two and a half annas.

The existing concession in respect of exemption of income from houses constructed upto March 1953 and increased initial depreciation allowance for business premises constructed by that date would be extended for a further period of two years. Rates on local

letters and post cards, basic minimum rate of telegrams and maximum telephone trunk rate have also been reduced. The effect of all these tax concessions would result in a revenue loss of Rs. 8.31 crores, thus leaving a final surplus of Rs. 1.31 crores for 1950-51.

Giving a survey of the economic position Dr. Matthai observed that the stage of crisis had passed, counter-inflationary measures of the Government had produced a steady effect. Rise in prices had been halted, price-level of main food items had recorded a fall; devaluation had stimulated exports, the balance of payments position had improved, industrial production was improving on a wide front, food production was rising and satisfactory results were expected in regard to increased production of cotton and jute.

Among other points in the Budget proposals are (a) Defence services are expected to cost Rs. 170.06 crores this year and Rs. 168.01 crores next year. Capital outlay on defence will, in addition, amount to Rs. 12 crores this year, Rs. 8.15 crores next year, (b) Expenditure on food subsidies is estimated at Rs. 29.67 crores this year and Rs. 21 crores next year, (c) The effect of the Federal Financial integration on the finances of the Centre is estimated at a net expenditure of Rs. 9.5 crores, (d) Borrowings from the market next year are expected to amount to Rs. 75 crores.

Dr. Matthai also referred to the deadlock in economic and trade relations with Pakistan and stated that it was no use having a conference with Pakistan to discuss the trade deadlock unless Pakistan agreed to discuss the question of price and exchange ratio. He doubted if Pakistan could now have any favourable trade balance, as her favourable balance had largely resulted from trade with India.

Pakistan, although a member of the Sterling Area decided not to devalue her currency along with the other countries of the Sterling Area with the result that her currency appreciated both in terms of the Indian rupee and the pound sterling, although details of her balance of trade and payments show that Pakistan also had a large adverse balance of trade particularly with countries other than India.

Statistics of trade published by the Pakistan Government show that for the twelve months ending June, 1949, Pakistan's exports to countries other than India were Rs. 60 crores and import from these countries were Rs. 88 crores showing an adverse balance of trade of Rs. 28 crores. Private trade with collar and hard currency countries of the Western hemisphere, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany and Japan gave a favourable balance of Rs. 5 crores, the deficit in soft currency trade being Rs. 33 crores.

These figures, however, do not include imports on Government account as the Government of Pakistan do not record such imports in their published

statistics. Their statistics do not also include exports of Pakistan goods in the transit trade through Calcutta. It is understood that imports on Government account during this period were as much as Rs. 50 crores. Exports in transit through Calcutta amounted to Rs. 16 crores. Thus, the total deficit with countries other than India was of the order of Rs. 63 crores, imports being Rs. 139 crores and exports Rs. 76 crores. The overall deficit is equivalent to roughly 45 per cent of the import trade and 31 per cent of the export trade. It is nearly 30 per cent of the total trade.

Private trade with hard currency areas showed a favourable balance of Rs. 5 crores; but Pakistan is believed to have purchased military and other stores on Government account from Belgium and Canada. Accurate statistics of these purchases are not available but it would not be unreasonable to conclude that even in the trade with the hard currency countries, if imports on Government account are included, Pakistan does not have a favourable balance of trade. Taking the dollar area alone, as distinct from the hard currency areas, Pakistan's dollar deficit during the period was of the order of 50 million dollars. . . .

These figures may be compared with the balance of payments as assessed from the changes in the sterling assets of the State Bank of Pakistan during this period. The total sterling assets received by the State Bank of Pakistan, during the period between 1st July, 1948 and 30th June, 1949, from the Reserve Bank of India as part of their share of the assets were Rs. 200 crores. Their balance of these assets on the 1st July, 1949 was Rs. 150 crores, showing a net fall of Rs. 50 crores. Pakistan received Rs. 11 crores in sterling on account of current transfers from India during this period. Thus Pakistan's loss of sterling to countries other than India amounted to Rs. 61 crores.

A comparison with India's balance of trade with countries other than Pakistan would be interesting. According to payments statistics of the Reserve Bank of India for July 1948 to June 1949, India's payments to countries other than Pakistan on account of imports were Rs. 621 crores and her receipts on account of exports Rs. 378 crores, giving a net deficit balance of Rs. 243 crores, equivalent to 39 per cent of the value of imports, 64 per cent of the value of exports and 22 per cent of the total trade. As stated above, corresponding figures in respect of Pakistan's trade with countries other than India are 45 per cent, 81 per cent and 30 per cent respectively. Exclusive of the trade between the two countries, Pakistan's balance of trade problem was thus no less serious than that of India.

Accurate statistics are not available in respect of trade between India and Pakistan but certain estimates prepared show that during the twelve months from

July 1948 to June 1949, imports from Pakistan into India were Rs. 117 crores and exports to Pakistan from India were Rs. 83 crores, giving a balance of Rs. 34 crores in favour of Pakistan. A part of this deficit was financed by a flow of capital from India and the remaining Rs. 11 crores by transfer of sterling to the State Bank of Pakistan under the Payments Agreement.

Of the total Indian imports from Pakistan of Rs. 117 crores, as much as Rs. 97 crores were imports of raw jute and cotton. These large purchases of raw materials have therefore contributed to Pakistan's favourable balance of trade with India. There were also other factors. While India had an open general licence for all Pakistan goods, Pakistan had been restricting imports of Indian goods. Pakistan's imports of cotton textiles from India amounted to no more than Rs. 18 crores in this period. Before the partition, the areas now in Pakistan used to take as much as 900 million yards of cloth from the Indian mills. The restricted import policy of Pakistan reduced this trade to nearly 25 per cent. Besides, the imposition of export duties on cotton and jute and of import duties on Indian textiles and other Indian commodities also affected the balance of trade by pushing up the value of cotton and jute supplies to India and by reducing imports of textiles from India. Further, a number of claims made on the Pakistan Government for payment such as those for defence stores supplied to Pakistan were still outstanding at the end of this period. If these claims had been met, Pakistan's favourable balance of payments with India would have been correspondingly reduced.

The figures mentioned above would show that even with her favourable balance of trade with India, Pakistan had an adverse balance in her total trade.

Deficit with other countries Rs. 63 crores.

Surplus with India Rs. 34 crores.

Net deficit Rs. 29 crores made up of—

Total imports—Rs. 139 + 83 crores = Rs. 222 crores.

Total exports—Rs. 76 + 117 crores = Rs. 193 crores.

It is possible that in not devaluing her currency, Pakistan reckoned on a continuation of and an increase in this favourable balance of trade with India. Pakistan may have thought that by appreciating her currency in relation to the Indian rupee, her balance of trade would be yet more favourable. Indian goods could be bought cheaper than before, whereas India could not afford to do without Pakistan's raw materials in spite of the increase in their prices caused by the change in the value of the currency.

It is significant that soon after devaluation, Pakistan totally banned the import of Indian textiles and raised the import duties on these and many other commodities. If Pakistan hoped to increase her favourable balance of trade with India by appreciating

her currency, there are indications that this expectation is not likely to be realised. The high prices of her raw materials have resulted in Indian mills refraining from buying these materials from Pakistan and the trade between the two countries has virtually come to a standstill. Even when trade is resumed, India will inevitably have to take steps to reduce her trade deficit with Pakistan. Pakistan has incurred a large partition debt to India, of the order of Rs. 300 crores, the repayment of which is to begin in 1952. India's claim for settlement of evacuee property would also result in Pakistan having to pay large amounts to India. Taking these factors into account, Pakistan can hardly count on her favourable balance of payments with India to finance part of her larger deficit with other countries.

As a result of non-devaluation, Pakistan's trade with other countries has already shown signs of a decline. During the last three months of 1949, Pakistan's sterling assets have gone down by as much as £10 million. Her main exports are raw jute, raw cotton, raw wool, hides and skins, and tea. Indian manufacturers having refrained from buying raw jute, the jute prices themselves have already been reduced. The demand from countries other than India is small. India exports of raw jute, although limited in quantity, are more competitive. For hides and skins again, India is the main market. The prices in Pakistan are believed to have come down to about one-third of the pre-devaluation price. For raw cotton, although prices in other cotton markets have gone up, the price of Pakistan cotton has remained stationary. For raw wool, Australia, with her devalued currency, is a serious competitor.

The Pakistan Government themselves seem to have recognised a possible decline in the trend of exports inasmuch as they have cancelled their O.G.L. and have taken measures to severely restrict imports. Sometime ago, Pakistan's Finance Minister stated that in view of the inelasticity in her main export commodities, Pakistan's decision not to devalue her currency was expected to be of benefit to the sterling area inasmuch as Pakistan would continue to earn the same amount of dollars as before. All data available indicate that this expectation is not likely to be realised and in fact, Pakistan's earnings of dollars have seriously declined during the period following the appreciation of her currency.

The available statistics analysed above clearly show that

(i) Pakistan's balance of trade problem for trade with countries other than India is no less serious than that of India; her adverse balance of trade with these countries was larger than her favourable balance with India for the period July 1948 to June 1949.

(ii) Since July 1948, Pakistan's external assets have been declining even more rapidly than those of India and while after the devaluation of Indian cur-

rency India's external assets have improved Pakistan's assets have gone down further.

(iii) Pakistan's favourable balance of payment and trade with India was due mainly to India's open-door policy in respect of imports from Pakistan, Pakistan's restriction on Indian imports, certain fiscal measures taken by her in respect of trade with India and delays in settlement of Government claims.

(iv) Pakistan's appreciation of her currency would appear to have been made with a view to increasing her favourable balance with India by worsening the terms of trade against India.

(v) If trade with India is balanced as a result of any action taken by India in self-protection, Pakistan's balance of payments problem will seriously deteriorate.

(vi) Pakistan's claim that by maintaining the value of her currency she expected to maintain her dollar earnings is not borne out by the recent trend of events. In fact, her contribution to the dollar pool of the sterling area is likely to decline quite substantially.

(vii) There are clear indications that although India has kept off buying Pakistan goods, Pakistan's export trade to other countries is on the decline, partly as a result of a reduction in the price levels of her main export commodities and partly as a result of reduced volume of exports.

Pakistan's decision to appreciate her currency *vis à vis* both the Indian rupee and sterling has led to a virtual suspension of trade between India and Pakistan. The appreciation of Pakistan currency made it clearly uneconomical for Indian manufacturers to buy their raw materials, principally jute, from that country in the interest of maintaining their export market and they had inevitably to refrain from buying in Pakistan. This was no measure of retaliation, but one of obvious protection against having to pay higher prices for their raw material.

During the general discussions, the Budget came in for strong criticism by some members. It was denounced on the ground that it had done nothing for the middle classes who form the back-bone of all modern progressive democratic countries. In every democratic country, the middle classes are the main prop, pillar and strength of the Government. The criticism has produced some results in so far as the taxable minimum of income tax has been raised from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 3,600. Labour representatives denounced the budget on the ground of its capitalist bias. Mr. Khandubhai Desai pointed out that 5 per cent of the people in the last five years had been given reliefs amounting to Rs. 25 crores, and to add injury to insult, on the remaining 95 per cent, an additional burden of Rs. 30 crores had been imposed during this period.

In his reply to the general discussions Dr. Matthai was even more unconventional. Far

from being defensive, he appeared to be aggressive and expressed a clear determination to stick to his proposals. He has, however, made an important concession in raising the taxable minimum of income tax later on. In spite of minor defects, this year's budget has been generally welcomed as it bears a distinctly progressive note.

Black Marketing and Tax Dodging

Prof. K. T. Shah had introduced a Bill in the Parliament seeking to award capital punishment or transportation for life to blackmarketers and tax-evaders whom he described as "a sort of vermin," or "plague."

Prof. Shah, speaking on his motion for reference of his Punishment of Tax-evaders and Blackmarketers Bill to a Select Committee, said: "In the days when those who now occupy the Treasury Benches were in the Opposition, no crime was regarded as so evil as that of blackmarketing and tax-evasion and the Leader of the House (Pandit Nehru) himself in one of his speeches in those days had prescribed such a punishment as I am now suggesting in this Bill for such enemies of society."

"The revelations of the Income-tax Investigation Commission in its report will alone suffice to show the wide ramifications and immense dimensions of this evil in our society. Obviously, for very understandable reasons, it may not be possible or desirable to refer every case to the Commission but I am sure that the cases that have been referred to it do not represent more than a small fraction of the total number of those who are guilty in one way or another of this evil. The devices that the tax-evaders practise are too profound, too widespread and too ingenious to be easily detected and we should, therefore, express our warm appreciation of the efforts of those officers working under the Commission who have already discovered a number of these devices."

"Such evils as the keeping of a double set of books, making false entries, deliberately defeating the purpose of taxation by 'benami' transactions or by having a variety of complicated chains of intermediaries are matters which ought not to be looked upon as mere peccadilloes. They cannot be glossed over as ordinary human frailties."

"We have had enough corruption in our country so far and it is not right and proper that we should add to it by breeding a race of informers or encouraging spies. But looking at the immunity with which these perpetrators have been working all these years, we may even have to resort to rewarding informers."

Dr. John Matthai, intervening in the debate, said that he agreed in principle that strong and deterrent action was required in regard to anti-social conducts of the kind which Prof. Shah mentioned. He regretted that the Government could not accept the motion as it stood as the matter required fuller consideration in the light of law and administration.

"The Government intends to place before the House at a very early date," said Dr. Matthai, "a bill for a comprehensive amendment of the Indian Income-tax Act

based principally on the recommendations which have been made by the Investigation Commission."

"In that bill provision for this particular problem, which Prof. Shah has raised, will be made. A proposal we have in mind is that in case of the people who make false statements in regard to income-tax returns, their position should be exactly the same as the position of those people who fabricate evidence in judicial proceedings.

"Under the present Income-tax Act, a person who makes an untrue statement in the income-tax return is to be penalised to the extent of a maximum period of simple imprisonment of 6 months. The penalty involved under the provisions of the new bill will be seven years' imprisonment of either description."

Dr. Matthai said that the Investigation Commission in their recommendations argued that it was not so much the penalty, either fine or imprisonment, which would act as deterrent. What was necessary according to them was to bring social odium to bear upon the people who committed anti-social acts.

One of the suggestions which the Government had made in the bill was that the names of tax-evaders should be published and that they should be disqualified from appointment to positions of trust. It was open to the House to consider whether they should be disqualified to stand for elections to public bodies.

These forms of social censure would probably act as strong deterrent. A few months ago under instructions from the Prime Minister, the Government issued instructions to various departments of Government that in the matter of giving contracts, and issuing of licenses for export and imports etc., they must insist on the applicants producing a clean income-tax record.

As regards the question of black-market offences of the kind, he said, were at present dealt with under the Essential Supply Temporary Powers Act. The penalty provision in that Act was ten years' imprisonment, a fine and forfeiture of property.

"The real problem was not only to make a suitable legislative provisions, which was of course necessary but provision for satisfactory administration of the enactments. In the experience of practical administration, it was felt that the real handicap was not the inadequacy of the provisions of law or power but the difficulty to establish evidence. The House must, therefore, direct its attention not so much on fresh legislation as to the question of implementation of administration of the existing laws in a more satisfactory manner."

The Income-tax Investigating Commission have also passed strong strictures against tax-evaders. The cotton mills have come in for specially strong criticism. Many mills have been found to make entries of fictitious purchases in their books of accounts and inflate the cost of production by making purchases through a chain of companies who are nothing but *benamders* of the Managing Agents. The present tendency to destroy books of account quickly has not escaped notice of the Commission

who recommends that primary and subsidiary account books should be preserved for a period of at least 4 years. The commission also recommends that while there is no need to interfere with the normal functioning of non-public companies or incorporated family partnerships, the State is entitled to step in when the legitimate use of the machinery of incorporation gradually gives place to a fictitious use for purposes of tax avoidance. The methods employed by Managing Agents to use the resources of companies under them have, of late, come in for severe criticism and a series of such articles written by Mr. J. J. Kapadia, Secretary of the Bombay Shareholders' Association, have been published in the *Indian Finance*. Recently, the eagerness of a cotton mill, under a big firm of Managing Agents, to hide its manufacturing account, has been published. An Assistant Commissioner of Sales Tax, Calcutta, had reported to his authorities that a group of concerns under a wellknown managing agent have evaded taxes and duped shareholders by the following methods :

- (1) by fictitious purchases sometimes from non-existent persons,
- (2) by suppression of production and diverting the unaccounted productions through non-existent persons,
- (3) by sales at a very low value to fictitious registered dealers set up by them,
- (4) by setting up subsidiary concerns with the money advanced from big companies and manipulating purchases and sales through them and subsequently liquidating the concerns,
- (5) by heavy purchase of building materials and hardware goods for the purpose of extension of factory and building and selling these secretly but at the same time showing these under factory extension account.
- (6) wiping away profit by *farka* transaction with concerns set up by them.

The Assistant Commissioner had assessed a Sales tax of Rs. 26 lakhs on one of these concerns which was a paper mill and sought to assess another 40 lakhs on a cotton mill under the same managing agents. He calculated that at least a crore of rupees was legitimately due by this managing agency to the State of West Bengal as Sales tax. But unfortunately, as it appears from the published reports in *Prabasi* and in *Jugabani*, that he was asked not to proceed with assessment of any firm under that agent. The result has been that the assessed amount of Rs. 26 lakhs has not yet been collected, the assessment of Rs. 40 lakhs has not been completed and the Assistant Commissioner concerned has been transferred from Calcutta to the Mofussil. This case proves two things, —(i) that prices of cloth have, in some cases at least, been stamped without production of manufacturing account. In reply to the Assistant Commissioner's demand for production of manufacturing account showing a quantitative analysis of cloth and yarn, the mill wrote that this was a thing which they never maintained and were unable to produce; (ii) that big tax evasion is hardly possible without the active support of some high placed official.

Pakistan and Afghanistan

We have no interest in discussing the various difficulties that Pakistan has let herself into over her controversy with Afghanistan who apparently stands behind the Pathanistan movement trying to finish the work of consolidation of the Pathan race started by Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi. He played such a notable part in India's struggle for freedom that it has been a torture for us to stand as mere powerless observers in face of the attacks on his ideal by Pakistani imperialists. We can but only hope that our Pathan comrades of former days will win their point; that where Britain had failed Pakistan will not succeed.

Since August 15, 1947, Pakistan has been claiming that she has inherited Britain's power over the Pathans, and she has been hugging to her bosom the agreement about the Durand Line. Afghanistan has been as vehemently repudiating this claim. In view of this controversy, we have thought it best to summarize below what the India-born English historian, Dr. Codrington of the London University School of Oriental Studies, told the correspondent of a Bombay English-language daily on this controversy.

Dr. Codrington, who knows Afghan and tribal history almost by heart, proceeded to refer to treaties and written undertakings, to explain the position. By the Treaty signed at Kabul on November 22, 1921 by Sir Henry Dobbs, the Government of India agreed to accept the Indo-Afghan border as set out in Article 5 of the Rawalpindi Treaty, dated August 8, 1919 which in turn, merely confirmed the frontier accepted by the late Amir Habibullah. This referred to the Kabul Treaty signed by Sir Louis Dane on May 21st, 1908, and in it the Amir accepted on his own behalf "the engagements which His Highness, my late father, concluded and acted upon."

This could only refer to the *Agreement signed at Kabul on November 12, 1893, by Amir Abdul Abdur Rahman Khan and Sir Mortimer Durand*. The preamble made it clear that the agreement had to do only with the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India and their respective spheres of influence. What was far more important, he added, was what the tribes had been told when their territory was thus partitioned, for the Durand Line actually divided the Mohmand territory in two. They (tribes residing outside the limits of the boundaries of Peshawar district) were told in the proclamation issued on July 12, 1894, that "the Government of India has no intention of going beyond these limits which form the present boundaries of the Indian Empire." This shows that while the Durand Line was the treaty boundary of Afghanistan, it was not the rightful frontier of India and could not be the rightful frontier of Pakistan as Karachi had claimed.

The drawing of Durand Line, which according to Dr. Codrington, was never completely demarcated

owing to tribal resistance, was met with the most bitter series of tribal wars the frontier has ever known. In a prophetic letter to the Viceroy the Amir had warned the Indian Government that Pathan tribes once cut off from his kingdom would only be a profitless source of war. He was, of course, accused of fomenting trouble. The Afridis certainly sent him a petition which said that the "British Government has been from olden times gradually encroaching upon our country and even Afghanistan . . . but Your Highness has paid no attention." In reply to the accusation that he was harbouring rebel tribesmen, the Amir undertook to prevent his own people from joining the uprisings but said that when independent tribesmen took refuge with their relatives in Afghanistan he could do nothing.

"Durand Line had divided Pathan from Pathan as it still does," proceeded Dr. Codrington. "The linguistic and cultural unity of the Pushto-speaking peoples of Afghanistan and the independent tribes could not be denied. Indeed, the Government of India admitted the validity of Pathan nationalism by preserving Pathan customary law throughout the tribal agencies. British Indian law never ran there. When reference is made to consultations with tribes it means that certain Khans in receipt of cash allowances were consulted."

Reverting again to history, Dr. Codrington referred to Article 9 of the Dobbs Treaty of 1921, which said: "The Two High Contracting Parties, having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding their benevolent intentions towards tribes residing close to their boundaries, hereby undertake to inform the other in the future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier tribes residing within their respective spheres of influence." Why should this be necessary, he asked, if the position was as was recently stated in the House of Commons. And if Pakistan was the inheritor of the late Indian Government why did she not contact Afghanistan before she used bombs?

Dr. Codrington considers Pakistan's attitude inexplicable from another point of view. On July 21, 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah himself assured the tribes that "Pakistan has no desire to interfere in any way with the traditional independence of the tribal area." The old regime on the frontier used bombs, said Dr. Codrington and the Muslim press did not mince words about the actions of the "unbelievers." It is strange, he commented "that a newly-born Muslim power, whose press makes it plain that she claims the leadership of Islam, should be content with the same policy."

Dr. Codrington does not believe that Afghanistan is seeking to enlarge her territories. "She merely wishes to be assured that her kinsmen, the Pathan tribes of the old agencies, will be allowed to shape their own destiny."

Even if she did, we do not find anything unreasonable if she desired or worked towards bringing within her fold her long-lost brothers wrested from her by British imperialism. When such a great reversal of history as the partition of India can happen, Afghanistan will be in good company if she could compass the re-union of her blood brothers with herself. The law of nations has not yet been able to establish a prescriptive right for wrong-doing. The history, related by Dr. Codrington, shows that the drawing up of the Durand Line was an act of injustice which has cried for rectification for about 60 years.

Pakistan's Finances

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad has placed the Pakistan Budget before the Karachi Legislature. The following comparative table shows the budgetary position of Pakistan during the current year, as also in the coming year, as envisaged by the Finance Minister.

	In lakhs of rupees		
	Budget Estimates 1949-50	Revised Estimates 1949-50	Budget Estimates 1950-51
Gross Revenue—			
Principal Heads	58,28	59,55	57,38
Railways and Post and Telegraph	39,27	41,35	42,44
Other Heads	13,73	12,98	13,82
Total	111,28	113,88	113,64
Gross Expenditure—			
Defence Services	47,22	50,90	50,00
Railways and Post and Telegraph	40,20	38,40	38,34
Other Expenditure	23,80	24,35	27,20
Total	111,22	113,65	115,54

During the general discussions on the Budget in the Karachi Legislature, Begham Shah Nawaz said. "After spending seventy-five per cent of the revenues on defence very little was left to be spent in other fields. There are no two opinions that this expenditure on defence should be incurred. In fact, all voices raised have been that the defence services should be allocated more money. It was only Rs. 27 crores that was left with the Government to be spent under other heads. . . . This is a wartime budget. We are spending most of our money on armaments." (*Pakistan Observer*, March 20, 1950).

The budget figures as published and circulated in India have much variance with the figures quoted at Karachi. Mian Iftikaruddin said, as reported by the same newspaper, "Pakistan's net revenues were Rs. 77 crores according to the next year's budget estimates. Out of this Rs. 75 crores were to be spent on Defence. This meant that Defence was to account for nearly 98 per cent of the net income of the Centre. The total income of the provinces came to over Rs. 122 crores out of which they spent nearly Rs. 82 crores or 66 per cent on Defence and Police which left them with 34 per cent of their income to be spent on beneficial departments and to run the administration." Unfortunately, we were unable to pro-

cure a copy of any Pakistan paper which contained the speech of the Finance Minister of Pakistan. From all reports, however, it is apparent that it is a wartime budget and according to Begham Shah Nawaz, 75 per cent (according to Mian Iftikaruddin 98 per cent) of the net revenue of Pakistan is going to be spent on Defence services. It may also be mentioned here that General Auchinleck, the last Commander-in-Chief of undivided India, toured Pakistan a few days back and inspected the Pakistan Army.

Nepal and Bharat

As the United States has inherited or thinks that she has inherited Britain's position in world affairs, she must be prepared to be judged for her acts of omission and commission as leader of the "democratic" world. From her political leaders and military chiefs we often hear of her "global" strategy for peace and war. India which has just escaped from the grip of Britain's "global" pretensions will prefer to watch from a distance how this new leader behaves, and her people expected that after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour through the United States and Canada, the English-speaking Bloc would leave them in peace to work out their own destiny in their own way. But it appears that this was not to be, and the United States is determined to play at politics with them. Otherwise there can be no other explanation for the way in which a section of American opinion has been poking their nose into Nepal's affairs to the detriment of India. One of its responsible organs, the *New York Times*, has been allowing its columns to be used for anti-Indian propaganda rather in a crude way. Its Paris correspondent had a brain wave in the middle of February last to suggest that "India was appropriating dollars received for Nepal and was paying the Nepal Government their rupee equivalent, and that India was creating difficulties in making available rolling stock for Nepalese goods." And to embellish this theme the correspondent went deeper into malignant misrepresentation: "Some Nepalese suspected that India would like to isolate them economically with the eventual aspiration of absorbing Nepal into the Indian Republic."

New Delhi officialdom has been prompt in nailing the lies to the counter. The dollar arrangement is "a long-standing one by which India meets Nepal's entire requirement of foreign exchange in lieu of which the foreign exchange earned by Nepalese exports accrue to India. The amount accruing to India, however, is usually less than the foreign exchange released for Nepalese imports. India, it is pointed out, has received no complaint from Nepal that the latter's requirements of dollars are not met. The charge that the rolling stock is not made available for Nepalese goods is also "unfounded." And about Bharat's designs to extinguish Nepal's freedom, the latest treaty signed on behalf of Nepal by His Highness Chandra Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Maharaja of Nepal, her *de facto* ruler, during his recent visit to Delhi ought to be able to discredit this story. But there are people who are malicious by nature and tradition.

Sugar

The *Commerce* writes, "We have before us the Government of India's Resolution dated March 6, 1950 dealing with the *Report of the Indian Tariff Board on the Sugar Industry*. Observing that the Tariff Board covers a wide field, the Resolution says that the Government has decided to take action 'on the more urgent recommendations made by the Tariff Board,' and that 'the Government will examine the other recommendations and announce their decisions thereon as early as possible.' The report of the Board is yet to be released. Meanwhile we must confine ourselves to the three main recommendations of the Board—as the Commerce Ministry's Press Note has summarised them—and the government's decisions on them. They relate to: (i) the Indian Sugar Syndicate, (ii) the sugar crisis of July-August 1949 and (iii) Protection.

The Indian Sugar Syndicate has been subjected to such scathing criticism at the hands of the Board that it cannot raise its head again even as a voluntary association. The Board has listed a dozen charges against the syndicate as summarised below:

- (1) The syndicate's control over its members has been ineffective.
- (2) It has not tried to improve the efficiency of its members.
- (3) It has not done any research regarding either cane or sugar.
- (4) It has not prevented its members from charging high prices, taking advantage of scarcity conditions.
- (5) It has abused its monopolistic powers to help members exploit consumers, as for instance, by manipulating the release of sales quotas in such manner that prices have continued to rise since 1938.
- (6) It has mainly contributed to the sugar crisis of July-August 1949 by resort to rapid and large releases, the policy regarding these releases also being improper.
- (7) It made unreasonable demands, such as those of Rs. 2 per maund for additional profits and As. 5-6 for extra allowance for manufacturing charges.
- (8) It was reluctant to submit itself to control and supervision of the U.P. and Bihar Sugar Commissioner.
- (9) It was far from being straight-forward in its dealings with the U.P. Government and the Sugar Commissioner.
- (10) It was responsible for creating the scarcity psychology by approaching the Government of India in June 1949 to negotiate for export of sugar.
- (11) It displayed a lack of sense of responsibility and was definitely wrong in having approached the U.P. Government over the head of the Sugar Commissioner, and
- (12) It has two minds and was speaking with two different voices before the Government and the public and the U.P. Government and the Centre.

We fully agree with the Board's findings and the Government's decision to withdraw statutory recognition of the Sugar Syndicate. Factories in U.P. and Bihar will no longer be required to be members of the syndicate

as a condition precedent to their obtaining the annual crushing license.

According to the Tariff Board, the main causes of the July-August sugar crisis were (a) large and rapid quota releases by the syndicate and (b) excessive wagon supply. The Board's recommendation accepted by the Government is that 'in view of the decision reached with regard to the syndicate, it is not necessary to dilate on the question of these particular quota releases.' The public will not be satisfied with this recommendation. A thorough exposure of persons responsible for that legalised loot would have raised the Tariff Board's prestige.

The third recommendation relates to protection. The Board recommends, that 'the protection of the sugar industry should not be continued beyond 31st March 1950, Government being free thereafter to impose such revenue duty as they consider necessary. Deprotection of the sugar industry has been the loudest public demand throughout the last year. It is regrettable to find both the Tariff Board and the Government circumventing this demand. The Tariff Board has added a rider to its recommendation for deprotection. 'If there is a change in the Government's policy regarding imports of sugar in the near future, giving rise to severe competition from foreign imports so as to jeopardise the position of the sugar industry, it will be open to the industry to approach Government for the restoration of protection.' The Board is confident that 'Government will institute an inquiry to review the position as expeditiously as possible and restore protection to the industry, if it is found to be justified.' The Government have not waited for these exploiters to come up with a fresh case, their old case having been demolished and have incorporated the following sentence in their resolution, 'The Government have accepted this recommendation and action is being taken to give effect to it.' Finally the Finance Bill reads, 'The protective duties of sugar and potassium permanganate, due to terminate on March 31, 1950, are sought to be replaced by revenue duties at the same rate.' Thus, what was given to the consumer with one hand, has been taken away by the other. The sugar lords will now laugh in the sleeves." What we would like to impress upon the Government at this juncture is that the public is now wide-awake to the technique of such dishonest legerdemain.

Territorial Army

If what "a special correspondent" of the *Delhi Hindustan Times* of March 23 says be true then we cannot congratulate the youth of Bharat on the way they have failed to respond to the new opportunities opened out before them with the removal of the "External Authority" over their country's governance. One of the heaviest charges against Britain, next to its policy of studied neglect of India's economic interests, had been the neglect of native talent for the leadership of her fighting services. Since August 15, 1917, Bharat's Government has been bending its energies towards utilizing the brain and brawn of Indian youth

for the defence of the country. The theory of "martial" and "non-martial" classes has been given up; as a "second line" of defence, the plan of a Territorial Army has been drawn up intended to relieve the regular army of responsibility for internal defence, and to take on duties, such as anti-air craft and coastal defence in times of national emergency. The Territorial personnel are subject to periodical military training extending over not more than four months in the year. During this period they are entitled to pay an allowance at the same rate as for the "corresponding ranks of the regular Indian Forces." What has followed from this arrangement we will allow our contemporary's "special correspondent" to describe.

"This is the principal snag in the rapid progress of the scheme. The basic fact remains that men from 'non-martial' classes are not prepared to stand the rigour and discipline of other ranks. They want high salaries and status in life which can only be provided by commissioned ranks. This is why the Territorial Army project has failed. The Government during the current year had provided Rs. 52 lakhs for the Territorial Army but was able to spend only Rs. 10 lakhs on it. This shows the response India had from its youth."

There are other factors involved in this problem. One of these is the system of education that the 'non-martial' classes have been receiving for the last one hundred years; it has created in them certain habits that are easy-going and soft. And if the Government has the patience to train these classes into military life and its rigours, they must overhaul their education system. The pampering of their body and mind that has been going on in the name of education for such a long time must cease.

Thirty years back on the eve of the Non-co-operation Movement, the cry had been raised—"Education can wait, *Swaraj* cannot." The East Bengal Hindu is face to face with that choice again. Already we hear of talk about "education for refugee students." Is it up to these "refugee students" to spurn this easy life of bookish education, and embrace the hard way that will fit them body and soul for the adventure of regaining their own self-respect, the self-respect of their people which is real *Swaraj*. Will they rise up to this great opportunity and discredit the story of being a nation of quill-drivers and parasites?

Higher Technical Institute

A news-item appeared in the Press on the 26th February last announcing the setting up "forthwith" of the Eastern Higher Technical Institute at Hijli in the district of Midnapur in West Bengal. This has been done on the advice of the Council of Technical Education. The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the 'ad hoc' committee for establishment of four higher technical institutes. It is proposed to establish the Eastern and Western institute within the quinquennium

ending 1952 to be followed by the establishment of the Northern and Southern Institute. The Western Higher Technical Institute will be located in north Kurla camp, Bombay. The Northern Institute will be established in Kanpur. The site for the Southern Institute remains to be selected.

The Eastern Higher Technical Institute when fully developed will provide extensive facilities for the training of 2,000 under-graduates and 1,000 post-graduates and research students in various branches of engineering and technology.

A Board of Governors for the Institute has been appointed which will advise the Central Government on major questions of policy relating to the administration and working of the Institute. It will make proposals to the Central Government regarding the courses of study in the Institute and prepare budget estimates in consultation with the Director of the Institute. The Board will be the appointing authority for all the gazetted and ministerial staff other than the Director and Heads of Departments. It will initiate and execute projects approved by the Central Government within the limits of the budget provision made therefor and exercise such additional functions as may from time to time be assigned to it by Government.

Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, has been appointed Chairman of the Board. Other members of the Board are Mr. Jehangir J. Ghandy, President of the Board of Directors of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Jamshedpur; Shri N. R. Sarker, Finance Minister, West Bengal and Chairman, All-India Council of Technical Education; the Director of the Institute—ex-officio; the Director-General of Industries and Supplies, Government of India; Shri Brij Narayan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India and Dr. Tarachand, Education Secretary to the Government of India.

While on the subject, we shall be glad to be assured that there is substance in the suggestion made by Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Director-General of Industries and Civil Supplies with the Government of India, as President of the 9th meeting of the Association of Principals of Technical Education held at Banaras on February 26 last. Dr. Ghosh pleaded for the adoption of the American system of "combining work and study in the programme of Technical Education." He referred also to the case of Switzerland which "did not produce a pound of coal or iron or steel" but sold her wares all the world over at competitive prices. How do they work the miracle? Her most important resource is the presence of men possessed of knowledge of science and technology. And here in Bharat at the Banaras Hindu University about 2,500 candidates appeared every year for technical examinations, and only 1,300 passed out successfully. Why? The original bias of Indian education in favour of book knowledge is the reply. That has to be rectified.

India's Tea Industry

In the December number of this magazine we commented on the deterioration in the quality of tea produced

in Bharat; this has been creating difficulties for the sale of this commodity in the American market specially. Our country is still the largest producer and exporter of tea in the world. Of the 938 million pounds produced, Bharat has to its credit 567.75 million pounds. Great Britain is the biggest market taking as much as 298.2 million pounds of Indian tea. This has enabled her to dictate terms as a speaker at the last annual meeting of the Indian Tea Association, Mr. C. C. Bell, brought home to all. He had presided over the function, and appeared to have been in an unpleasantly outspoken mood when he rubbed into his hearers the "four ifs" on which depended the prosperity of this industry—Bharat's and Pakistan's. These were :

"If river transport resumed its previous magnitude, the Assam link ran to its advertised capacity, the Government issued licences for the importation of an adequate quantity of tea chests without further delay, and if the U. K. Ministry of Food decided to increase our contract price by a further four pence, then they might look forward with confidence to a reasonably satisfactory season."

Mr. Bell was sceptical of the present possibilities of the "Assam link." He made another comment which appears to hold a threat to Calcutta's place of primacy as the port of export of Bharat's tea. Only men with intimate knowledge of this particular industry can appreciate his suggestion about "reversion to London as its market" as the "next best" method. This and the quotation below should engage the attention of the Central Tea Board :

"Neither port nor auctioning facilities in Calcutta were capable of dealing with their crops nor could they be adequately expanded for a number of years to come."

Mr. Bell's speech makes a grievance of the import policy of the Government with reference to tea chests the price of which has a bearing on the ultimate price of tea. He forgets that the Indian Government has to help and encourage the growth of industries under Indian control; the tea-chest industry is one of these. There are about 200 ply-wood factories in greater Calcutta; their number in other parts is not inconsiderable. At present they produce about 2.75 million chests *per annum* while the requirements are nearly three times this figure.

Hessian Supply to U. K.

The London *Financial Times* correspondent at Dundee reported that the Jute Controller there estimated that there would be a shortage of 50 per cent in the supply of Hessians in this country between March and June this year if no cloth was exported from Calcutta till March.

Stating that there appeared to be no end to the problems that continually confront the jute industry, he added, "Because the Indian Government concluded a trade agreement with the Argentine for the supply of about 50 000 tons jute goods in exchange for food grains shipments, all Hessian cloth from Calcutta to the United Kingdom have been suspended.

"Efforts are being made to mitigate the seriousness of the situation by cutting down the allocations of Hessians to linoleum manufacturers by 50 per cent and a similar cut is being made in jute yarns to the carpet industry."

A ray of hope that shipments may not be entirely stopped from Calcutta may be found in the fact that the total production of the Indian jute mills during December last was increased to 81,949 tons compared with 69,084 tons in November as the result of the Indian mills making a change in their working hours. Since December 5, they had been working 16 hours extra per month.

Another is the arrangement with East Bengal. "If anything, the raw jute supply position for the United Kingdom appears to be improved. Larger shipments are being made from Chittagong owing to improvements in facilities at that port."

"It is understood that the supply of jute in view may be sufficient for five to six months at the present rate of working if satisfactory shipments are continued. Prices for raw jute are being maintained at a very high level."

"Both spinners and manufacturers are very busy and delivery can only be guaranteed some months ahead. Prices rule firm all round."

Election of First President

Public Affairs is the Anglo-Kannada Journal of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs of Bangalore, Mysore State. In its January number it has something to say with regard to the election of the first President of the Republic of Bharat which should be noted and remembered as a warning. Our contemporary asked the question, "Why did the Congress Party pass over one (Shree Chakravarty Rajagopalachari) who should obviously have been the first choice?" Then it continued :

Reports and comments in the press suggest two reasons :

- (i) The North felt that the South must be deflated.
- (ii) The Hindi patriots felt that a born Hindiwallah would promote their cause more zealously.

It is difficult to believe that such were the considerations and, in any case, that Dr. Prasad knowingly let himself be made the magnet for such forces. But that there has been talk of this kind is itself a pointer not to be ignored. Dr. Prasad will be rendering no small service to the Republic if he understood the susceptibilities of the South and discouraged the habit of considering things belonging to all India in terms only of the North or the South or the East or the West. Hindi is apt to stir the region-consciousness of people in non-Hindi areas. Keeping Hindi fanaticism under check will be no small part of Dr. Prasad's job.

Christianity in China and India

There has been a conscious movement for more than three decades to divest Christianity in Asia of its alien character and habits. This has been specially strong in China and India. The Western leaders of the Christian Churches recognized this portent, and the Jerusalem session of the World Missionary Conference (1928) was a sign-post of this movement. In A. C. Underwood's *Contemporary*

Thought in India 1930, we find confirmation of this fact when the author said :

"The movement towards a United Christian Church in India in which all denominations will be merged and opportunities afforded for development on indigenous lines under Indian leadership, may gradually overcome the obstacles of denominationalism, the foreign character of the Church, and foreign domination."

The Thambaran (Madras) session of the same Conference (1938) was a further witness to the growth of this idea. The latest (March, 1950) number of the *National Christian Council Review* reports certain resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of China at its meetings held on October 25-27, 1949 on the problem of "Indigeneity of the Chinese Church." We quote these below in order to enable our readers to understand the difficulties that must be faced and overcome by Chinese and Indian Christians :

"... all Church bodies and Christian organizations and institutions in China which are not yet completely Chinese in administration, be urged to take steps to become as indigenous as possible, within the immediate future. To this end, from now onwards the policy-deciding organs of all Churches and Christian institutions should be basically composed of Chinese members, and all administrative systems should be organized on the principle of fostering a truly democratic spirit.

"... while recognizing the desirability of complete independence on the part of the Christian Church, the committee realize the existence of too many difficulties as regards both funds and personnel, for the Chinese Church has yet to undertake the full burden of its task, and therefore earnestly desires the continued help of Mission Boards."

It is worth notice that both in India and China this movement is part of the wider one for national self-respect which is *Swaraj*, one's own rule.

Sino-Soviet Treaty

The signature on February 14 last at Moscow of the Sino-Soviet treaty of "eternal" friendship has started reactions in the democratic world, specially in the United States, that have become stale. Her Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dean Acheson, had tried for some time to discredit the negotiations by saying that apart from the open clauses in the treaty when it is signed, there would be "secret codicils" that would be confirming China's position as a puppet State of the Soviet Union. Even on the 16th February we find the U.S.A. State Department Press Officer, Michael McDermott, opining that though he had "no additional information"—to give to newspapermen on the "secret" clauses of the treaty, he stood pat by his chief's suspicions on the strength of a Paris news-item published in the *New York Times* on the day previous. These were said to be "specific indications" from the Paris capital that Mao Tse-tung had signed away his State's freedom. The following were said to be the links of this chain of slavery :

1. "A large force of manual laborers from China who will be dispatched to Siberia on a contract basis." The article claimed that 300,000 workers are already en route.

2. Soviet "advisers" are to be given key posts in the Chinese Army, secret police, and Communist Party.

3. Seven Chinese ports are to be placed under Russian supervision in the event of war.

We need not characterize the tactics; these are mere outward expressions of the mutual mistrust of each other's honesty by the two allies that had fought Hitler for about four years, and of the "cold war" between the United States and the Soviet Union. And as we cannot expect that the Soviet Union will fold up its hands, we regard her 30-year treaty with China as a natural process in this "cold war" strategy. We print below from the Moscow radio certain of the details of this treaty :

1. A treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual aid between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

2. "Agreements on the Chinese Chan Chung Railway. Port Arthur and Dalny, (Dairen), under which, after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, the Chinese Chan Chung Railway will pass into complete ownership of the Chinese People's Republic, while Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Port Arthur.

3. "Agreements by which the Government of the U.S.S.R. will give the Government of the Chinese People's Republic a long-term economic credit (300 million dollars) for payments of deliveries of industrial and railway equipment from the U.S.S.R." The Agreement will come into force immediately from the date of its ratification to be effected in Peking.

This financial help has to be paid back in course of ten years, the interest-charge to be cleared every six months. Negotiations for this treaty started soon after Mao Tse-tung's arrival at Moscow on December 16 last; a month later his Foreign Minister Chou En-Lai was called to help finalize the terms of the treaty. The Communist world was jubilant at the signature of this "treaty" between two States which have about one-fourth of world's population. The Western democratic world was naturally angry and sceptical specially when China had been enabled to fight Japan down by Anglo-American help, mainly from the U. S. A. It regarded China as a betrayer of world democracy, just as it is critical of India's attitude of neutrality towards the cold war strategy.

The United States and Britain have ostentatiously recognized the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China, a stooge of French Imperialism, while India has refused to toe this line, and at the same time has recognized the Mao Tse-tung regime in China. This divergence explains partly the attitude of the two English Powers towards the Jammu-Kashmir deadlock. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy has not thus paid any dividend, so far as these two powers are concerned.

His British Commonwealth affiliation and "triumphant" run through the United States (October last) has proved to be a squib. This calls for a re-valuation of Bharat's foreign policy. The signature of the Sino-Soviet Treaty offers an occasion for such a charge-over. For, let there be no mistake that it will affect Asia's destiny for years to come.

If Pandit Nehru's policy is pursued any further, India may be forced by its logic to become a camp-follower of the English-speaking Powers. Already her hands have been tied. Even in matters of military preparation our higher officers, trained under British auspices, are found to be diffident with regard to making alternate arrangements, less dependent on Britain. The time has come when they should be asked and required to strike an independent line of their own instead of waiting at the ante-chamber of the English-speaking Powers. They should have learnt something from the experiences of the Soviet Union who, boycotted by the victorious powers of the first World War, could build up in course of less than 30 years a military machine that has become a terror to the same Powers. Our political and military leaders should re-orientate their policy.

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Sreeman Narayan Agarwal, Principal of the Sakseria Commercial College at Wardha and an interpreter of Gandhiji's teachings, has returned after a fairly prolonged world tour. He availed himself of this opportunity to interview leaders of thought in the countries which they had visited. While in the United States he and his wife met Mrs. Pearl Buck, the renowned writer who is a consistent friend of India's aspirations. They discussed a variety of subjects, specially on China, which she had intimately known, and on India. "Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek had lost vital touch with his own people, and it was impossible to give him any substantial help without the co-operation of the Chinese people;" "the U.S.S.R. has been actively working on the side of the Communist forces," and it would be useless to attempt to stem the tide of communism in an indirect fashion. Open assistance would have surely meant armed conflict . . ." But she was sorry for her "country-folk" who knew very little about Soviet Russia or Communism. She did not think that the Russian people wanted war, "although their military leaders also are preparing them for another global war." So are the military leaders of the U.S.A.

"The Americans fear that Russia would precipitate war; the Russians fear that America may force war on them. So this fear-complex is going from bad to worse day by day. Our work, therefore, should lie with the masses who must be helped to get rid of this fear-hysteria."

She has been "doing her bit" for the education of her village-folk on the issues of this problem. Is

there any one of comparable status in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics speaking the unpleasant truth to their leaders?

World's Food Difficulty

The leaders of the Western democracies have been telling us that the seeds of Communism germinate best on poverty and disease, that they are determined to end this age-long social malady. The United States' President has produced his "Point 4 Plan" and the "British" Commonwealth has one of its own—both intended to banish poverty and disease from "under-developed" countries. Looking over old newspaper cuttings we come upon the following which throws a curious light on these noble plans:

When half of the world is starving reports like the U.S. planning to turn 80 million pounds of dried eggs into farm fertiliser or burning down huge stocks of wheat or flattening out mountains of unsold potatoes with bulldozers not only makes painful reading but makes the common man angry. The high theories of economics about maintaining prices and subsidising goods have no meaning for him. The plain fact for him is that here in one part of the world there are people dying of hunger and in another part there is so much glut of foodstuffs that it has to be destroyed. It may be good economics but it strikes him as the limit of inhumanity of man to man. If the prevailing economic systems demand it, they must be altered. If there was less of politics and more of kindness and consideration for other people this world would be a better place to live in. As in physics why cannot we have a law in economics, where foodstuffs find equal level like liquids? Instead of destroying the surplus it may be shipped to an area where there is an acute shortage. It should be left to the politicians to find out a way to settle accounts.

Uday Sankar Bharat's Cultural Ambassador

It is not publicists in Bharat alone who have called him our cultural ambassador-at-large to foreign lands carrying Bharat's message to these. The following two quotations from the appreciation of his art by Paul Hume in the *Washington Post* and by Emily Belser in the *Washington Times-Herald*, give an idea of the reaction of lovers of art to the presentation after ten years by Udaysankar of his dance-drama which included "Nirash" and "Vilasa."

"There is no precise parallel in our experience for the art of Shankar. The teaching of (Indian) dancing, in its use of eyes, arms, fingers, the upper part of the body, and the frequent moments of almost complete repose, are oriental manifestations of art which we seldom see.

"It is a rich art—one we can hardly study in our country, but one that enriches us when we observe it."—*Washington Post*.

"Shankar, master of pose and repose, reflected social, spiritual and religious trends in his largely-traditional repertoire . . . his is a dance art of

many colors, one in which the lift of an eyebrow is as significant as a grand jete in the world of ballet.

"It was a performance full of mystic splendor, the like of which has not been seen here in, shall we say, 10 years."—*Times Herald*.

Indo-China

This small country in South-East Asia appears to be chosen by destiny to play the part of a "last ditch" in "democracy's" fight against Communist "totalitarianism." In view of the fact that we hardly know anything about this almost next-door neighbour of ours, we are glad to reproduce information from a lecture of Dr. Reginald le-May delivered under the auspices of the Royal India and Pakistan Society on June 13 last. It formed part of the series—"Rabindranath Tagore" Lectures for 1949; the subject was—"India's Contribution to the Culture of South-Eastern Asia." The relevant portion of this lecture is this:

"On the map of Asia . . . there is a range of mountains running down the spine of Annam in French Indo-China, and this range marks the boundary or dividing line between Chinese and Indian culture. Everything north and east of this range is culturally based on China, while everything west and south is based on India; and the two neither overlap nor clash."

And as a proof of this non-aggressive temper of the two cultures, the following acknowledgment from Dr. May's lecture is worth knowing:

"The beginnings of Indian colonization overseas east-ward go back a very long way, and it is almost certain that the results seen today were not achieved by military expeditions, but by peaceful trading and religious teaching."

Seretse Khama : The Official Case

The case of Seretse Khama has attracted world-wide public interest. The publication of a White Paper dealing with the whole history of it has no doubt cleared many misconceptions. The official handling of the problem had not been uniformly wise and it had given rise to the charge that the Government had wantonly endorsed a colour bar. The White Paper tries to prove that it is untrue that merely because he married a white woman the British Government are keeping out Seretse from a people passionately anxious to have him. A summary of the White Paper is given below. The Government's refusal to publish the Report of the Judicial Enquiry has not been wise.

A White Paper issued by the British Government on March 22 gives an account of the circumstances relating to the succession to the chieftainship of the Bamangwato tribe and the considerations which have been presented to the British Government in reaching their decision upon the question of the recognition of Seretse Khama.

The White Paper points out that the Bamangwato Reserve forms part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and has an area of 40,000 square miles and a population of 100,000. The history of the Bechuanaland Protectorate has been marked by a series of tribal disputes about succession to the chieftainship.

Khama the Third, the grandfather of Seretse, who had ruled the Bamangwato for 50 years and was recognised as one of the great African rulers, died in 1923 and was succeeded by his son Sekooma who died two years later leaving Seretse, who was born in 1921, as his heir. In 1926, Tshekedi, son of Khama and half-brother of Sekooma, was installed as regent.

Seretse was educated in South Africa and at Balliol College, Oxford, and then studied for the English Bar. In September, 1948, Seretse notified Tshekedi that he proposed to marry Miss Ruth Williams, an Englishwoman, on October 2, but stated that he feared his uncle and the tribe would not approve of his proposed action. They did not. Appeals were made to Seretse to postpone the marriage. Seretse's only response was to advance his wedding so that in the face of opposition he married Miss Williams on September 29.

Seretse was summoned to Serowe to explain his action and a series of tribal meetings (Kgotlas) followed.

Tshekedi's position at this time was that he had ruled the Bamangwato for 23 years. His rule had been firm and enlightened. But more recently he had become increasingly unpopular. At the first tribal meeting in September, 1948, when it was still thought that Seretse might give up his European wife, there was almost unanimous condemnation of the marriage. The tribe, with very few exceptions, resolved that all steps should be taken to prevent Seretse's wife entering the Bamangwato Reserve.

Subsequent meetings showed the increasing anxiety felt by the tribe that if Seretse were not allowed to return, Tshekedi would become their permanent chief, an event which they were determined to prevent at all costs. Consequently, at the second tribal meeting in December, 1948, there was strong support for Seretse. At the third tribal meeting in June, 1949, there was a decisive majority in favour of Seretse as chief with his European wife.

The immediate sequel to the third Kgotla was that Tshekedi, accompanied by five of the eight leading tribesmen, left the Reserve and has since lived in the Bakwena Reserve. He issued a declaration asserting that the recognised law and customs of the tribe had been violated and challenged the Kgotla's decision and also asked that a judicial inquiry should be held to advise on whether Seretse should be recognised and if so what would be the position of his wife and children.

In June, 1949, the High Commissioner recommended the holding of a judicial inquiry, for which

there is legal provision in the event of any doubt arising after the "designation" by the Kgotla of a successor to the chieftainship. The object of such an inquiry is to advise the High Commissioner to whom the decision is reserved and who is responsible to the Secretary of State.

Once such an inquiry is held it thus becomes necessary for His Majesty's Government to make a final decision.

The report of the inquiry has been the subject of most careful study by H. M. G. in the light of personal discussion with the High Commissioner and of African opinion in High Commission territories and elsewhere in South Africa.

H. M. G. do not accept and could not associate themselves with certain arguments and views in the report, and as the report and accompanying evidence would present an incomplete and unbalanced picture of the considerations taken into account in arriving at their decision, they have decided not to publish it.

"H.M.G. must, however, state categorically that the judicial inquiry unanimously advised against the recognition of Seretse. It expressed its belief that in these circumstances Seretse's absence from the Bechuanaland Protectorate was essential to peace and good order to the Bamangwato Reserve, and that a period of direct rule would be in the best interests of the Bamangwato. It further advised that Tshekedi should not be permitted to return to the Reserve."

H. M. G. then invited Seretse and his wife to London in order that he might be able to express his views before any decision was taken. They also wished to ascertain whether Seretse would be prepared to relinquish his claim to the chieftainship.

No assurance was given to Seretse at any time that if he came to London he would be permitted to resume residence in the Protectorate. Statements which have been made to the contrary are wholly incorrect. Mrs. Seretse was also invited to London but did not accept.

Seretse refused to relinquish his claim to the succession and H. M. G. had to make its own decision. H. M. G. announced to Parliament on March 8 their decision to withhold recognition of Seretse as Chief for a period of not less than five years, during which time he would not be allowed to enter the Protectorate without special permission. An allowance was offered to Seretse and during the period Tshekedi's regency would come to an end and he would not be allowed to enter the Reserve without special permission.

H.M.G. have not considered this matter as a question of the merits or demerits of mixed marriages. This particular marriage assumed importance because of Seretse's position as a prospective Chief of the Bamangwato tribe and the issue was whether, the marriage having taken place, the interests of the tribe and other tribes in High Commission territories would

best be served by the recognition or non-recognition of Seretse.

H.M.G. were, of course, aware that a strong body of European opinion in Southern Africa would be opposed to recognition, but no representations have been received from the Governments of South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. But the existence of this body of opinion is no reason in their view why they should not refuse recognition on quite different grounds. The views about recognition or non-recognition are understood to be by no means unanimous among prominent Africans, but, as was shown before the judicial inquiry, considerable weight of African opinion was opposed to recognition.

In the view of H.M.G., the recognition of Seretse would be against the unity and well-being of the tribe for the following reasons:

Firstly, the Bamangwato have suffered much in the past from feuds among their leading families. In the first two Kgotlas, where the issue before the tribe was that of marriage only, the opinion of the majority was opposed to it. Recognition of Seretse in these circumstances would have given occasion for dispute and caused a serious split in the tribe. Peaceful administration would have become increasingly difficult;

Secondly, it was necessary for H.M.G. to consider whether, in these circumstances, Seretse could be expected to discharge with success the grave responsibilities of chieftainship. By contracting a marriage without prior consultation and against all advice tendered him by the tribal authorities, Seretse showed himself unmindful of the interests of his tribe and of his public duty;

Thirdly, there are serious doubts whether he could, in the present circumstances, retain as Chief the support of the tribe which has been inclined to factions and feuds and in which opposition would certainly arise once it was certain that Tshekedi's regency would not be renewed. The tendency in this tribe to disputes about succession would be aggravated by uncertainty as to their future attitude towards the children of the marriage.

For the immediate future and as a temporary measure the District Commissioner will administer the Bamangwato Reserve but as soon as the council of leading tribesmen which it is proposed to set up is of the requisite composition and efficiency, an increasing number of responsibilities will be transferred to it.

Beyond this transitional stage, H.M.G. will also explore every avenue to give the native administration a more representative character in accordance with their policy in all African territories for which they are responsible of giving the peoples concerned a more direct participation in the conduct of their own affairs.

Seretse has been informed that he may return to the Protectorate for matters connected with his law-

suit and also be with his wife at the time of her confinement. H.M.G. have placed conditions upon Seretse's and Tshekedi's movements in order to preserve peace and good order in the Reserve. They must be assured that neither through his conduct nor through his presence he becomes a focus for trouble in the tribe. The development of the tribe along the lines indicated above depends on suitable men coming forward to take the responsibility of office.

The Other Side of the Picture

So much for the White Paper. But informed opinion, in the form of the main editorial in *The New Statesman and Nation* of March 18, draws a different picture altogether. As this matter affects all the natives of Africa *vis a vis* the *Herrenvolk* cult of the South Africans, we reproduce that editorial below :

"We hope that the Seretse Khama case will be a lesson to this and all other democratic Governments. We do not need telling that expediency must play a part in the art of government, nor that Ministers are unable always to reveal all the relevant facts in announcing policy to the House of Commons. But the Seretse case is a superb example of the danger of sacrificing principle to short-sighted fear ; it also shows the folly of economising in truth where the facts are obtainable elsewhere. *No one was interested in Mr. Gordon-Walker's statement that the Government was not yielding to pressure from Malan ; they knew that in truth the pressure came from General Smuts, who urged him not to make his position more difficult by fighting Malan on this issue.* Everyone knew that Britain would not have refused to allow Seretse to return had it not been known that the Union Government would be angry if we did so. In short, we are offered a classic example of appeasement, which means, not peacemaking, but the surrender of principle in the hope of buying off a stronger party at the expense of a weaker. As so often happens, the stronger party is not appeased ; the principle has to be faced just the same, and the weaker party proves not to be so weak after all.

The Government decision was obviously a mistake from the moment it was announced. It was attacked from the Conservative as well as the Labour side, though Mr. Churchill characteristically chose weak ground in basing his attack on the Government's having "tricked" Seretse—which it is by no means clear that they did. In the Labour Party, many members felt that, if it came to a show-down, they would be in conscience unable to support the ban. Secondly, the effect of the decision on the tribe was extremely awkward for the British Government. The chieftains unanimously refuse to meet Sir Evelyn Baring, the British High Commissioner. They have decided to withhold taxes until their elected chief is allowed to return to them, and they threaten to remove all their children from the administration's schools.

Finally, the effect on world opinion is what might have been expected. No obvious advantage has been gained in South Africa. The dangers and advantages from South Africa's point of view of taking economic or military measures to coerce the Protectorates remain exactly what they were before General Smuts began to exercise pressure on Sir Evelyn Baring. South Africa has, of course, the power to carry through a military or economic blockade if she wishes. But she relies on native labour from Bechuanaland, and she may still hesitate about bringing to fever point the growing anger of all the native peoples of South Africa.

The situation is one for which Moscow might have prayed. The well-meaning work of the Colonial Office, under Mr. Creech Jones, had begun to improve relations between Black and White : it is now threatened. How easy now to persuade coloured populations everywhere that the pretensions of social democracy to a belief in racial equality are hypocritical ! In face of all this, it would best become the Government to take a deep breath and reverse a bad decision. It seems, however, inclined substantially to stick to its course, disregarding both the effect on world opinion and the strain it is placing on the loyalty of some of its most conscientious supporters."

Unification of State Laws

Sir Harilal Kania, Chief Justice of India, has delivered a valuable address on the implications of the new Constitution on the laws of the States and has pleaded for their unification. He said that with the unification of India, it was but natural to expect unification of laws of the different States to prevent the citizens of India from finding themselves governed by different sets of laws.

Perhaps, the Chief Justice said, this would take a little time to achieve, but so far as procedural law was concerned, early co-ordination was essential if not imperative.

He was replying to an address given by the Hyderabad State Bar Association. Earlier, the Chief Justice met the Nizam, the Rajpramukh of Hyderabad, at the King Kothi Palace at Hyderabad.

Sir Harilal said that appeals could not lie in the Supreme Court from the Hyderabad High Court as a matter of course under the Constitution and, therefore, practice and procedural rules under which appeals could go to the Supreme Court from the different courts should also be similar in all State High Courts.

Replying to a suggestion in the address on the need to have an all-India Bar, the Chief Justice of India said this had been the desire of lawyers all over India. With the unification of India this desire was bound to have a natural growth and acquire greater strength. One aspect of it, however, required serious consideration by all members of the Bar all over the country. If they wanted one Bar, should they not have one standard, Sir Harilal asked. It had been pointed out that different universities had different standards of examinations and it had been

urged that till the standards were made fairly uniform it would be difficult to attain their object. But Sir Harilal said this was all in theory. In practice it made no difference whether one passed out of University "A" or "F", if intrinsic qualities in one made for his success or prevented him from coming up. But there could be no doubt that ultimately as the judicial system of India was to be one, the laws would have to be one and the Bar would also have to be one.

Referring to a few difficulties pointed out in the address in respect of Judicial Committee appeals which were now pending, the Chief Justice said pending appeals should be disposed of as soon as possible and with less cost to the litigant public, who had a right to it and changes in the administration should not affect their rights.

Sir Harilal Kania, however, pointed out that there was a slight misapprehension that there could be provisional judges under the present Constitution. He said before the present Constitution was inaugurated under the previous Government of India Act, the authorities had the power to appoint additional and acting judges. That was now gone. They would, therefore, have to get judges who were judges for all time, as one might put it, unless the Constitution was suitably amended to meet particular contingencies.

The Chief Justice referred to the difficulties of the litigant public in respect of matters decided before January 26, 1950, pointed out in the address, and of the suggestion that the rules of the Supreme Court might have to be slightly modified in this connection to help the litigant public. Sir Harilal said that rules of the Supreme Court as such could not confer or take away the right of appeal which had been granted under the Constitution. If a right existed under the Constitution, no rule could take it away. If a right did not exist, no rule could confer it. Therefore if any difficulties existed, the remedy should be sought in any appropriate modification of the Constitution, he thought. The Judges of the Supreme Court would try to interpret the Constitution liberally, but it was not their business to frame laws. Bearing this limitation in mind Sir Harilal said necessary steps might be taken to see that litigant public got their just dues.

Sir Harilal referred to the difficulties mentioned in the address of advocates of the Hyderabad Bar being eligible for admission to the Supreme Court. He hoped it would be possible for them to strike a *via media* to satisfy as large a number of people as possible as it was not possible to satisfy everyone in this matter.

The address had suggested that no practical difficulty might be felt in retaining the existing Urdu language of Hyderabad courts, for the time being, to be replaced eventually by Hindi within a minimum measure of time, instead of changing to English from Urdu and then to Hindi. Sir Harilal said everyone had to adjust his mode of life with changing surroundings and circumstances. Language was one of its group. While it must be recognised that sudden change was undesirable and could not be achieved, they should all now adapt themselves with the rest of India to the new Constitution and circumstances.

Sachchidananda Sinha

The oldest amongst Indian journalists left the field of his mundane activities on the 6th March last in his 79th year. Full of years and honours, he leaves a memory which Hindi-speaking Biharis have special reasons to cherish. Though the idea of a separate province for Bihar freed from the administrative arrangements with Bengal had emanated from the late Mahesh Narayan of Bhagalpur, it took concrete shape in the hands of younger people amongst whom Dr. Sinha had been one.

When Lord Hardinge decided to "undo" the "settled fact" of the Curzonian partition of the then Presidency of Bengal consisting of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, he had for his legal member the late Syed Ali Imam, successor to the first Indian member to the Governor-General's Executive Council, and persuaded by him had the partition revoked in December, 1911, after six years of storm and stress in India which made the New India whose fulfilment has been the "sovereign" Republic of today.

In the evolution towards this new status for this country, Sachchidananda Sinha made contributions chiefly as the editor of the *Hindustan Review*. As a politician he was a "moderate" and had co-operated with the British regime through all its aberrations. But the time spirit had been irresistible, and along with other "moderates," he had been carried away by the high tide much against his inclination.

Harold Laski

The untimely death on March 24 last of this 56 year old British intellectual will be a cause of sorrow to many in India, specially those who had been students of the London School of Economics. Next to Hyndman, Sydney and Beatrice Webb and Bernard Shaw, he did the most to popularize Socialist thought in the English-speaking world. But though he was born at about the time when Liberalism as a political thought had lost much of its influence in Britain, he was by nature an individualist who could not accommodate himself to the philosophy of planning on which was based modern Socialism, as it deprived the individual of his own plans for his own life. This explained his differences and disagreements with the Communists and the realists in control of the British Labour Party. When British Labour came to control the power of the State in Britain in 1945, he found no place in the Government. Perhaps, it was best so, for Harold Laski retained the integrity of his mind, and continued to be a force of unquestioned power in the thought-world of the mid-20th century. He was a supporter of India's freedom in times when it was not so popular even in Britain's Labour classes.

To the English-reading world of intellectuals the loss of this champion of the liberty of the individual would be almost irreparable. In this faction-torn world, full of topsy-turvy political propaganda, Harold Lasky's razor-keen intellect has been continuously and consistently dissecting and exposing malignant accretions on the body politic of world democracy for the last three decades and more, and thus restoring the balance of world thought.

PAKISTAN INTENSIFIES THE "COLD WAR" AGAINST INDIA The Plight of Hindus in East Bengal

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl,
The secret mischiefs I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others."

—The DUKE OF GLOSTER in *King Richard III*

At his monthly Press Conference in New Delhi on February 6 our distinguished Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was pleased to observe:

"It is amazing how quickly people forget facts when the facts are inconvenient to them."

Pandit Nehru, let me remark in passing, speaks so often, and at such length, that others besides myself have not seldom found it impossible to separate the really significant portions in his speeches and statements from the not so very significant. Unfortunately, has not been given to mortal man to dislike the sound of his own voice—and (worse luck!) much less given to that mortal man who happens also to be a politician. The taciturn politician is a rare phenomenon—almost as rare as the flowering of the aloe or the laying of the phoenix's egg. In India he is a rarer phenomenon still: more than a Diogenes and his reputed lantern are required to set him out.

A cynic once declared that words are meant to conceal thoughts; and a politician may now and then legitimately defend himself by arguing that in a particular instance, at all events, his words were just a smoke screen to conceal what he had been thinking at the moment. Diplomacy, in a sense, is a kind of warfare, and in the West (its home) it is customary for seasoned diplomats (who are none other than veteran politicians) to indulge in strategic feints and tactical withdrawals of this nature. But, even so, public talking there is, comparatively speaking, strictly rationed; and those who spout too much are usually made to pay for their gift of the gab sooner or later—sooner rather than later. Politics in those attitudes is a man's job; not just a holiday from work or an arena to win popular applause.

PANDIT NEHRU'S UTTERANCES

Pandit Nehru, obviously, knows this as much as anyone else. Before his departure for America last October he sent his countrymen and countrywomen a parting message from Bombay wherein he reminded them that for quite a few weeks from then on they would be spared the tedium of wading through his luminous *ipsissima verba*. It was, of course, nothing more than polite persiflage; but one cannot help thinking that the "still, small voice" in him sounded

a faint warning bell that he might, with advantage, slow down a bit in this matter of speech-making. But that "voice" must have been remarkably "still," and "small," because while in America he gave full rein to that deep-rooted instinct in him to lecture all and sundry, to instruct from a plethora of platforms "the more cultivated portion of the ignorant," as Stevenson has so aptly put it somewhere. It was Stevenson, by the way, who has for ever given "a local habitation and a name," as it were, to this deep-rooted instinct in the character of Joseph Finsbury in that little masterpiece of levity of his, *The Wrong Box*. This is how the incomparable "R.L.S." describes the origin and development of his hero's mania for speechifying on every possible occasion:

"A taste for general information, not promptly checked, had soon begun to sap his manhood. There is no passion more debilitating to the mind, unless it be that itch for public speaking which it not infrequently accompanies or begets. The two were conjoined in the case of Joseph; the acute stage of this double malady, that in which the patient delivers gratuitous lectures, soon declared itself with severity, and not many years had passed over his head before he would have travelled thirty miles to address an infant school."

In the end, as my readers will no doubt remember, Joseph's leather business had to take care of itself; and I have often let my mind play on the contingency of our beloved Motherland having similarly to take care of herself if our top-ranking politicians cannot be persuaded to curb their elocutionary propensities in time.

PRACTICE AND PRECEPT

In this rather circumlocutory fashion I now propose to come back to that quotation from Pandit Nehru's discourse at his monthly Press Conference in New Delhi on February 6. Therein he reminded his journalistic audience how quickly people are prone to forget facts when they (the facts) are inconvenient to them. I am tempted to remark that never did any Prime Minister speak at any Press Conference to so much purpose. If only our leaders (not a few of them self appointed) could, and would, remember these pregnant words of Panditji's! If only they could, and would follow the splendid example of our one and

only Sardar, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who, unlike many others whom one can name, can open his mouth without (immediately) putting his foot in it! There might be some hope for our country then! But, unfortunately, it is ever so much easier to lay down precepts than to practise them! And even the revered Sardar can now and then forget inconvenient facts. Pandit Nehru, I need hardly point out, did an immense public service in drawing the attention of his hearers to a problem that, with the passing of days, is assuming increasing importance. Inconvenient facts, as we have now come to realise, have a nasty habit of coming home to roost.

CAUSE FOR DISQUIET

It has not probably occurred to them as yet, but it is true nonetheless that certain facts are far from being very convenient even to the distinguished Pandit and the valiant Sardar. It is undeniable that between them they rule the whole country: nor is there any question that, barring some recalcitrant elements here and there, the whole country looks up to them for guidance in essential matters. That is, perhaps, as it should be: though one may take leave to doubt whether there have not been instances enough and to spare to cause a certain amount of disquiet in the minds of the thinking section of the sub-continent's vast population. Rightly or wrongly I happen to belong to that section. I have long been a bitter critic of the Congress—both in the days when, by the mysterious decrees of Providence, it was eating its heart out in the wilderness, and after its coming into power nearly three years ago as the only party that was fit to shoulder the responsibilities of office in the circumstances then prevailing in our midst. I can, therefore, legitimately preen myself on the fact that I have almost graduated in the art (or science, as the case may be) of being "agin" the Congress: the Congress, I mean, since 1920 when its Founding Fathers, the old "Moderates", as they were then called, were compelled to secede from the organization that was so much a part of themselves and to which they gave their life-blood, as it were, and our present leaders stepped in.

PATRIOTISM

Patriotism is the monopoly of no one group of persons; but if, by any chance, it can be said to be so, then I venture to claim that those of *my* way of thinking—that is to say, those who had never any intention of "caving in" to Muslim intransigence either through sheer cowardice or through false notions of communal amity and in whose political vocabulary the word "partition" could never have been discerned even under the immortal Sam Weller's celebrated "pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power"—are any day more true patriots than those of the Congress variety. *And it is in the minds of those of my way of thinking that*

the disquiet I have mentioned above has taken deep root. At first the cloud (of this disquiet) might have been no larger than a man's hand, but now the whole Indo-Pakistan sky is overcast with the troubles that the artificial division of our beloved Motherland should have been expected to produce by any person of even elementary commonsense.

A STRANGE PARADOX

But, by a strange paradox, the "high-ups" of the Congress who could, by no stretch of imagination, have been suspected of a lamentable dearth of that essential commodity, never seem to have reckoned that their over-hasty acceptance of Lord Mountbatten's infamous "June 3 plan" might have far-reaching repercussions. That, certainly, is one of the "inconvenient facts" which, just because of their "inconvenience," the Congress "high-ups," including those two "higher-ups," the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, have been only too prone to forget. An ostrich-like policy in politics never does anybody any good, and it is my painful duty to point out, that, when Pandit Nehru treated his admiring journalistic audience in New Delhi on February 6 to that memorable apothegm regarding inconvenient facts, he made a tragic mistake in missing its personal application.

Public memory is notoriously short, but we shall do well to draw the attention of our beloved Premier to his own unabashed confession in the A.-I.C.C. meeting, convened in New Delhi in June or July of 1947 to "ratify" the Congress Working Committee's acceptance of the afore-mentioned "June 3 plan," that the responsibility for that acceptance was *wholly his*. No one had been as vociferous as himself *before* that fateful June 3 that the notion of carving out our thrice-hallowed land into various "Stans" was preposterous in the extreme and that it would never receive the *imprimatur* of the Congress. But the Congress (new style) has rarely evinced a desire to be consistent, and, having set up a new god, "expediency," on its altar, it has been led to throw overboard, as so much ballast, first one dearly-cherished principle and then another until at last it was led to throw overboard its *most* dearly-cherished principle of all, namely, the precious unity of the country.

EXPEDIENCY

It is an old, old story, and there is the well-known proverb to illustrate it: "in for a penny, in for a pound." Either one worships in the shrine of consistency or in that other shrine—across the way—of expediency. If one worships in the latter there is no end to one's trials and tribulations, and we, in India, have had a sufficiency of crosses to bear as a result of this unholy desire on the part of our top-ranking politicians to shift their ground every now and then in order to satisfy one panjamdrum or another.

In this connection it may not be quite unprofitable to cast our minds back to how cunningly the way had been paved by our leaders to this final surgical operation that resulted in the creation of Pakistan. Years before the actual presentation of that precious boon on a silver platter to the late-lamented Quaid-e-Azam, the Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution (hardly noticed at the time, so innocuous did it seem to everyone) intimating to all and sundry that while, no doubt, prizing the precious unity of our beloved Motherland above emeralds and rubies, they could not, owing to their twin principles of truth and non-violence, even *contemplate* the coercion of unwilling units to remain in their ancestral fold.

Acharya Kripalani exploited this resolution for what it was worth before the All-India Congress Committee meeting that was so hastily convened in New Delhi to ratify the Congress Working Committee's acceptance of the June 3 plan. That clinched the issue, and the Congress hierarchy were saved once more.

DOES THE END JUSTIFY THE MEANS?

In the names of their own twin principles of truth and non-violence it becomes our bounden duty to ask Acharya Kripalani and his no less eminent colleagues how they managed to forget this resolution when, during the last elections, and stealing the thunder of their opponents, they thumped the countryside with the ear-splitting slogan that, *in no circumstances whatever*, would they concede Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah. Their anxiety to win the elections and to put the Mahasabha in its place are readily understandable; but it is pertinent to enquire of the vaunted moralists that they are whether the end justified the means and whether, in order to gain a victory at the polls, they did well to treat that famous resolution of theirs as a mere "scrap of paper."

It is also pertinent to enquire of them—just because they are such vaunted moralists—how this same resolution that had been treated by them as a mere "scrap of paper" during election time was *later* sought to be promoted to the proud and enviable position of a veritable "Magna Charta" to the Muslims whereby (with the assistance of the loophole, *deliberately provided by it beforehand*, of "no coercion of seceding units") they had no compunction in allowing all the Muslim majority units to secede gaily; the combination of which units is now known to the whole world as "Pakistan."

IS THIS TRUTH?

If that resolution was intended by them to be a sort of "Magna Charta" for the Muslims, with what face did they promise the electors that they would never agree to the creation of Pakistan?

Contrariwise, if it was not so intended by them, why did they flout so nonchalantly the promises that they had repeatedly given to the electorate and,

without so much as a "by your leave" or a "with your leave," make a presentation of Pakistan to the modern descendants of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane?

And, *in either case*, was there not a merciless massacre of one at least of their twin principles—Truth?

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

I have, let me remind my readers, not missed the thread of my argument, nor have I, in my anxiety to relate a coherent story, forgotten the title of my present disquisition. The title of my present disquisition is the intensification our neighbour's "cold war" against us in its eastern bastion and its fatal repercussions on the minority community there. The lot of that minority community had never been very enviable and, at the moment of writing, it well-nigh appears to have touched a new "low." History is repeating itself in East Bengal with a vengeance, as it were, and the tragic memories of Noakhali are being vigorously revived. The Hindu population there—or what had been left of it through previous migrations owing to the same unedifying reasons—has, once more, been forced to make a difficult and hazardous trek to the western portion of that ill-starred province—at one time the undisputed *avant garde* of Indian nationalism.

ONLY A HINDU

I do not, of course, intend to suggest, or faintly to stir the air in the neighbourhood of suggesting, that, in the vulgar phrase, my blood is boiling as a result of these fresh outrages of our Muslim "brothers" on Hindus. There would be no point in my suggesting it because I am, when all is said and done, only a Hindu: in fact, not even that, inasmuch as, in the Congress's farcical conception of a "purely secular" State, while a Muslim is fully entitled to call himself a Muslim, to proclaim his Islamic origin and Shariat upbringing from every housetop and minaret, his opposite number, the poor Hindu may try to pass himself off as a Hindu only at his soul's peril and the even more formidable peril of the precious "secularity" of his State. In the technical sense, as conceived by our new *Ma Baps*, I am but a "non-Muslim," an entirely *negative* quantity; and it has often puzzled me why, following their hyper-quistotic connotation of the term, "secularity," our benign rulers have not had the courage to go the whole hog and to name India as "non-Pakistan" and the Hindu Code Bill (which they are attempting to ram down our throats unmindful of its terrible consequences) as the "non-Muslim Code Bill." My blood is not supposed to be capable of boiling, no matter what new refinements of bestiality the Muslims, in the plenitude of their fanaticism, may deem fit to inflict upon us.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE

The philosophy of non-violence, with which we have been indoctrinated for the last three or four

decades, is not exactly conducive to the warming up of our blood even in the presence of the most hideous examples of what the poet has so poignantly described as "man's inhumanity to man" and when, in addition, we are the proud denizens of the *only* "secular" State in the heavens above, the earth below, or the waters underneath the earth, the life-stream, or "Conde's fluid" as the late Sir Edmund Gosse loved to call it, simply refuses to get hotted up all over even at the mention of

"... the Cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

THE SHORT, AND THE LONG, VIEW

No, my blood is not boiling. *Besides, how long and how often can one's blood afford to boil?* People collectively, no less than individually, reap, but as they sow, and since we have, under the inspiring guidance of the Congress, chosen the path of love and non-violence *ad lib.*, we cannot legitimately complain if those who have chosen the diametrically opposite path of hate and violence choose to tread on our corns endlessly without the least compunction, and with hobnailed boots, as it were. We are, obviously, laying up our treasures in heaven, while, equally obviously, our Muslim brethren, with regrettable short-sightedness, seem to be perversely content to lay up *their* treasures on this earth itself—with no hope of seeing them multiplied a thousandfold in the after-life, which, indeed, is what ultimately matters, if Holy Writ has any sanction.

BUYING PEACE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has often told his hearers that he and his colleagues had accepted partition only because he and they hoped that, by so doing, they would be laying the ghost of the communal monster for ever and for ever. In their considered opinion it was, evidently, a small price to pay for the unending peace to follow, for the Nirvana of unmolestation from without. Here, of course, our old friend, expediency, again bobs up its head out of the ground. I am not denying that expediency has its allotted place in that intricate science known as politics. But the whole point is that when we bring the Congress and the Congress leaders into our discussion we are not talking of politics as it is commonly understood, but of politics that has been sublimated, that has been rarified, beyond the reach of the ordinary understanding: we are talking of politics of an *O altitudo!* type. "The end does not justify the means" is a constant Congress slogan, and, *in that context*, the Deputy Prime Minister's argument in justification of his, and his colleagues', acceptance of the vivisection of our country is apt to sound singularly puerile. From the point of view of one of their own twin principles—namely, truth—also it is no less baffling.

ONLY THE SKY IS THE LIMIT

But let us test it from the *purely* mundane point of view—from the point of view of sheer expediency. The ghost of communalism has decidedly *not* been laid by that hasty acceptance. The Muslims love us no more now than they used to do before. Our humiliating acquiescence in the creation of Pakistan has not abated the wrath of our brethren across the border one whit: on the contrary, their appetite has distinctly grown by what it has fed on, and only the sky seems to be the limit so far as that is concerned. There *may* be balm in Gilead, but if anyone tells me that there is balm in a policy of endless appeasement I am prepared to eat my hat—and the hat of my neighbour as well. Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman long ago assured us that Pakistan was not the *Ultima Thule* of Muslim ambition. It is certainly not his fault that the Congress leaders refused to take him at his word. You can take a horse to the water but you cannot make him drink, and, by the same token, the Muslims cannot be blamed if their irredentism—which sticks out a mile—is not taken at its face-value by "the powers that be" over here.

A QUESTION

A question now arises. There is such a thing as learning by a process of trial and error, of rising, so to speak, on stepping-stones of our dead selves to higher things, as the poet says, and one may well ask our elders and betters (politically speaking) for what *further* calamities they are so patiently waiting before they decide to take the Pakistan bull by the horns and teach him a lesson he will not be likely to forget this side of the grave. There is Kashmir, there is the canal-water dispute, there is the evacuee-property question, there is the wrangle over the rupee-exchange, there is that other major headache regarding the dangerously large-scale influx of Muslims into Assam, and now, once more, we have the blood-curdling Muslim harassment of Hindus in East Bengal. Other countries and other nationalities would have known how to tackle the bully at the very first overt sign of belligerency, of a disposition of spoiling for a fight. But *our* country and *our* nation have far different notions of national honour, and though, when the Hindus run amok—on the rare occasions when they *do* run amok, that is—Pandit Nehru loses no time in denouncing them and in assuring them that *no mercy whatever* will be shown to them, the same Pandit Nehru coos like the gentlest of suking-doves in the face of the most appalling intransigence of those modern *Hcerrenvolk*, the Muslims.

SWEET REASONABLENESS 'IN EXCELSIS'

Only the other day, for instance, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, during a debate in our Parliament on the well-planned Muslim incursions into Assam, coolly rose from his chair and protested to heaven that if he had any reputation for reasonableness still

ft he would not be a party to any undue punishment of those misguided persons who have been harbouring those incursionists; and this, let us remember, when the Muslims of Eastern Pakistan are inflicting unmentionable brutalities on the poor Hindus there! *The preservation of Mr. Gopilaswami Aiyangar's reputation for sweet reasonableness is, obviously, any day a more outstandingly important national consideration than the Muslim invasion of Assam!* Three cheers to Mr. Gopalaswami Aiyangar! Why fall foul of Nero for fiddling while Rome was burning? As a Hindu I am in two minds as to whether I should be immensely proud that there are still such marvellously beautiful angels in our midst—living angels, angels in the flesh, like our Hon. Member for Railways; or to be thoroughly ashamed that, in our community, a brother cares so little for a brother's honour, and still less for a sister's! Charles Lamb once declared that he would like to feel the bumps of a certain offending official: I should like to feel the bumps of Mr. N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar.

A TRAGIC MISUNDERSTANDING

Revolutions are not made with rose-water, nor can one hope to bring Muslim irredentists to book in this milk-sop fashion. Persons of Mr. Gopalaswami Aiyangar's ilk make one fundamental mistake: they make the mistake—tragic in its implications—of misunderstanding their vocation. Rama-raja has not yet been established in our green and pleasant land: arvadaya principles—except on pulpits and platforms—are conspicuous by their absence. We *do* know then not to suffer fools gladly. Since the memorable August 15, 1947, our Government has been carried on by the cold blooded shooting down of harmless secessionists and by the ruthless suppression of civil liberties: even our much-boasted Constitution is more that of a Police State—naked and unashamed—than that of a society laying claim to any conspicuous degree of civilisation. Our policy *vis-a-vis* the weak is one of "leonine violence": in relation to the strong it is one of the most abject surrender. Our gentleness and forbearance are only for export: at home we can lay the bully to perfection, as "to the manner born."

CONGRESS'S ASSUMPTION PROVED THOROUGHLY WRONG

Dr. B. C. Roy has mentioned that already about 30,000 Hindus have migrated from East Bengal and that daily nearly 500 are streaming in. He had no difficulty in refuting the allegations of the East Bengal Government that the troubles there had started only because of previous troubles in West Bengal. It is the old, old story of blaming your own vices on the

other fellow. Our Muslim friends have consistently followed the policy outlined in those memorable words of Richard the Crookback that I have affixed at the top of my article as my motto:

"I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl,
The secret mischiefs I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others."

From what has been happening even after the Congress's acceptance of the "June 3 plan" we can affirm that the Congress leaders' assumption that they would be instrumental in pacifying the Muslims for ever by granting them a "separate homeland" has been proved to be thoroughly untenable. In this connection I should like to remind these Congress leaders what Mr. Feroz Khan Noon told his fellow-legislators in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly a few weeks ago. He told them that he preferred the Russians any day to us. Mr. Douglas Brown, writing from Karachi to his paper, *The Daily Telegraph*, took particular care to inform his readers that the prevailing mood in Pakistan against Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's proposed visit to Moscow was one of the most unqualified approval, because the Muslims would much rather be dominated by the Russians than by the Hindus.

NO MORE MISTAKES HEREAFTER

That being so, let us not make any more mistakes hereafter. The Muslims know their minds even if we do not know ours. And what is in their minds has always been as transparent as a pane of unglazed glass. They have no love for us, Hindus. They prize force more than anything else, and the more we surrender to them the more they are apt to look down upon us; and since the fatal partition their contempt for us has increased a thousandfold. The only thing left for us to do now is to retrace all our steps and to pay them back in their own coin. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" must be our policy hereafter. You cannot gather grapes of thorns nor gigs of thistles: the Muslims are a crude people and you cannot argue them into civilised modes of thinking. We simply cannot afford to lose more—on *any* front. We have, hitherto, been coerced and cajoled into losing—on *every* possible front—by our Congress leaders through mistaken notions of love and fellow-feeling; and if the past is any index of the future this sort of cajoling and coercing, we may safely conjecture, will continue until the Greek Kalends. Our Congress leaders have fantastic notions of "secularity" and, in its name, will have no compunction in sacrificing the interests of the majority population on the altar of their particular "doxy". Let us get down to the root of the matter. Congressmen are no less to blame than the Muslims for our manifold misfortunes.

THE SINO-SOVIET PACT AND RUSSIAN POLITICS IN CHINA

By KAILASH CHANDRA

NEARLY two months ago, on December 16, Mao went to Moscow. Since then political observers were keen on speculating upon his visit. The length of his stay there, even led some of the most thoughtful of them to think of his confinement or transportation to some unknown region. Such conjectures, wild as they may seem from afar, were really not so fantastically absurd. The history of Russia is strewn with countless such instances, where recalcitrance has been visited, probably without an exception, either by bullet or a life transportation to the cold and dreary region of Siberia. Fortunately Mao has escaped that calamity. The Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship has ultimately been signed on February 14, in the Kremlin in an atmosphere of 'cordiality and friendly mutual understanding.'

From the middle of the 18th Century, until 1842, the Chinese Empire was closed to foreigners, except for peep-holes at Canton and Macao. While China was being visited by other Western nations by sea, Russia was reaching out territorially towards the Pacific. By 1689, the establishment of a common frontier with China, resulted in an agreement by which China made her first treaty with Russia called The Treaty of Nerchinsk.

Russian rights and interests in China during the times of Revolution fell in two categories—the extra-territoriality privileges, common to all visiting foreign nations, and certain special rights in northern Manchuria including the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Russian sympathies with the Mongolian independence movement of 1911, resulted in a Tripartite treaty of 1915, by which, relations between China, Russia and Mongolia were established. The treaty established the autonomy of Mongolia under Chinese suzerainty. Even after the final overthrow of Kerensky's Government in Russia, China continued her diplomatic relations with the diplomatic and Consular officers of that Government, till 1920. It was an anomalous situation. During this period therefore Russian power and influence reached the lowest point. Extra-territoriality rights were terminated, and Russian influence over the Chinese Eastern Railway came almost to an end. Until after Washington Conference, Russians made no headway at Peking. Things drifted on more or less uneventfully, when diplomatic relations were re-established by the arrival of M. Jeffe in Peking in 1922. From 1922 to 1924, negotiations continued intermittently when ultimately the convention was signed on May 31, 1924, a more detailed agreement, having been signed later on September 20, of the same year. Another agreement with Japan in 1925, at last restored the Russian position in northern Manchuria.

But, this Sino-Russian harmony, was a short-lived affair. The death of Sun Yat Sen made a violent change

in the Chinese policy. Chiang Kai-shek assumed control in Canton after a period of disorder. A political and military campaign was launched against Russia and the closing of Soviet Consulates and the slaughter of Communists, carried on in the principal cities of the south. Russian advisers were sent home. Russian embassy at Peking was raided by the Chinese troops. All relations with the Soviet Government were terminated. Yet Russian influences lingered in Outer Mongolia. In 1929 friction between the Chinese and Russians over the Manchuria question resulted in an outbreak of hostilities. Once again the old cycle of events followed. In the late spring of 1929 Russian Consulates in northern Manchuria were raided and closed. The Soviet Consular officers were arrested. Russia retaliated by proceeding against the Chinese within her jurisdiction. But military pressure from Russia settled the dispute ultimately. A preliminary agreement was signed on December 22. The status quo ante was restored. Russian influences over the Chinese Railway revived. When trouble brew up between China and Japan, the Russians, however, had no extensive influence in China proper. But the Chinese Communist in those areas were slowly strengthening themselves probably to make a final bid to overthrow the existing Chinese regime, when opportunity arrived.

Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 made for better Sino-Soviet relations. Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were resumed. But the trend of Chinese policy unmistakably showed that the days of Soviet Kuomintang collaboration had long since passed. Chiang seemed to be more interested in keeping himself in power than to organise an effective resistance against a probable foreign aggression. And once again he launched his crusade against the Communists. In December 1936 when he visited Sianfut in Shensi, he was kidnapped. He was released later, on the condition, that he would stop his war against Red China, work for an anti-Japanese front and co-operate with the Communists and the northern military leaders against Japan. Soon Japan forced war on China, which dragging on languidly became a part of World War II.

The new aggression resulted in a new Kuomintang Communist Coalition. A people's army was raised. Co-operative industry and agriculture in the interior provinces began. It seemed as if an era of genuine national regeneration of the Chinese masses had been inaugurated. But schism continued beneath the surface. The Kuomintang were the upholders of a crumbling order, the interests of feudal lords and the benighted and corrupt section of business community. The Communists, for all the Marxist fanaticism and totalitarian intolerance, were but

lievers in agrarian reforms, and rural democracy. The two ends of a pole could never meet.

By 1937, the power of Communists had risen by rapid strides. The rise of Communism in China was not so much a product of Soviet aid as of a deadly reaction of the Chinese people to the corrupt Kuomintang rule of brutal terrorism. The consolidation of Communism, in the Chinese soil, raised serious apprehensions in the Western world. The British and American policy in the Far East attempted once more to save the Kuomintang from extinction. It was more or less flogging a dead horse. Kuomintang had long since outlived its utility. Chiang's barbarous, feudal and corrupt military rule could not be improved overnight. In 1942, Stilwell was sent as adviser to the Kuomintang regime. Extra-territoriality privileges were given up by the U.S. and U.K. in 1943. But now the patient had gone out of physician's hands. His chronic malady seemed to have no medicinal cure.

With the Japanese surrender, Civil War in China became imminent. In 1946, by the good offices of General George C. Marshall as mediator, a truce was signed between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

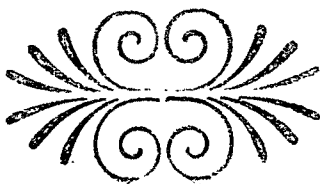
But soon the truce was torn to pieces, and skirmishes began. During all this period of chaos and confusion, the United States had been constantly aiding the Kuomintang. Their attempts to peace were no better than a mock hypocrisy. The Communists resented this Machiavellian strategy of the West in the Far East. "It is impossible," Chou En Lai was constrained to say "that American peace envoys can mediate in China, while the U.S.A. Government and the U.S. Army, navy and air force give full assistance to the Kuomintang to wage war." Things drifted on unhappily, when finally Russia made a bid to end violence and anarchy in China. But at the Moscow Conference, of March 1947, Marshall rejected Molotov's proposal for a three-power discussion of China. Military campaigns went on. American weapons and supplies constantly poured in. The Kuomintang armies captured Shantung. For a while it seemed, as if all was lost for Communism. But there was a sudden reversal. The Communist Armies swept the countryside. The nationalist forces made a desperate struggle. Madame Chiang ran to United States for dollars and arms. But her visit proved to be abortive. The Kuomintang armies have been driven out of Chinese borders to the island of Formosa. Chiang has to meet the fate that he has himself earned, probably of perishing in exile.

After two months of protracted negotiations, the Sino-Soviet Pact has been signed on February 14, 1950. Russia has promised to withdraw her troops from the Port Arthur Naval Base in Manchuria, and to return the

Changchung Railway in Manchuria to the Chinese control. These two conditions will become effective only after a peace treaty has been signed with Japan, perhaps to ensure their security from a probable Japanese aggression. The new agreement confirms China's full sovereignty in Outer Mongolia. Russia will give China long-term credits for buying industrial equipment in the Soviet Union. Another significant provision is that of mutual economic and military aid in the event of an outside aggression.

The Sino-Soviet treaty has created a consternation in the Western camp. Russia is suspected of having made secret agreements with Communist China. China is a vast country with the largest population in the world. The treaty has linked more than one quarter of world's population together. Washington shudders to think of China, supported by Soviet favours and forces, which wavers her European balance out of all proportions. On February 13, the U.S. Chiefs of Staff submitted to President Truman their secret views to check Communist expansion in South-East Asia. The American base on Okinawa is to be further improved. Other military and naval bases are to be maintained while Gen. MacArthur has been invested with extensive authority to assume control of Naval forces in an event of emergency. Admiral Forrest Sherman, Chief of naval operations, told the press that United States fleet strength was adequate to cope with any Russian submarine attack. It is clear that the main emphasis of United States global strategy has shifted from Europe to Asia. Tension between Moscow and Washington has further mounted by the recognition of rival Governments in Indo-China — that of Bai Dai and Ho Chin Minh. Hectic preparations are going on in the Pacific. Russia and the U.S. both believe it to be the probable scene of operations, if hostilities break out. There is a move for the establishment of liaison between the United States and the Commonwealth for co-ordinated economic aid to South-East Asia. A race in atomic armaments is feverishly going on everywhere. Military expenditure in national budgets seem to have beaten all past records. The Communist victory in China, it is said, marks a definite mile-stone in the Soviet plan of a world revolution. Indo-China seems to be the next Communist target, presenting, what Acheson described, 'an irresistible invitation to Communist interference' which he said must be eliminated.

The world since 1945 seems to be living in much the same conditions as in the period immediately after the first World War — called the period of the Armed Peace. But there is one great difference that the world strategy to-day centres on Asia and the Pacific, rather than on Europe and the seas around her.



PEARL BUCK GIVES A WARNING

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

We had the privilege of meeting Mrs. Pearl Buck, the renowned novelist and well-known friend of India, in the office of the East and West Association in New York. Pearl Buck spends most of her time in the countryside doing social and cultural work in the American villages; she attends her office in New York only once a week.

When she knew that we had been to China *en route* to the United States, Pearl Buck turned her thoughts to China and gave her own analysis of the existing situation. "The failure of the Nationalist Government," she observed, "was mainly due to its corruption and inefficiency." "The high officials of the Government, including Chiang Kai-shek, led a luxurious life, cut off from Chinese masses. They did not follow the laws of the State themselves and, thus, set a very bad example of indiscipline even in the ordinary rules of public traffic."

"Chiang Kai-shek's gravest mistake was over-centralization," added Pearl Buck. "The Chinese as a nation hate centralization of economic and political power; they are full of local patriotism and individual interests. The Nationalist Government, in their inordinate anxiety to curb the forces of Communism, trampled on the local interests of the Chinese people and earned their wrath and indignation."

"Do you think Communism would succeed in China under these circumstances?"—was my natural question.

"I am afraid, Communism could be successful on the Chinese soil only if the new Government brought about decentralization of political and economic power. Otherwise there is every possibility of prolonged conflict between the individual and group interests. Communism of the Soviet type is hostile to the national traditions of the Chinese, and unless the new administration adapts itself tactfully to the genius of the people, it may invite unnecessary trouble and difficulties."

"Why did America not help Nationalist Government in China?"—was my next question.

"The United States could not have effectively helped Chiang Kai-shek without precipitating a third world war," replied Pearl Buck. "The U.S.S.R. has been actively working on the side of the Communist forces and it was impossible for America to stem the tide of Communism in an indirect fashion. Open assistance would have surely meant armed conflict between the two major power blocks."

And, then after a few moments of serious silence, she added:

"I must also frankly admit that the American people knew that Chiang Kai-shek had lost vital touch with his own people, and it was impossible to give him any substantial help without the co-operation of the Chinese masses. When Madam Chiang Kai-shek came to America for soliciting our financial assistance, I told her plainly that she must try to live in America in the simplest style

if she really wanted to succeed. But, despite all warnings, she lived in the most luxurious hotel in a lavish style. The American people, therefore, hate her and are very reluctant to support a lost cause."

Pearl Buck's thoughts, then, turned to India whom she loves and admires. Because she is a true friend of Gandhi's country, she could not help sounding a note of warning to the new Government of India.

"May I say a word about your own country?"—remarked the distinguished lady. "I sincerely feel that your Congress Government should learn a timely lesson from the tragic failure of Chiang Kai-shek in China. Your leaders must live a very simple and honest life and should maintain living contact with the masses. People should feel all the time that something good is being done to them by their leaders and the Government."

She paused for a while and then continued:

"And good to the people must be done quickly; delay would be highly dangerous. Indian leaders cannot afford to forget that time is of the essence."

"Don't you think that a policy of decentralization in India should be followed by our Government?"—enquired I.

"I have not the slightest doubt about this," observed Pearl Buck emphatically. "India cannot afford to blind herself to the lessons of China. If she also commits the grave mistake of over-centralizing economic and political power, she will have to repent at leisure. India has been a land of decentralised economy and democracy since times immemorial, and these healthy traditions should not be disturbed in the interests of national welfare."

Our conversation had so far been focussed on the East. I, therefore, wanted to change the topic of our talks and ask a few questions about the situation in America. But, before, doing so, I wanted to know whether Pearl Buck had any plans of visiting India in the near future.

"Won't you like to come to India and, as a sincere friend, give a timely warning before it may be too late?" I quietly asked.

She smiled and answered: "At present, your Government is engrossed with the stupendous problems arising out of partition. I hope to visit India after a year or two when she settles down to do real work of nation-building."

"What is your message to our country at present?" enquired Mrs. Agarwal.

"It is not for me to give messages and tender advice to your great and competent leaders. But I would, if I may, certainly give a friendly warning, and it is this: let simplicity of life be the watchword of the new Government both at home and abroad."

We thanked Pearl Buck cordially for her sound advice and timely warning. Our talks, then, turned on the

problems of America in relation to the impending world war.

"What do you think about the possibility of a global conflict in the near future?"—I asked.

"It is very difficult to answer such questions, indeed. But all that we can do to avert the next war is to educate the masses in our own countries. For example, the country-folk in America know very little about Soviet Russia or Communism; they are, perhaps, the most ignorant people on earth. They get all their half-knowledge from the American papers which are full of sensational propaganda against the Soviet Union. I am, therefore, doing my bit in educating our village-folk in the right sense of the word."

"Don't you think that Fascism is fast growing in the United States in the name of suppressing the so-called 'Un-American' activities," I hesitatingly enquired.

"Of course, yes," replied Pearl Buck in an emphatic tone. "You should know that America is being armed rapidly for 'ensuring peace.' 81 per cent of our National Budget is spent on war preparations, and only 19 per cent on social welfare activities like health and education. For every dollar spent for Peace at the U.N.O., 1000 dollars are being used for armaments. There is a cons-

tant clamour for compulsory military training in the educational institutions. The military leaders are tactfully fostering all this vicious propaganda by spreading fear among the people. And the pity of it all is that even the most powerful Women's Organizations in America have fallen into the trap of military authorities by recently voting for conscription. When this measure is passed into Law, the control of military leaders would be complete."

"What about Russia?"—I asked.

"I do not think the Russian people want war, although their military leaders also are preparing them for another global conflict. The Americans fear that Russia would precipitate war; the Russians fear that America may force war on them. So this fear-complex is going from bad to worse, day by day. Our work, therefore, should lie with the masses who must be helped to get rid of this fear-hysteria."

We had spent more than one hour with Pearl Buck, and so we thanked her for sparing so much time for our conversations. It was, indeed, a matter of deep satisfaction to have met this great lady about whom we had heard so much all these years.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE

By N. M. CHAUDHURI, M.A.

THREE world figures arise before the mind as one thinks of men who have tried to bring peace to the troubled world. They have worked to realise their ideals each in his own way. The backgrounds of their initiative were different in each case. The conditions under which they worked were also different. But in one point they agreed. In a world unbalanced by passions, confused by superstitions inherited and acquired, blinded by ignorance, they began their experiment with the individual first.

To lift the world out of the rut the three world-teachers, Gautam Buddha, Christ and Gandhi started with the reclamation of the individual. They laid the greatest stress on the reconditioning of the battered and worried human element as the first step. The methods followed were essentially the same though their language was different. They all aimed at purifying the springs of human conduct for improving the tone of wider intercourse between social, political and racial groups.

But we are not concerned here with a comparative study of the technique followed and results achieved by the world teachers. We would confine ourselves to an investigation of the historical aspect of the principle of *ahimsa* preached by Mahatma Gandhi and the code of conduct based on the same.

An investigation into the history of the principle of non-violence or *ahimsa* for the beginning of which one

must go back to the earliest Indian literature, reveals that *ahimsa* is one of the few fundamental and permanent traits of Indian culture. This statement requires elucidation. When it is said that *ahimsa* is a fundamental and permanent trait of Indian culture it does not merely mean that in India there has always been a set of men averse to violence. There have always been in all civilised countries men temperamentally averse to violence. In India there has been from the earliest times a school of thought opposed to use of brute force. In sectarian religious texts *ahimsa* has a restricted sense meaning non-performance of animal sacrifice. Prescription for and prohibition of animal sacrifice is popularly held to be the basis of the Sakta and the Vaisnava sects. While partiality for and aversion to animal sacrifice is an indication of the temper and taste of cults and devotees *ahimsa* both in ancient and recent history means very much more than prohibition of animal sacrifice. Faith in the superiority of moral or spiritual force to physical force has been proclaimed again and again in Indian literature. A classical instance is the celebrated story of contest between King Viswamitra and sage Vasistha, both Vedic figures. In the broader sense *ahimsa* means faith in moral force, in a sober, self-possessed approach to the problems of personal and social life. Mahatma Gandhi was the exponent of the highest form of *ahimsa*. He laid down

that violence must be eschewed in thought, speech and deed. The positive aspect of this principle rises to sublime heights. He urged people to win over the enemy by love.

Long before Mahatma Gandhi Prince Siddhartha preached *ahimsa* to all forms of life and love for all. He renounced the world with the object of alleviating the distress of and bringing peace to the suffering humanity. He obtained enlightenment as to the means of achieving his object and came to be known as the Buddha or the Enlightened. What he preached was not a new religion but an old code of conduct which had been forgotten. Buddhism which repudiated the then orthodox school's emphasis on ritualistic religion and caste has been called a revolt against the Vedic religion. This view, widely extant among scholars, is not correct. We are not concerned with the metaphysical side of Buddhism. In so far as emphasis on *ahimsa* or non-violence is concerned it is definitely not anti-Vedic.

Before Gautama Buddha began to preach a contemporary, but an elder man, had headed a revolt against the over-emphasis on Vedic ritualism and Brahmanism. His name was Mahavira and he was the founder of Jainism. The essence of his doctrine was also non-violence.

While Jainism and Buddhism with their emphasis on *ahimsa* cut off from the orthodox Brahmanical society there was an attempt in the orthodox camp to reform some of its old ways. This we come to know from the Mahabharata. The Epic relates the story of a prince whose name was Vasu Uparichara. He sought the advice of some holy sages as to how he could perform Vedic sacrifices without destroying animal life. He was for *ahimsa yajna* or non-violent sacrifice. Some have argued that the prince came under the influence of the teachings of Buddhism which was becoming popular when his story was written. This is not correct. King Vasu Uparichara's story shows the beginnings of the rise of *ahimsa* worship of a Vedic god, Narayana, which later developed into full-fledged Vaishnavism, the great cult of *ahimsa* and love. The cult makes a compromise between old orthodoxy and new liberalism. Subsequently, it became a revolutionary religion with a democratising spirit, overriding caste distinctions like Buddhism. It remained within the orthodox fold unlike Buddhism. With its emphasis on *ahimsa*, devotion and equality the cult appealed to the masses and historically it fulfilled a mission by stemming the tide of Islam which was making swift strides among lower classes of Hindus. In the middle ages, there arose numerous saintly preachers practising and propagating the noble principles of *ahimsa* or universal love and brotherhood. The tallest among them was the great saint Sri Chaitanya whose name is a byword in Bengal.

Going back to the earliest Indian literature we find that the idea of *ahimsa* which Buddhism spread in the world was deeply embedded in the Vedic tradition. It is necessary to dispel from the mind the idea fostered by some scholars that the Vedas or the Rigveda, the earliest of the four Vedas, depict the life of a nomadic Aryan

people who were still in a semi-barbarous state. This is far from the truth. The people who composed the hymns of the great Rigveda were not a semi-civilised rough lot, delighting in the meat of roasted bulls, drink of fermented Soma juice and incessant fighting; there were among them philosophers who looked upon the world as the living image of God, sceptics who doubted the existence of the gods and mocked their priests and men with penetrating vision who believed in the cult of *ahimsa* as the cementing force which binds together all.

The conception of *ahimsa* is associated with three Vedic deities, Mitra, Varuna and Aditi, but its closest association is with the great goddess Aditi. Aditi gives wealth free from hatred. She releases men from the *jala* (net) of men filled with hatred (*himsa*). She is without enemy. She presides over *Vrata* (religious rites) free from *himsa* (Rigveda VII.66.6).

* The statement in the Rigveda that Aditi presides over *vrata* free from *himsa* is of great significance. To understand the full import of the statement one must know that the goddess who is stated to preside over *vrata* free from *himsa* is called the mother of all the mighty Vedic gods, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, the Adityas etc. She is several times addressed as the Mother of the Gods. Her position is thus at the top of the Vedic pantheon. One must also know that libations of Soma juice and sacrifice of animals were very important parts of the Vedic religion which was principally ritualistic. Next, one must know the significance and importance of the word *Vrata*. The word means rites but is often used in the text in the sense of "way of life." The Vedic hymnist glorifies the Arya *Vrata* or the Aryan way of life and refers with disapprobation to the followers of *anya vrata* or a different way of life. The latter are also called *a-vrata* or without any established way of life. To what height the deity presiding over the *ahimsa* or non-violent mode of thought and life is raised by the Vedic hymnist may be seen from one of the hymns addressed to her: "Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the mother, the father, the son; Aditi is all the gods, Aditi is the five tribes, Aditi is all that has been and all that will be born" (Rigveda I.89.10). Aditi who embodies the principle of non-violence is identified with the prime cause of all things; she is immanent in all things and she is the personification of life force.

Here in the earliest literary document of the Aryan people we find the great idea of non-violence developed to a remarkable extent. Through ages it has maintained its vitality among the Indian people and there have been times when it has come to the fore at the hands of its great missionaries who devoted their lives to restoring peace in the world torn by passions and jealousies, by educating men to value, the only correct and civilised approach for adjustment of their relations with individuals and groups. The world saw the last of such missionaries of India's age-old message of *ahimsa* in the person of Mahatma Gandhi.

HARMONY IN EDUCATION

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In this article I propose to deal with an educational principle which, although it is fundamental and obvious, is nevertheless a difficult principle to apply. It is the principle of harmony, of proportion, of balance—the principle of nothing in excess and of nothing deficient. *Odham's Dictionary of the English Language* defines harmony as a “just proportion of the parts or qualities of a thing so as to produce an æsthetic whole.” Long, long ago, Plato declared that the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm.” The great complexity of man's being requires that the various elements shall be harmonised. But if harmony is an ideal of life, it must be equally an ideal of education; and to achieve this harmony in education it is necessary that there should be a just proportion in the various facets and factors of education. There should be no conflicts in the aims and objectives of education. The means utilised for promoting education and the methods employed for the purpose should be characterised by an absence of discordant elements; and among the several agencies responsible for education there should exist a state of perfect agreement and concordance.

Let us begin by considering the aims of education and see if it is possible to bring about some harmony among a variety of educational objectives. Educational philosophers have expatiated at length on the question of the individual *versus* the social aim of education, and the emphasis has shifted, according to the prevalent needs of the times, from the idea of the development of the individual for his own success in life to the idea of training individuals to contribute to the general social welfare, and *vice versa*. Most educators today consider the ultimate aim of education as socialistic rather than individualistic. Few believe that the purpose of the school or the college is to prepare the individual merely for the attainment of his own security, welfare, happiness or power. Narrow individualistic aims in terms of “bread and butter,” “knowledge,” “culture,” or even “character” are being cognised everywhere as inadequate. Educational leaders are emphasising as never before that the formation of habits and skills, the inculcation of ideals, attitudes and appreciations, the acquisition and utilisation of knowledge, are not ends in themselves, but only means to the greater end of preparing individuals to fit into the general social organisation and to serve the general social welfare.

It is evident that such an emphasis has originated the increased inter-dependency in human relation-

ships today. There is, however, a danger that if this idea is over-emphasised, the individual may soon come to be regarded as a mere cog in the social machine. This view, therefore, needs to be harmonised with the doctrine that affirms the infinite value of the individual person, that requires that educational efforts should be directed towards “securing for every one the conditions under which individuality is most completely developed,” and that asserts that education can do nothing better than “to strengthen men's sense of the worth of individuality—their own and others'—teaching them to esteem the individual life, not, indeed, as a private possession, but as the only means by which real value can enter the world.” The late Sir Percy Nunn, whom I have just quoted, has dealt with this problem in a masterly way in his *magnum opus*, *Education: Its Data and First Principles*. His thesis is a supreme effort to harmonise the individual and the social aims of education. Without repudiating the existence of social elements in man's nature which, he says, “are woven inextricably into the texture of his being,” he pleads for “a doctrine which, while admitting their full significance, yet reasserts the importance of the individual and safeguards his indefeasible rights.” Like him, therefore, we need to take our stand on the position that “nothing good enters into the human world except in and through the free activities of individual men and women, and that educational practice must be shaped to accord with that truth.” We need to maintain that the individual must first attain to personal virtue and efficiency before he can contribute to the welfare of society.

Another major conflict in the realm of educational objectives is the conflict between materialistic and spiritual aims in education. This conflict arises from a reluctance to admit the somatopsychic nature of man—his dual nature as a body-mind organism. The materialist regards him merely as the most highly developed animal that the evolutionary process has as yet brought forth; and he, therefore, regards education as a process of breeding a good animal. According to Herbert Spencer:

“The first requisite to success in life is ‘to be a good animal’; and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition to national prosperity.”

Not all materialistic educators profess such an extreme philosophy; nevertheless they are all concerned with values that are definitely of this life, such as bodily values, association values and economic

values. Religious and spiritual values find no place in their philosophy. The pragmatic materialist, for example, believes that the educational process has no end beyond itself and that it is its own end. John Dewey, the apostle of pragmatism, regards education as growth. According to him, there can be no fixed goals for education. "Education," he says, "is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself."

But a harmonious philosophy of education would require us to pay attention to the spiritual element in man along with the material or bodily element, to regard man as a unitary organism composed of mind and matter, soul and body, spiritual substance and material substance, and to devise a system of education that would develop the whole man, the complete somatopsychic organism. Such a philosophy of education would stress the perfection of man's personality as a human being for a satisfying life here below as well as the supernaturalisation of this life for a life with God hereafter. Spiritual and religious values would find their proper place in such a philosophy. The secular education given in our public schools today needs to be supplemented in some way by a religious and spiritual education; but this will become possible only when our educational philosophers become convinced of the primacy of the spiritual goals in education.

Another example of a conflict in educational ideals that a harmonious education should also seek to resolve is the conflict between nationalism and internationalism. A national system of education will naturally aim at training pupils for patriotic citizenship. It will use every means at its disposal to extol the greatness and glory of the nation, and it will do all in its power to prepare citizens for protecting the state from external attacks and internal disintegration. These are all laudable aims; but there is always the danger in the nationalistic conception of education of overemphasising one's national citizenship at the expense of one's world citizenship, of overlooking the fact that one is first a member of the human family and then an Indian or a Pakistani, of developing a disdain if not a hatred for other nations. The real task of education is to internationalise nationalism; that is, to place at the service of all humanity the noble passions and aspirations that make nationalism so admirable and formidable. So far this has not been possible, but the task is surely not hopeless. Jesus Christ taught the concept of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. And only a world-wide acceptance of this basic principle of Christianity can make men over into beings capable, day in and day out, of embracing in their hearts and minds all other mortals as so many brothers and sisters. The schools of each nation must develop in its people an understanding of and a sympathy with the people of other nations. Scientific discovery, rapidity of communication, complexity of human wants, and increase of

knowledge—all these have made an integrated world essential if the present level of civilisation is to be maintained or improved. Perhaps the most important task of the schools is to teach people to live together at peace. If we learn to be friendly, neighbourly, and brotherly in the small-group relationships of the school and the home, then we shall be more inclined to be friendly, neighbourly, and brotherly in our large-group relationships of community, province, and nation, and eventually in our relationships with the other nations of the world. If every teacher in every classroom in the world could somehow teach the pupils the gospel of brotherly love, then perhaps the day would come when the whole world would remain at peace.

We have considered some ways in which harmony in education can be secured through a harmonising of conflicting educational goals. Let us now briefly consider the importance of achieving a harmony in the means of education. There is, first of all, the antithesis between book knowledge on the one hand and experiences and activities on the other. Modern education emphasises the need for first hand experiences and for self-activity in learning. Such an emphasis is a reaction to the traditional form of book-learning, a great deal of which had degenerated into cramming. It is also a reaction to the lecture system of teaching. As an American University president once aptly put it: "A student learns through his own activities, not by being sprayed with ideas." This stricture on the lecture system is justified particularly when the method is used with school children. All this is not to be understood to mean that books and oral teaching have no place in progressive education. It is true that we learn to live by living. But books and lectures have a definite part in this process if they are used *as living*, as reliving or as reconstructing the experiences of others, as throwing oneself dynamically into the particular situations and living them through under the leadership of the words or other symbols used. What is required in education, therefore, is a harmonious balance between vicarious and abstract experience on the one hand and personal and concrete experience on the other. In addition to the content subjects like history, geography, and science which merely supply the pupils with vicarious experience and the tool subjects like language and mathematics which provide experience with the basic tools, there must be an adequate provision for the special subjects like art, music and physical activities which give sense experience to the pupils and for group activities like assemblies, projects, clubs, forensics, dramatics, and games which provide pupils with personal experience of group life and help them to learn to adjust themselves to social living.

Other antitheses that need to be resolved in the realm of educational means are the antitheses between curricular and extra-curricular activities, between

vocational training and liberal learning, between the natural sciences and the social sciences, between moral instruction and religious education. To take the first, there needn't be any antithesis between curricular and the so-called extra-curricular activities if the latter are regarded as *co-curricular* and not as *extra-curricular*, as running along with the curriculum and not outside it, as having real value, specially in rounding out the education of the pupil. Co-curricular activities, when properly conceived and directed, are of the utmost value in providing experiences through which training may be obtained for the various phases of life. These activities are effective instruments for the achievement of the social objectives of education. In them may be recognised values not ordinarily found in the routine of the classroom. Social training, vocational training, civic training, training in leadership, moral training, training for leisure—all are provided through participation in the modern co-curricular programme. A proper balance, however, needs to be struck between curricular and co-curricular activities, and care needs to be taken that co-curricular activities, if they are to provide opportunities for training in social planning and social living, are largely pupil-initiated, pupil-planned, pupil-organised, pupil-conducted, and pupil-evaluated.

Vocational training, too, need not be antagonistic to or separated from liberal learning. Therefore, in providing a system of vocational education adequate to our country's needs, we should not assume that the youths who avail themselves of such education are to be shut for ever from leisure and its enjoyment; on the contrary, we should endeavour to show them how leisure is gained and worthily enjoyed and to set them on the way to gain and to enjoy it. We should endeavour to sow in them the seed of ambition to participate in and to enjoy the intellectual life by insisting that there is a higher aim than vocational skill or success, for which those are to prepare the way. Since it would be highly detrimental to national interest to furnish strictly vocational training for any class or group of citizens by excluding them from the cultural benefits of civilisation, thus making them not only subsidiaries in industry but also a depressed, exploited and inferior caste in society, the necessary steps should be taken and the necessary opportunities should be provided to enable this class of citizens to share in the intellectual resources on a basis of equality with other classes; for democracy, as Dr. Ross L. Finney wisely observes, "cannot exist at all except on a basis of a cultural democracy." Vocational training, therefore, must go hand in hand with a liberal education. In fact, true vocational education must have the effect of educating the individual, of liberalising him by giving him a catholicity of outlook with broad interests and large sympathies and of rendering him an intelligent and useful citizen of the country.

In the same way, there need be no antithesis

between the natural sciences and the social sciences as means of education, since both are essential items in the curriculum and need to be given their due place. The natural sciences are important because they acquaint the pupils with the contribution of science to the changes in man's natural environment, in his social environment and in his intellectual life. Man's greatest problem is the control, for the welfare of all, of natural forces and those which he himself has put into operation. These man-made forces created as a result of scientific development have only partially contributed to the common good. It therefore becomes a primary concern of the school not to be satisfied merely with a type of descriptive knowledge about the result of scientific development but to regard science as a way of thinking and a force which may or may not contribute to social good, depending upon control. The social studies are important for preparing pupils to meet the social challenge of today. "Change" is the key-note of today. Such rapid and far-reaching changes have occurred that we have only too little understanding of their significance. Stresses and strains of the most urgent nature are causing countless pressures in our social relations. The evidence is only too clear in the areas of government, communal relations, capital and labour relations, economic control, and exploitation. In this seething cauldron, appear certain probable trends which seem fairly well defined; and education must be conscious of them if the school programme is not to be completely divorced from the society of which it is a part. There is no excuse, therefore, for any conflict in the claims of these two sets of studies for inclusion in the school curriculum. Man's environment is both physical and social, and education must fit him to adjust himself to the physical world as well as to society—nay, more than this, to participate creatively in the environment in which he finds himself.

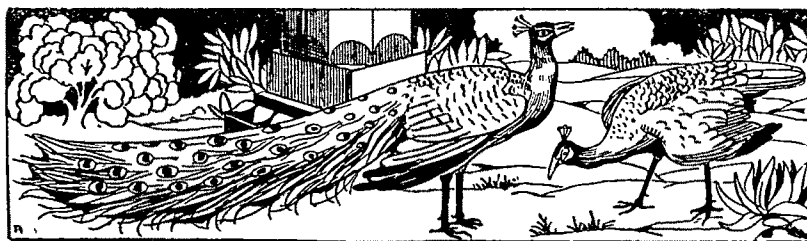
Another problem that needs to be courageously tackled and to be prudently solved is the place of religious education. Religion has been defined by L. de Grandmaison as "the sum-total of beliefs, sentiments, and practices, individual and social, which have for their object a power which man recognises as supreme, on which he depends, and with which he can enter (or has entered) into relation." This supreme power is God, and man has need of God to give meaning to his life; and it is religion which binds man to his Creator and God. Besides, religion also has a social value, functioning as the most powerful control of human conduct in group life. Some educationists are satisfied with substituting moral instruction or character training for religious training; but they forget that religion is the only adequate basis of morality, and that to attempt to teach morality without religion cannot but be fraught with failure. Even in a country with many religions it is but a naive assumption to claim that leaving religion out of

the school programme is being neutral. By completely ignoring it, what we are doing is taking sides with the anti-religious forces. To leave religion, therefore, entirely to the home and the church is not a satisfactory solution. Some way has to be found of bringing it to the school—nay, of letting it permeate the entire atmosphere of the school.

The principle of harmony must also be applied to the methods of education. In the field of educational methodology we come across such opposites as individualised and socialised plans, competition and co-operation, authority and freedom, formal discipline and motivation. The wise educator will not depend exclusively upon one or the other of these conflicting methods. Rather, he will attempt to achieve a harmonious combination of both. He will try, for example, to combine the effects of individual work and of group work in some satisfying manner as in the Winnetka Plan which provides for individual instruction in the tool subjects during one half of the school day, and makes provision for group and creative activities during the other half. Then, since competition and co-operation both characterise the social world, he will encourage the competitive and co-operative spirits in their due measures, at the appropriate times, and in the right manner. Through the proper exercise of authority coupled with opportunities for the right use of freedom by the pupils, he will develop in them the qualities of self-direction, self-control and creative originality. The form of discipline employed by him will be based not on coercion or conformity but on self-control and social intelligence. In place of the old method of formal discipline in which the pupil engages in uninteresting and difficult exercises only for the sake of their training value, he will use the method of motivation in which the pupils' interests are developed and utilised even for tasks that are difficult and tedious. And finally, he will endeavour to establish the most harmonious and wholesome relations with his pupils, being convinced that pupil-teacher relationships constitute a vital factor in education. These, then, are some instances of the application of the principle of harmony to educational methods.

But a sound system of education also requires that there should be harmony among the various

agencies of education. It requires that there should be co-operation between the home and the school; it requires that the state should not usurp the privileges and the functions of the home or the church; and it requires that the pupil's social environment outside the school should not undo what the school is attempting to do. That there is need for more and better home-school co-operation in this country no one will deny. The problem is how such co-operation is to be achieved. To me it seems that what is required is a nation-wide campaign of parent education—an education that will make parents alive to their responsibilities and duties as educators. The formation of active parent-teacher associations will be helpful in this direction, but I am afraid they will not prove equal to the mighty task of arousing parents to take a real interest in the education of their children. We shall need the full and wholehearted co-operation of the press, the radio, the platform and even the pulpit. We shall need very much the help of government in this undertaking. Our national governments must begin to realise quickly that their function is not only to establish law and order but also to educate; and parent-education should figure prominently in their schemes of educational development. However, our governments also need to be mindful of their proper functions and powers lest they should usurp, perhaps unconsciously, the functions of the family, the church or other social institutions. In recent times we have had instances of not only the government but also of government officials in their individual capacities usurping powers that do not belong to them. This state of affairs must cease if this nation really aspires to greatness and if we are not to become the laughing stock of the whole world. If a child's education is to be effective it is also necessary that his out-of-school environment should be in harmony with the school environment, that what he learns at school is not unlearned outside the school, that the principles and ideals that he has been taught at school to cherish and to esteem are not despised or rejected by the community of which he forms a part. In short, there must be perfect agreement and harmony between the school and the community in every matter connected with the education of children.



IS NOT GANDHIJI 'THE FATHER OF THE NATION'?

By G. V. NARAYAN MURTI

DR. N. B. KHARE, a former Congress Premier of the C. P. and Berar, now the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has, in his presidential address, made among other things, a pronouncement weighty in character, singular in its import and worthy of deep consideration by all well-meaning and serious-minded Hindus. The pronouncement is as follows :

"I must pay my tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, who unfortunately fell a victim to a political assassin's bullet. The root cause of this political murder was the suicidal policy of the Government.

"The Mahatma was a great champion of the down-trodden and awakened the masses. His memory will be always cherished for this. But, I cannot worship him as Father of the Nation, for, disruption, disintegration and destruction are no attributes of fatherhood."

Before attempting at an examination of the significance of the above, it would not be inappropriate to recall to memory the antecedents of Dr. Khare. Shri Khare was an eminent Congressman and his qualities of leadership and sacrifices in the cause of the country's freedom struggle under the banner of the Congress had naturally made him grace the coveted place of the Premier of a major Province, viz., the Central Provinces and Berar when first the Congress accepted office after securing a majority at the Polls as per the Government of India Act of 1935. As fortune frowned on him, he was the subject of disciplinary action served by the High Command of the Congress, but took it calmly and remarked: "I shall sing melodies and cure maladies." After this, for over a decade, he was practically in oblivion and has now shot out into the political firmament as the leading star of the Hindu Mahasabha. His melodies are heard as the headline of the Hindu Mahasabha—"Cultural State Ideal; More or Less Socialist Programme."

It is not the purpose here to examine the implications of the Cultural State Idea or that of the "More or Less Socialist Programme" as different from the well-known 'Socialist Programme.' It is profitable if one were to bear in mind the past record of Shri Khare as a Congressite and the departure he has made from being a "Congress Hindu" to being the chief of the "Mahasabha Hindus." Tragedy of public life as a Congressman and the bitterness born of gag placed on him must have forced him to nourish keen differences of ideology with the Congress. Is it not fanciful to think where Dr. Khare's position would have been had not that tragedy befallen his way? Would he even in the normal course of events have made a

change of camps, from Congress to Mahasabha? Loyalty to one's faith is needed to a greater degree when one is let down by his compatriots. The case of the late Shri K. F. Nariman, once the uncrowned king of Bombay, is an example in substantiation of this truth. How unswerving was he in his loyalty to Congress! How silently did he take the sentence of disciplinary action imposed on him. Never did he raise a word of murmur against the organisation to which he owed his past glory. But how different is Shri Khare to think about! He has simply raised his hatchet to demolish the Congress itself, without either compunction or pang at heart.

Now to the point of this article. Dr. Khare, though he has questioned in his personal capacity Gandhi's Fatherhood of the Nation, which has been so lovingly conferred on him by the nation at large, its implications do not stop short, coming as it does from the position he holds as the head of the Mahasabha. It is likely to be taken as the gospel truth by a majority of the Mahasabha Hindus, and others too. One has, therefore, to think dispassionately over the proposition before tacitly accepting Dr. Khare's remarks.

Whether Shri Khare concedes it or not, the millions of the nation without distinction of caste, creed or sex and even outside, have all harangued from house-tops that Gandhi is the "Father of the Nation." In China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was hailed as such, while in America, George Washington was hailed with that honour. Both of them toiled and moiled for forging the nation into unity and bringing it the dawn of freedom from age-long slavery. Has not Gandhi done it? He carried on the relentless struggle of "Do or Die" against the 'Mightiest Empire under the sun' and compelled that Power to surrender and quit India. Is not this enough to befit him the name: "The Father of the Nation?"

Dr. Khare argues 'disruption, disintegration and destruction are not the attributes of Fatherhood.' Is it not curious that so clear-headed a thinker as Shri Khare should be driven to this estimate of Gandhi's life, character and work! While the whole world looked up to Gandhi's leadership as an 'Apostle of Peace on earth' and looks up to his ideology and programme of activity as the one way to human happiness and global peace, is it not a wonder that one who was once a staunch disciple of Gandhi should ascribe to him all negative qualities summed up in three D's, viz., disruption, disintegration and destruction! Well, that has been his point of view. He has liberty to feel and express it. But every Indian,

be he Hindu or otherwise, has to be discriminative in sharing the view expressed by Shri Khare.

How far then do the charges levelled against Gandhiji by Shri Khare hold water? The wide world knows that what Gandhiji stood for is contrary to all the three D's. His was a way of integration and creation. If Shri Khare means by what he has said that India has been divided into two separate self-governing units, it certainly was not the personal wish of Gandhiji. If anyone was opposed to the idea of partition, he was never an equal to Gandhiji. Then, why did he support the partition scheme? That was because he was a born democrat and in tune with the spirit of a perfect democrat he commended the Partition Scheme to the A.-I. C. C. for its unqualified acceptance. The following statement of Gandhiji made before Shri Narayan Agarwal is an eloquent proof in support of the view. Prof. Agarwal questioned Gandhiji:

"Bapuji, I know very well that you were deadily opposed to the partition of the country. Still you advised the A.-I. C. C. to accept the decision of the Working Committee. This act of yours has been misunderstood by some of your close associates. If you had advised the A.-I. C. C. otherwise, the whole history of India would have been different. That is what many people sincerely feel."

This was Bapu's reply:

"I am sorry my attitude towards the Congress has been misunderstood. For the clarification of all, let me state my views to you very clearly.

"I have always regarded the Congress Working Committee as the National Cabinet. The cabinet of every free and responsible country has and should have the necessary authority to negotiate treaties with foreign powers. Otherwise, if the Cabinet is required to consult the Parliament on every issue at the time of important negotiations, all political work would be impossible. Under the present circumstances, the Working Committee has already accepted the partition of India. There are three parties to this treaty; the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. The Working Committee could not have consulted the A.-I. C. C. which corresponds to the Parliament, while delicate negotiations with the British Government and the Muslim League were in progress and the situation was so fluid from day to day. The Parliament or the A.-I. C. C. has, therefore, no option but to ratify the decision of its Cabinet or its Working Committee. It may pass a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee and ask the members to resign forthwith. But as a responsible nation, India cannot but ratify the

decision of its Cabinet. This is the constitutional position in very plain terms. If India does not observe this international procedure, the world would laugh at her. That is why I had, though most reluctantly and with the greatest regret, advised the A.-I. C. C. to ratify the decision of the Working Committee regarding the vivisection of India. I could not have torn the Congress to pieces and made India the laughing stock of the world."—"My Last Interview with Gandhiji" by Prof. S. N. Agarwal, *The Modern Review* for April, 1949.

It is plain, therefore, from the foregoing—the circumstances under which the partition of India took place and what Gandhiji's personal views were with respect to it. Its mad orgy of communal frenzy was a resultant of partition, how is Gandhiji held responsible for it? It is the entire nation that should share it. If Hindus and Muslims engaged themselves in fratricidal war, it was inevitable. Does not the whole world know the part played by Gandhiji in those critical and sorrowful times as the beacon light of peace; the small still voice of humanity, bringing solace and joy to the afflicted heart—Hindus and Muslims alike. Every one of us, however tallest among us, were not free from a tinge of communal fire and that consumed 'The apostle of Peace and Light' to leave the world poorer in his death.

Such a tragedy is unheard of in human annals and every Hindu has to bend his head and share the sorrow that has been the entire nation's. Let every Hindu search his heart and see what answer it gives him. Would all the Hindus of India share the views of Dr. Khare? Evidently not. Here is a tribute paid to Gandhiji by Prof. P. R. Damle, a Maharashtra Hindu like Shri Khare himself. He is neither a 'Congress Hindu' nor 'Mahasabha Hindu'. He is a Hindu pure and simple with a proper sense of values, without the tinge of party politics.

"Let us consider Gandhiji's career in two aspects, first as a patriot or a national leader and then as a man of God. These two aspects are of course, intimately interwoven in Gandhiji's person.I wish in the first instance, to advance for consideration my thesis in the following words.—Gandhiji was undoubtedly our political leader and the designation 'Father of the Nation', which has been spontaneously used about him is truer about him than any one else."—"Mahatma Gandhi—An Estimate" by Prof. P. R. Damle, *The Modern Review* for April, 1949.

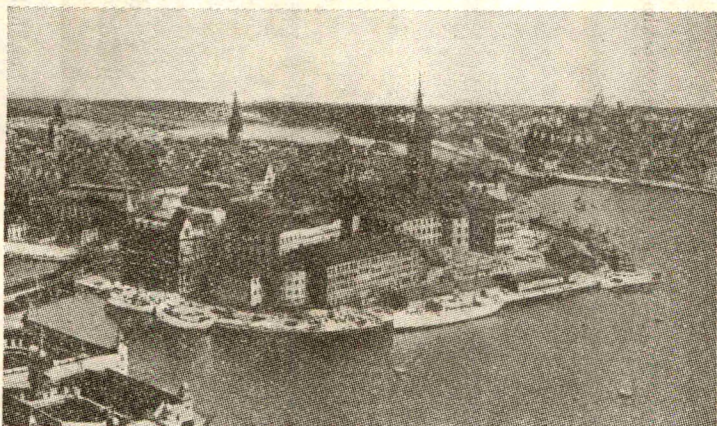
Will not the heart of every Hindu beat in echo with this modest estimate? That which does not must be inhuman.



STOCKHOLM—SWEDEN

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden's capital, is undoubtedly one of the first cities of the world, a city floating on water, of boats, bridges and buildings. The old town with narrow winding streets and gabled houses gives a medieval impression in strong contrast with the newer parts with architecture of a modern metropolis.



1. Stockholm from the North

The city was created out of an archipelago and extends over a large number of islands and along the banks of rushing streams, as provided by nature. It is unique in character and though called the Venice of the North, it has distinctive features of its own in spite of seeming resemblances. Venice was formed of innumerable islands and shallow lands in the lagoon of the Adriatic, by the refugees from the main land, when barbaric hordes swept over Italy from the North, many centuries ago. Unhealthy marshes were drained, canals formed, houses as well as fortifications for defence built, with rivetments and retaining walls. Transport necessitated bridges and roads to supplement the canals. Both cities are of illimitable and singular beauty, unique in the world and their fascinations irresistible.

Stockholm comprises mainly, between the Northern and Southern islands, a smaller central island containing the old town, the Parliament, and behind it, the Royal Palace at the northern side and three prominent churches. Figure 1 shows the central island from the north (showing the southern part beyond) and figure 2, from the south (showing the northern side

beyond). The central island with others lies between waterways from the Baltic Sea on the East to Lake Malar on the West, exquisitely extending inland to a considerable length branching like a tree. Figures 5 and 6 show two of the many wonderful bridges, connecting the centre to the north and to the south. The latter

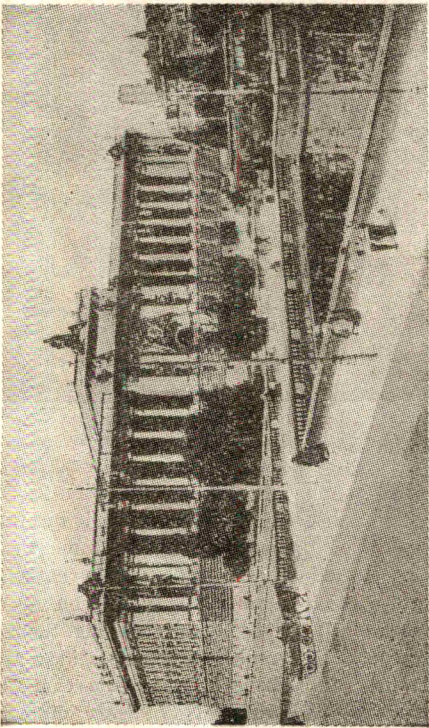
is also a viaduct or round-about, formed like a spiral, preventing cross-traffic on the same level—as such, it is unique.

On the south-east side of the southern island, lies Saltsjobaden, on the Baltic, the fashionable sea-side resort, spa and garden of Stockholm. On the northern island on the left, lies the imposing Town Hall on a junction of the waterways. This is said to be the most beautiful and remarkable building, erected in Europe in this century. To its east, on the other side of the waterway, stands the Academy of Arts, behind the second bridge, the Opera House and the National Museum, further east.

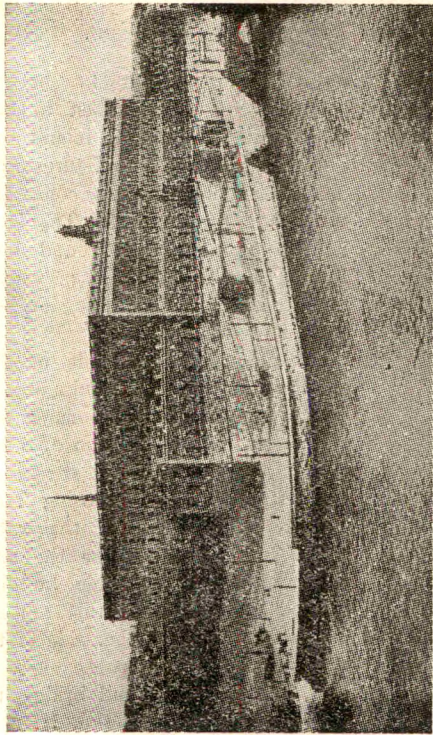


2. Stockholm from the South

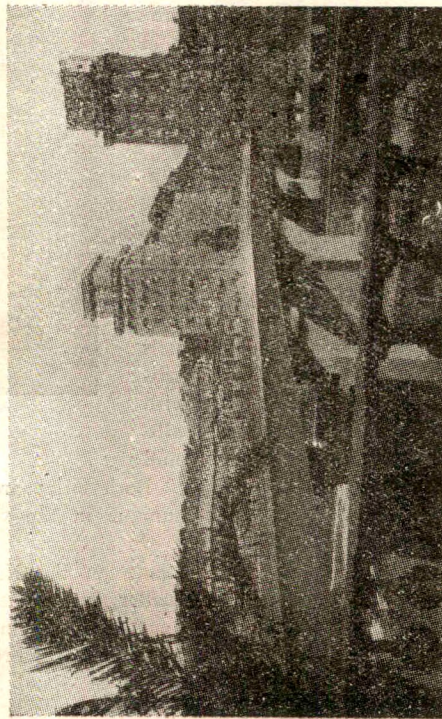
The Swedish people are undisputed leaders in arts and crafts—in textiles, glass, ceramics and furniture. A special feature of the country is its Home Crafts activity, really started in the sixties or seventies of the last century with a rational collection of old Swedish peasant craft products and copying them in schools and courses, the results of attempts at revival being prominently displayed in Museums and Exhibitions, which have a show-side and a very important sale-side. Craft work has become a by-occupation not



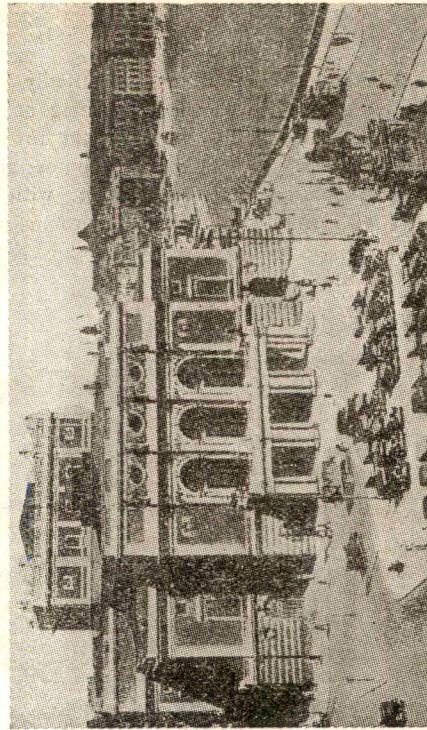
3. Parliament, Stockholm



4. Royal Palace, Stockholm



5. St. Eric's Bridge, Stockholm



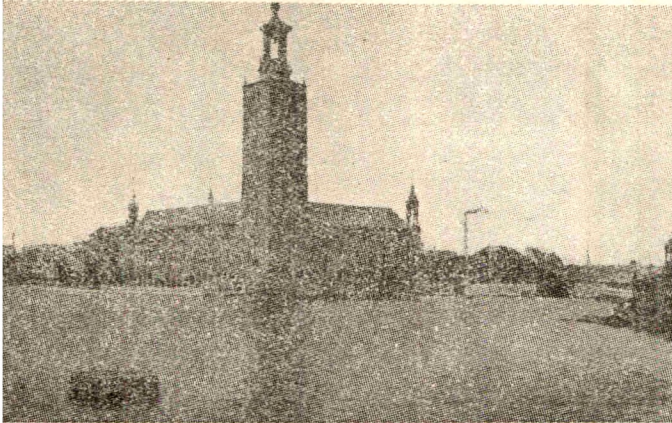
8. Opera House, Stockholm

of agriculturalists but also lately of industrialists, taking a big part in initiative and organisation, particularly in textiles. The products are artistic, of pronounced local and traditional types and of arian articles of household use; at the same time they exhibit on a large scale, a high class personal skill for a rich variety of articles, such as rugs, double weaving, tapestry and inlaid

any shading involved in imitation of natural colours is readily obtained. Individual craftsmanship shines out in each work with distinctive features. True, in modern expensive heavy drop-box looms, this change of shuttles is arranged to a limited extent for any particular design, but this does not lend to ready adaptability for various designs, at the disposal of the hand-worker.

In this connection mention may be made that the

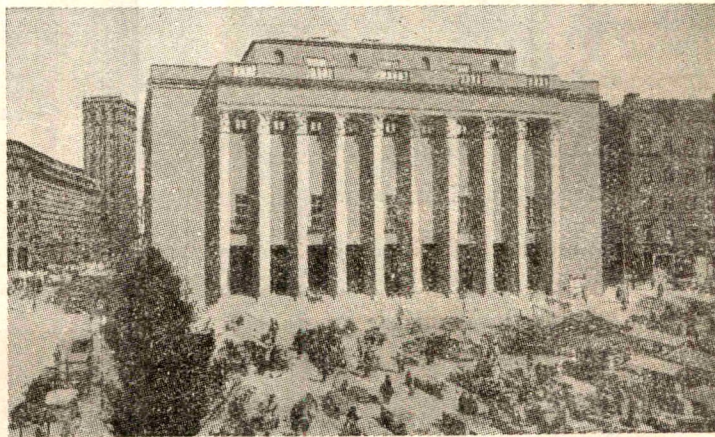
writer met in one of the institutions a lady, whose services were requisitioned by poet Rabindranath and who spent some time at Santiniketan. A number of throw-shuttle looms were secured from Sweden and an attempt at artistic weaving (tapestry) was sincerely made. But subsequently, the whole thing was abandoned and a trained teacher was found reverting to plain weaving at Kurseong. While the far-sighted attempt of the poet and his insight into the problem was remarkable, the subsequent neglect of the authorities was deplorable. Incidentally, the attempt ought to be a revelation that the possibility of resuscitating the hand-loom in



7. Town Hall, Stockholm

ing. The central organisation, National League of Home Association and others in recent parts of the country related to it, have objects partly national and cultural and partly economic. The activities are to promote the inherited capacity, collection of beautiful patterns and models of old handicraft works and development of craftsmanship by instruction and propaganda. They receive grants from the Agricultural Society and County Councils as well as from the State for non-commercial activities. Affiliated working Associations help in disposal of the products when commercial.

It is worth while to consider a very interesting example in this connection. We, in India, are lamenting the disappearance of handlooms and have almost attributed to the fact, owing to mill competition—English, a few years ago, and indigenous in recent years. And yet we find in the modern West, home industry is holding its own under the ever-increasing pressure of industrialisation and justifying its continued existence. In Sweden, not only the fly-shuttle, but the primitive throw-shuttle looms are being used. The reason is not far to seek. This type allows easy change of shuttles with different coloured threads and



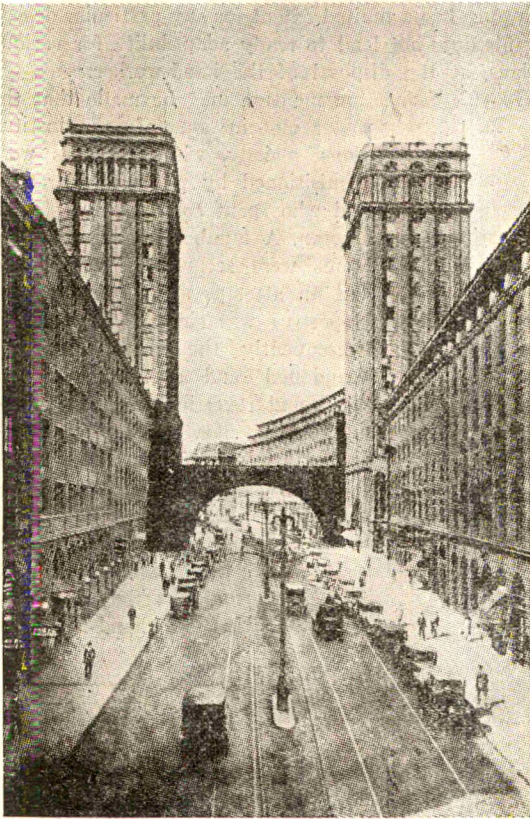
10. Concert Hall, Stockholm

India still remains.

At an angle with the line of the buildings last mentioned, is the Railway Station with the Central Post Office opposite, while the Theatre, Concert Hall with two imposing tall buildings behind it are within a short compass. The Northern Museum stands on the third island to the east of the central, where Skansen is Folk Dance centre with its open air cultural Museum. Encouragement of folk dance, folk songs and games is another notable feature of the country and is under the guidance of institutions of which "Society for the Preservation of Country-side" is one, aptly describing

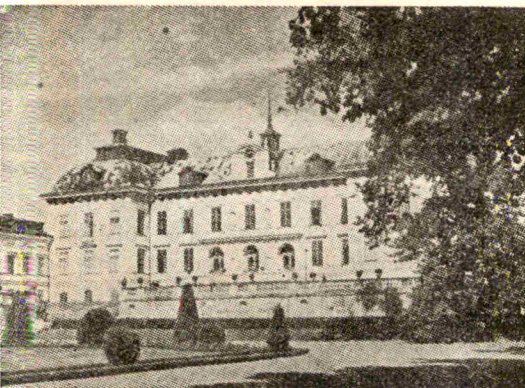
the object. Near the bridge leading to this island is the Nobel Institute, a research centre, known all over the world for the Nobel prizes (about 10,000 pounds yearly)

Stadium, all lie in the northern part of the town. To its west, there is the air-port Bromma and further west is the Summer Royal Palace.



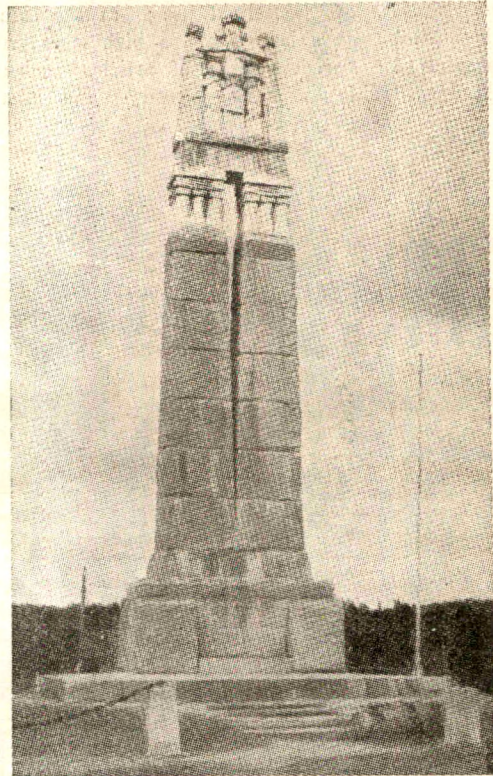
11. Kungsgatan, Kungstornen

warded from a trust fund established by Mr. Alfred Nobel, Swedish Chemist (d. 1896), who invented the



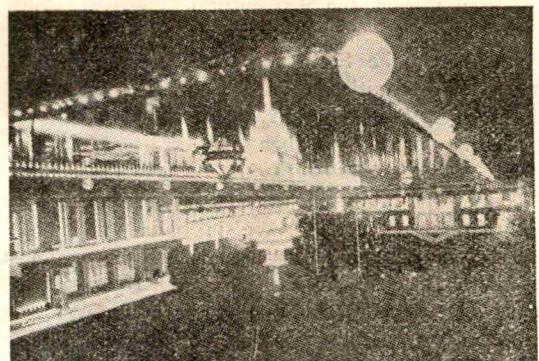
14. Summer Royal Palace, Stockholm

namite, so that it is an irony that one of the subjects of the prizes, is 'Promotion of Peace'. The City Library, the Technical College and the



19. Peace Monument

Behind the City Hall are the buildings of the Co-operating Housing Association, the biggest of them housing about 1,000 families, and we get an idea of "Co-operative Sweden"—another of its special feature.

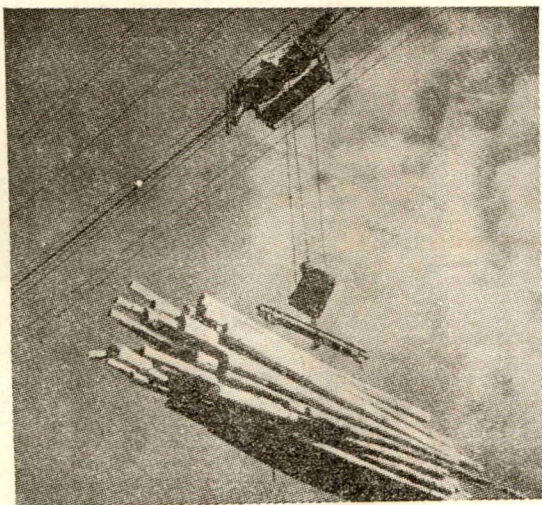


15. Gottenburg

The Southern part of Sweden is shaped like Southern India. The Western side is full of sea-side resorts, which has acquired for it, the name of Riviera of the North. The coast is sheltered by a

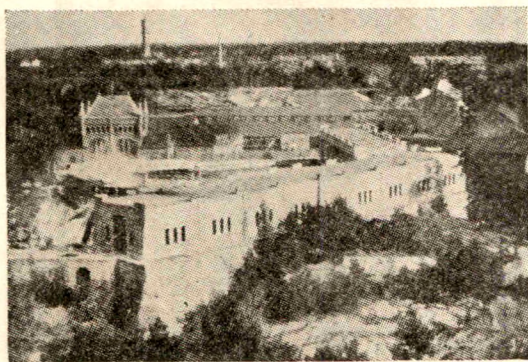
string of islands or innumerable skerries—isolated rocks or reefs in the sea, whence the name Skagarack is said to have been derived for the broad arm of the

Zealand and Sweden, the narrowest widths being half mile, 11 miles and 3 miles respectively. The Swedish coast on Kattegat and Sound has a beautiful sandy



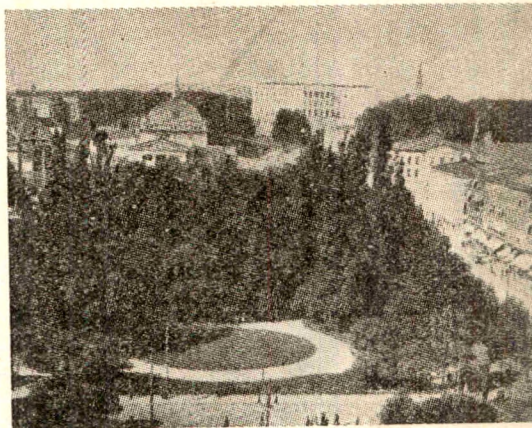
20. Gathering logs

North Sea between Norway and Denmark. The most important place on this coast is Gottenburg with its spacious streets and imposing public buildings, parks and gardens. It is the gate to Sweden and its second city and the largest sea-port, shipping lines radiating to all parts of the world. Below the Skagarack, the broad sea-way between Denmark and Sweden, is called the Kattegat (cat's throat). The north and west sides of these waters are deep, while the southern, the Danish side, is shallow with sand banks and lagoons. Kattegat communicates with the Baltic by



17. Trollhattan, Sweden

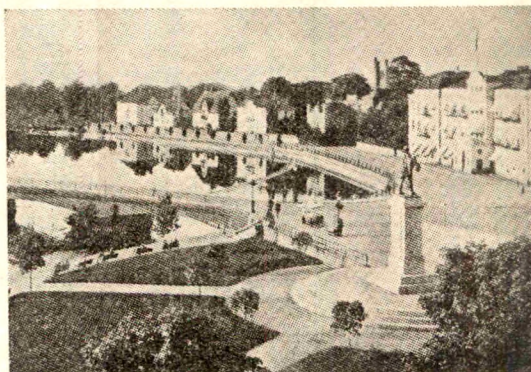
narrow channels, which obstructed movements of Allied submarines into the Baltic during the wars. There are two islands of Funen and Zealand between Denmark and Sweden. The channels are the Little Belt, between Denmark and Funen, the Great Belt, between Funen and Zealand and the Sound, between



22. Oslo

beach. On the east side of the delta, we have again a sandy beach below and rocks and archipelago above, including Stockholm. There are hardly any tides or current anywhere and the water is briny only at the Sound and in the north-east.

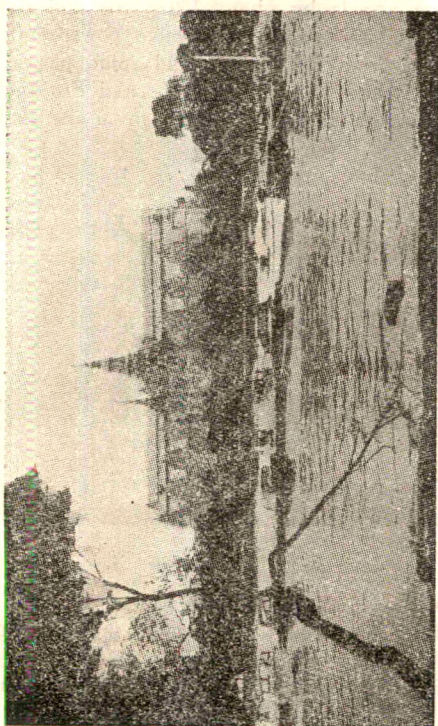
Gottenburgh is connected with Stockholm by the Gotta Canal, of which, out of its 350 miles of length, only a third is artificial, the rest being a chain of beautiful lakes and rivers. There are as many as 65 locks, raising vessels by about 100 yards and down again in a gradual manner. The huge power station at Trollhattan from water falls, and some places of historic associations lie on the route and Stockholm is reached through a lovely archipelago in the Baltic



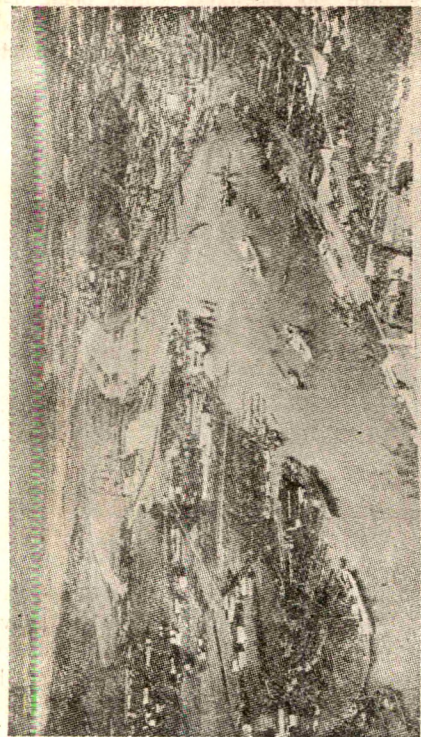
18. Karlstad, Sweden

and thousands of islands in Lake Malar, inland.

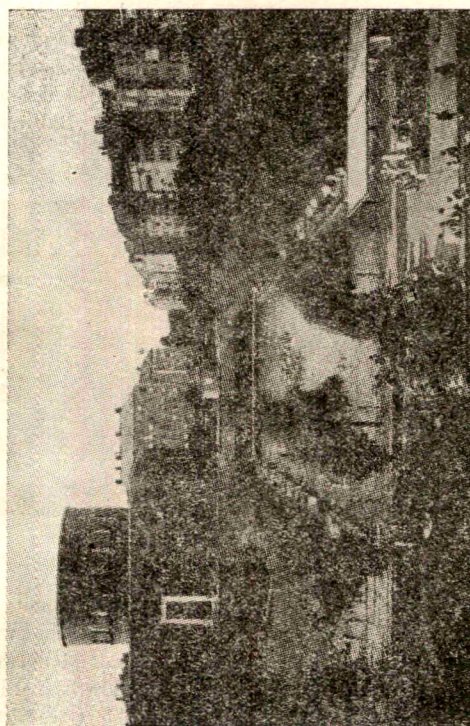
The other cross-country transport is the unique scenic Railway from Stockholm to Oslo, of about 400 miles, taking nine and a half hours in the journey. From the Stockholm Central Station, the line passes down the central island to the Southern, through its



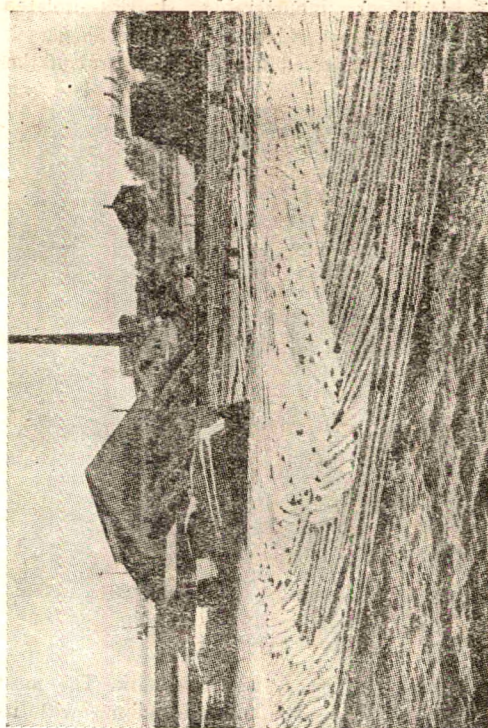
12. Northern Museum, Stockholm



16. Gotla Canal, Sweden



13. The City Library, Stockholm



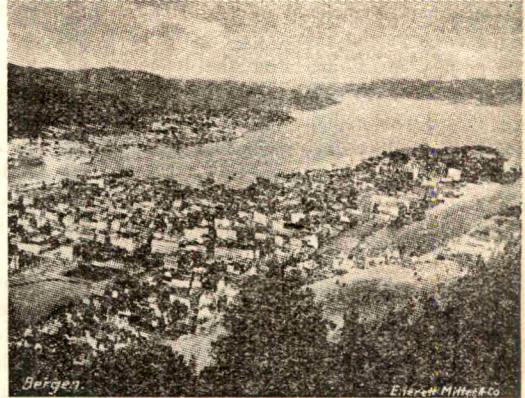
21. Floating down logs

congested portion in a tunnel. The line then gradually turns to the west through forest-clad rocky hills and between innumerable small lakes. After crossing the cannal, described above, forests, lakes and farms in beautiful settings gratify the eyes. There are big iron works about the line. Sweden gave the start to iron industry and in our young days 'Shoolish Loha' (Swedish iron) used to be the name for soft iron, given by local blacksmiths, in appreciation of the ease in working. As a matter of fact, the country is very rich in minerals of many kinds.

It was at Karlstad beautifully situated on the big lake Vanen, on the route, that the two Parliaments of Norway and Sweden met in 1905, for partition of the country after a plebiscite and Norway chose a Danish Prince, as king, who married an English Princess. Eighth century onwards, the Norwegians had taken a prominent part in the Viking expeditions. One family after subjugating petty chiefs ruled in Norway up to 1319 and then after a short union of 24 years, with Sweden,—Denmark, Norway and Sweden came under one crown of the king of Denmark by marriage arrangements, until 1814, when Norway and Sweden parted from Denmark. These point to the peak periods of Danish and Swedish influence in Europe. After a struggle of about a century Norway parted from Sweden and became a separate kingdom, as stated above.

We pass Arvika, a commercial and industrial centre on to Charlottenburgh. Near Magnor, we cross

the frontier between Norway and Sweden, marked by a peace monument erected by friends of peace of Norway and Sweden. The line passes along the banks of the broad river Glomma, down which logs gathered from the northern higher lands are floated down, about



23. Bergen, Norway

6,000 being sorted at the timber trading station Fetsand on the route, daily. Waterfalls are constantly seen along the route as well as factories and farms. Big engineering works, the aerodrome, the imposing school of navigation meet the eye, as we approach the Eastern Station of Oslo, the line to Bergen branching off north, not far away from Oslo.

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HONG KONG—ITS GROWTH AND REHABILITATION

By KAMAL KUMAR GHOSH, M.A., F.R.E.S. (London)

THE colony of Hong Kong lies just within the tropics, off the south-eastern coast of the southern Chinese Province of Kwantung, and east of the Pearl River estuary. Between the island and the mainland of Kowloon lies the harbour, a natural and almost land-locked anchorage with three entrances and about 17 square miles in area. This harbour, lying midway between the ports of Haiphong in Indo-China and Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangtze River, has become the gateway for the trade of South China. The town of Kowloon contains the colony's main industrial area, one of the two principal commercial dockyards, wharves for ocean-going ships, and large residential suburbs. Further to the north-west lies the colony's largest area of cultivable land.

The territory's population now amounts to about 1,800,000, a figure which allows for a floating population of homeless immigrants who have become completely destitute and rely for food and shelter on the Colony's social welfare services.

The majority of the Chinese population are migratory though as the unrest in China increased, more and more tended to settle permanently in Hong Kong. The Chinese provide almost the entire labour supply of the Colony as well as the bulk of the shop-keepers. The fishing and agricultural industries are also in Chinese hands. Of the European British subjects in Hong Kong, the

majority are engaged in commerce, banking and shipping, only a very small minority being civil servants or professional people.

PRE-WAR DEVELOPMENT

Foreign intercourse with China dates from the sixteenth century when expeditions from the maritime states of Europe—Portugal, Spain, Holland and England penetrated into Far Eastern waters hoping to establish trade with the Moluccas or Spice Islands. However, the first real commercial contacts between China and Great Britain were not formed until the latter half of the seventeenth century when in 1681 the British East India Company secured a trading establishment in Macao where the Portuguese had already founded a settlement. In general, however the Chinese were not inclined to trade with foreign countries and steadily refused to extend their trading concessions, and the period of uneasy relationship which had lasted for as long as three hundred years culminated in the war of 1840. The ultimate result of this period of undeclared hostilities was the withdrawal of British merchant ships to Hong-Kong, a blockade of the Canton River and the peaceful occupation of Hong Kong island in January 1841. The cession of the island to the British Crown was confirmed by the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. At that time Hong Kong was a desolate, rocky area inhabited by

a few fishermen, stone-cutters and farmers, and a notorious retreat for pirates and smugglers.

The hundred years period between the Treaty of Nan-king and the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong in December 1941 was one of the uninterrupted peaceful progress. Gradually one of the world's greatest harbours was built up in the Colony's enclosed waters. Hong Kong has also provided an impartial refuge during the internecine strife which ensued in China after the inauguration of the Chinese republic in 1911 and, later when China was attacked by Japan and during the present civil war.

Market produce, cereals, poultry and livestock are brought in daily from the New Territories, and in the surrounding waters a large variety of fish is caught. This fishing industry has become one of the most flourishing in the Far East.

Hong Kong is a free port except for import tariffs on such commodities as intoxicating liquors, hydrocarbon oils, tobacco, proprietary medicines and motor vehicles not of British origin. These import duties constitute the chief source of Government revenue. No export tariffs are imposed. The Colony's main commercial function is as a distributing centre, the principal commodities handled being textiles, hydrocarbon oils, manufactured articles, vegetable oils, chemicals, iron and steel, coal, nuts, rice, sugar, and tea. Food crops such as rice, sugar-cane, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and other vegetables are grown on a limited scale and small numbers of livestock and poultry are reared. These together with the thriving fishing industry are a valuable source of food supply specially to the poorer section of the community.

During its early years under British administration, Hong Kong was used chiefly as a naval base and did not become of much commercial importance until the discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 and the consequent large-scale immigration from China. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was however, perhaps the greatest stimulus to Hong Kong's trade and thereafter development was rapid.

The Colony's port facilities were first developed on a large scale soon after the middle of last century when entrepot trade began to expand rapidly. The net tonnage of overseas shipping using the port of Hong Kong in the middle thirties was almost as great as that using the ports of London, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, nearly twice as great as in the case of Sydney, and slightly greater than that using New York.

Early official figures as to the amount of trade are not available but about 1910 it was estimated that the total trade turn-over was in the region of £50 million annually. Between the year 1919 and 1921 the Colony was at the peak of its prosperity and the value of total trade rose to approximately £212 million in 1920. However, by 1938 this trade had been reduced to £69.9 million chiefly on account of wars and disturbances in China and the years of the depression which considerably reduced the volume of trade between China and the Western countries.

Foodstuffs formed the largest item of imports, other chief items being textiles, machinery, oils, and fats, metals, vehicles, dyes, paper and paperware. The main

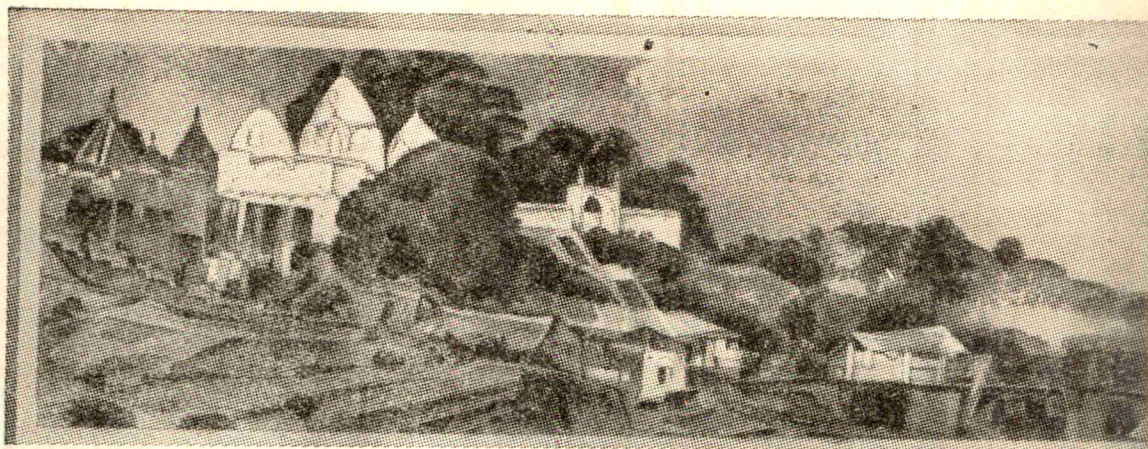
exports were rice, sugar, tea, tin, metals, wood, oil and textiles. Before the war the Colony's chief trading interests were with China, the Commonwealth the United States, Japan, Germany, Indonesia, Indo-China and Macao. Thus a great part of the Colony's income was derived from its invisible exports including profits from entrepot transactions and receipts from the financing of trade and shipping services.

The excellent geographical position of Hong Kong not only enable the territory to play a most important part in international trade with the Far East, but was also responsible for the growth of the two most important local industries—ship-building and fishing. Agriculture is confined almost entirely to the New Territories and has never been on a very large scale, though local produce was a valuable source of food supply. Apart from ship-building, fishing and agriculture, a number of manufacturing industries sprang up, and between the years 1921 and 1931 the population of Kowloon, the main industrial centre, increased by over 113 per cent. Older established local industries were cement manufacture and rope-making and later a large number of factories were built at which a variety of manufactures were produced. Chief of these were textiles, paints, rubber shoes, electric torches, metal wares in addition to which there were numerous minor factories and workshops for local crafts.

THE STORY OF REHABILITATION

After almost exactly a hundred years of British rule, the Colony was captured by Japanese forces on Christmas day, 1941, and remained in Japanese hands until August 30, 1945, when it was liberated by units of the British Pacific Fleet. The war and the years of occupation brought widespread devastation to the Colony and completely disrupted its economic life. At the time of liberation there was no food, no shipping industry nor commerce and public utilities were barely functioning. The fishing industry, which supplied the Colony with its main primary product had been reduced to a chaotic condition and the death-rate from starvation among the fisher folk had been very high indeed. The agricultural population was seriously depleted and their land exhausted through lack of fertilisers. Port facilities had suffered extensive damage both as a result of direct fighting and subsequently through neglect.

One of the most remarkable features of Hong Kong's economic recovery in the three years and nine months since its liberation, has been its revival as a thriving centre of entrepot trade. The rising trend in annual trade turn-over has continued despite the disturbed conditions in China, Hong Kong's trading interest follow roughly the pre-war pattern though trade with China has declined appreciably, while trade with the United States and the Commonwealth has increased. In 1948 the chief trading countries were Malaya, Siam, Macao, the Philippines and the continent of Europe. During the year there was also a lively increase in trade with Japan and Korea. Rehabilitation supplies imported by the Government, including bulk foodstuffs and other essential commodities, are controlled and distributed by the Department of Supplies, Trade and Industry set up soon after the liberation.



Rajgir Kund

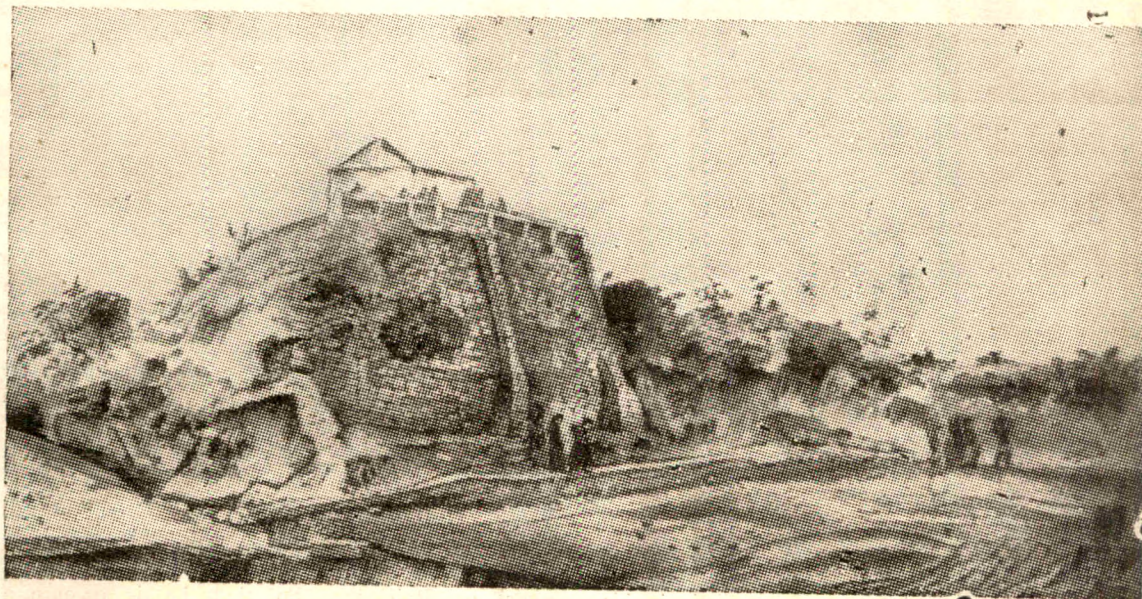
DUGAR'S ART

By O. C. GANGOLY

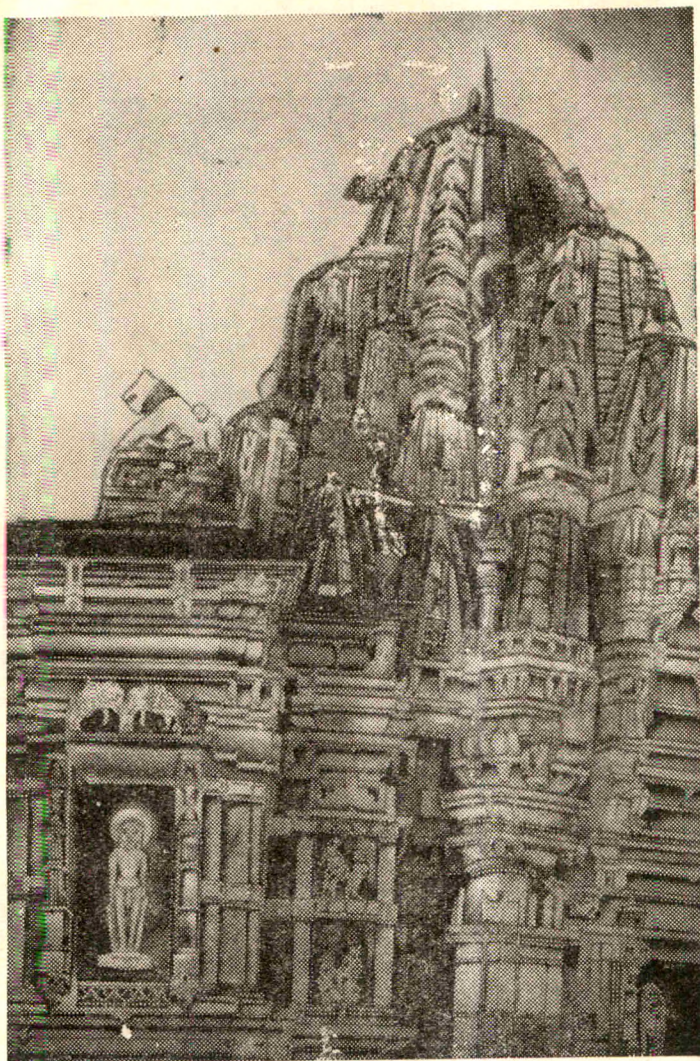
SRI HIRACHAND DUGAR occupies a peculiar place among contemporary artists of Bengal. Pursuing the art of painting as a serious hobby under the guidance of Acharya Nandalal Bose of Santiniketan, he devoted many patient years to develop his own personality without any trace of influence from his great Guru.

Interrupted by a domestic tragedy he resumed his devotion to the art after a lapse of several years, picking up his practice at the point he had left without any loss of his skill and ingenuity.

There is hardly an artist in any part of India like Dugar, who is engrossed in his favourite occupation of making pictures with so much patience, earnestness and



Old Temple, Rajgir



Temple of Keshariajee, Udaipur



N. Bose
Hera chand Dugar
17/9/45-

Sketch by Nandalal Bose

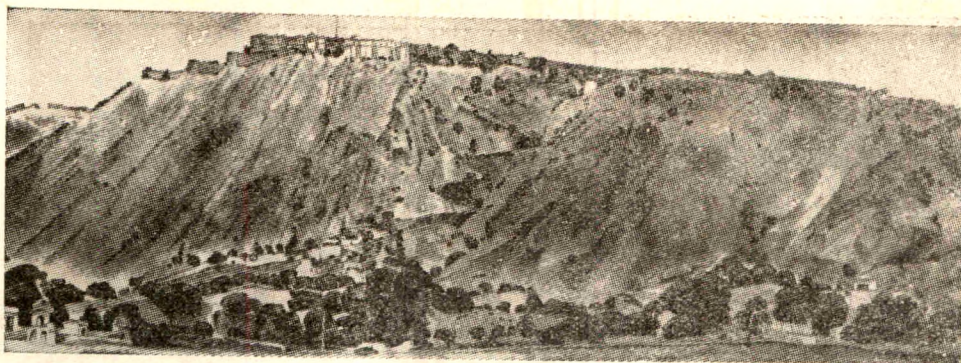
unfailing devotion, pursued with a singleness of purpose akin to that of a religious *sadhaka*, a Kevalin.

He has taken as his models the techniques of old Indian masters, Rajput and Moghul, of rendering minute details with infinite patience and careful accuracy, yet there is no trace of any imitation of the manners or mannerisms of the old masters. His idiom of painting, essentially Indian, is his very own and is not derived directly from any school of Indian painting.

Though his language, his pictorial diction, is a continuation of the traditions of old Indian pictorial dialect, he is essentially modern and realistic in his outlook.

Abjuring any traditional Indian themes he has almost confined himself to the rendering of Indian scenes and landscapes with topographical accuracy, sublimating well-known scenes to the planes of romantic and imaginative idealism through the transfiguring technique of the language of his Indian pictorial art.

At the first glance one is likely to mistake his studies as imaginary presentations far away from the actualities of real scenes, but a little attention will easily reveal the realistic nature of his presentations of bits of memories of the dreamy beauties of Kashmir, Rajgir, or Rajputana. So that he is at once a realist and a romanticist, interpreting real scenes in



Nahargarh, Jaipur



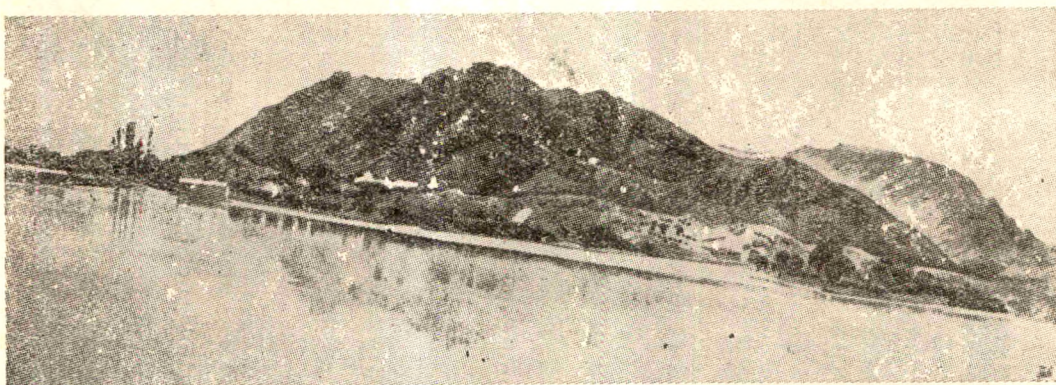
Pilgrims' Camp, Rajgir



Gridhrakut, Rajgir



Twilight, Kathiawar

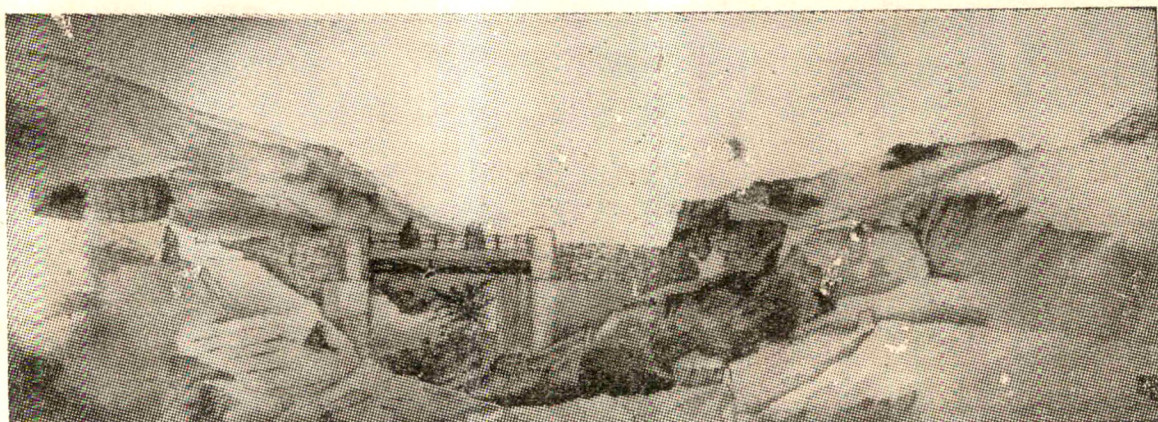


Fatehsagar Lake, Udaipur

terms of romance and mystery. He is a realist without being a pedestrian, a romanticist without losing his grip on the actualities of Indian landscapes with their characteristics of local colours and details.

He is as happy with figure-subjects as with landscapes and nature-scenes, but he has abjured the

dubious themes of human forms, the controversial essays in Adams and Eves, preferring to socialize in rendering the forms of inanimate Nature, vitalizing them with a living spirit and a romantic beauty rendered in terms of the versatile virtuosity of Indian pictorial art.



Banganga, Rajgir

ANTI-FASCIST ELEMENTS IN RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By PROF. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

II

In 1923, Tagore wrote *Red Oleanders*, a drama with a subtle and highly elusive meaning. It marks a higher stage in the poet's social consciousness, grappling with the problem of a regimented civilisation vis-a-vis man. Its central theme is the dead monopoly of a materialistic order grating on the finer sensibilities.

The play is unique in its satire on a totalitarianism born of the avarice of the age. In its broader import it is India's contribution to the growth of 'personalist' literature. Personalism affirms the supremacy of the human spirit in the face of extraneous pressure. As a distinct literary movement it had its origin in 1930 in France. In the same decade it assumed the functions of a spiritual bulwark against the forces of totalitarianism which threatened to overwhelm Europe. It stresses the 'person's' inner aspirations as fundamental to civilization, and in many ways, counterpoised bourgeois individualism and fascist totalitarianism. The variedly rich tones and undertones of the human soul, its inner sufferings and yearnings challenged the conscience of mankind in an age of social disintegration and cast-iron cohesion.

Though Tagore's approach was essentially subjective—was not his 'person' lifted from the pages of the Upanishads? — the forces of the time converged on his mind. Machine, materialism, racial arrogance and the exclusive national spirit provoked the poet to prophetic indignation. Particularly, industrialism with its mammon-worship and power-lust was setting at naught a traditional order of society which had made Time relatively unreal to man. Leisure, and so the full effulgence of the human spirit were lacking. Harmony, the musical time so essential to human culture was lost in the medley of jarring notes.

The Yaksha Town in the *Red Oleanders* is a kingdom where hoarding reigns supreme. Gold-digging and piling of riches are the main occupation of its people. The king is a mystery hidden behind a network. Nandini, the gay spirit of youth, has been allowed access into the Yaksha Town without having the obligation to work. She wears a chain of red-oleanders which are the symbol of passion and free joy. She is expecting Ranjan the man of her heart and is on tenterhooks for him. The king, the invisible spirit behind the network is conscious of Nandini's presence. Nandini seeks to enter the palace behind the network and knocks at it. The king whose voice alone is heard disapproves of her approach. She then argues with the king from outside :

Nandini : Are you not afraid, king, of handing the dead wealth of the earth ?

Voice : What is there to fear ?

Nandini : The living heart of the earth gives itself up in love and life and beauty, but when you rend its bosom and disturb the dead, you bring up with your booty the curse of its dark demon, blind and hard, cruel and envious. Don't you see every one here is either angry or suspicious or afraid ?

Voice : Curse!

Nandini : Yes, the curse of grabbing and killing.

Voice : But we bring up strength. Does not my strength please you, Nandini ?

Nandini : Indeed it does ! Therefore I ask you to come out into the light, step on the ground, let the earth be glad."

Nandini goes about scattering gladness all around, summoning everyone to revelry and snapping her fingers at authority. The king is keenly sensible to Nandini's message but appears to be stuck in the self-created meshes. He himself wants to be with Nandini but wants her inside the network.

The Yaksha Town is like a Nazi concentration camp; it has pressed into servitude many a village folk reducing them to mere automatons. Their fate is sealed and the road back home closed to them. Among them, Bishu, the mad, is a great lover-devotee of Nandini and tries to recapture her message in his songs. In that arid and shadow existence he sprinkles mirth and wistfulness.

In Gosain we have the drugging effect of religion on the side of the ruling class. Wherever there is a simmering discontent in the Yaksha Town, Gosain is despatched to calm it with spiritual waters. He at one place says :

"The life that is unlimited gives no provocation to fight for its distribution. We preachers have the charge of turning these people towards this unlimited life. So long as they remain content with that we are their friends."

The professor in *Red Oleanders* typifies pale intellectualism turning cynical under a rigorous and soul-killing organization. He catches the contagion from Nandini and has his moments of longings, but, in the main, he remains a hard cynic. In his peculiar apology for the existence of a highly concentrated power he says :

"These small ones are consumed to ashes so that the great ones may leap up in flame. This is the principle underlying all rise to greatness."

At another place he says :

"The tiger does not feed on the tiger, it is man alone that fattens on his fellowmen." In reply to Nandini's expostulation he says :

"Wellbeing! There is no question at all of 'well'—only 'being.' That being of theirs has expanded so terribly that, unless millions of men are pressed into servitude who is going to support its weight? So the net is spreading further and further. They must exist, you see."

With Gosain as the spiritual buttress and the professor as its intellectual theoriser, the Yaksha Town grows from strength to strength. The Governor, the traditional instrument of State authority, has regimented human beings as tunnel diggers and mine workers in the unflagging task of material accumulation. The men of Nandini's acquaintance are now known by the number attached to their person. They have lost the warm, pulsating joys of their simple lives. Song has vanished from the town and so the rhythm of life. It is a terrible satire on the industrial society. Man is neither full-blown individual, nor the person, in the former case society is a mere conglomeration and the State a dictatorial tyranny, in the latter the highest excellence of the State-power (the king) himself is invisible, leading an impersonal life of gross materialism.

But in the king's mind there is at times a fleeting doubt. Nandini aggravates it. He confesses once to her :

"All I possess is so much dead weight. No increase of wealth can create a particle of a touchstone, no increase of power can ever come up to youth. I can only guard by force. If I had Ranjan's youth I could leave you free and yet hold you fast. My time is spent in knotting the binding rope, but, alas, everything else can be kept tied, except joy."

He realises that overgrown power crushes one inwardly by its own strength. In Nandini he sees the "dance rhythm of the All."

The denouement of the play draws near as the time for flag-worship comes and the king is scheduled to perform it. In the meanwhile Bishu, the mad guy, has been arrested and there is news that Ranjan who has been put in the tunnel of Vajragarh has refused any work. He wants music and dance instead of the boredom of digging. Bishu is bitter against the order of things, and reveals the grim ugliness of the inhuman situation; he says :

"They have a big beast inside them, that's why their heads are not bowed by the indignity of man. rather the inner brute's tail swells and wags with pride at man's downfall."

When the hour for the flag-worship strikes Nandini shakes the network violently and calls out the king. At last the king appears, and the door reveals the deadbody of Ranjan. The king had killed Ranjan unawares since he flung a challenge to the king of cheerless materialism.

Nandini wishes to contend against the king, but the king, inwardly consumed with remorse, feels himself on the side of Nandini and they both prepare to smash the kingdom. The king snatches at the flag-staff and breaks it. Nandini rushes forward to face the furious Governor, the king follows her; and in the meanwhile the working class has risen in revolt and broken open the prison.

To appraise the aesthetic worth of Tagore's poetry is for the art-critic to attempt, the present essay is an attempt at evaluating the content of his poetry in terms of the objective reality. Sphinx-like he stands in this age of mental and spiritual unrest. The age of a disintegrating culture he did not experience, nor was for him the anguish of an uprooted epoch. From the earliest period of his composition he was drawn towards the divine in man. It was no consequence of the Upanishadic exercises merely but a daily wisdom he picked from the songs of the roaming poets of Bengal called the *Bauls*. This theme of man with a capital M runs like a scarlet thread through the texture of his poetry.

Philosophically he was wholly on the side of the idealists. His conception of the Cosmic man he clung to the last. It was the individual in his relation to the Universe that he sang. For him nothing mattered so much as the human relationships forged perhaps on the anvil of eternity.

This faith in man, this ardent championship of human dignity, leads him inevitably to adjust himself to the political turmoil from which he used to instinctively draw back.

Even in the hectic days of the Swadeshi agitation, when emotions were always in an explosive state, the poet maintained a sane and really patriotic stand. In one of the songs praising the motherland he said :

"Let the promises and hopes, the deeds and words of my country be true, my God !"

In the poem entitled "India's Prayer" which he read at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1917 he said :

"Thou hast given us to live.

Let us uphold this honour with all our Strength and will;

For thy glory rests upon the glory that We are.

Therefore in thy name we oppose the Power that would plant its banner

Upon our soul."

And further :

"But let us stand firm and suffer with Strength

For the True, for the Good, for the Eternal in man."

It was a strange national song to be sung in a political organisation which was eminently secular. But Tagore's country had moral frontiers and he refused to make capital out of her political degradation. He kept his gaze firm on the future when after

political freedom was won the greater task to consolidate it within the framework of the national genius would arise.

This stubborn refusal to play up to the galleries and, popular chagrin notwithstanding, to impregnate political agitation with spiritual calm slowly prepared the emotional subsoil which rendered any fascist category impossible of germination.

III

In post-1930 Tagore the world-consciousness is distinctly historical; pity for the lowly and the down-trodden which marked some of his earlier verse now turned into indignation at the social exploitation of the particular class to which they belonged. So also the countries which sponged on the weak ones are no longer just greedy, but represent rapacious imperialism. Crafty politicians, deceptive council chambers, voracity of the strong—all these caught the poet's discerning eye. In a poem written after the poet's recovery of consciousness during the serious illness of 1937, he found his mind,

"At the crater of a volcanic hellfire
That spouted forth a stifling fume
Of insult to man."

As regards the civilisation he was sensible to its suicidal agony. By 1937, Hitler had firmly entrenched himself in power, had annexed Austria, and Czechoslovakia was threatened. His Italian counterpart had ravaged helpless Abyssinia with impunity, and the democracy of Spain was in its last gasps, thanks to the policy of intervention of the Anglo-French powers. Tagore wrote in the same poem:

"On its one side a defiant savagery
And the growl of homicidal drunkenness,
On the other, timid powers tied to the load
Of their carefully guarded hoardings,
Meekly settling down to a silent safety
Of acquiescence,
After miscalculated bursts of
Impatience."

The League of Nations was impotent:

"At the old council's chamber
Plans and protests are pressed flat
Between the tight-shut prudent lips."

The sight of calculated savagery and voracious connivance compel the poet to utter an awful curse:

"Give me power, O awful judge!
Sitting on the throne of Eternity
Give me a voice of thunder
That I may hurl imprecation
Upon this cannibal whose gruesome
Hunger
Spares neither women nor children,
That my words of reproach may ever rock
Upon the heart-throbs of a history
Humiliated by itself
Till this age choked and chained
Finds the bed of its final rest in its
Ashes."

What could be a mightier denunciation of Fascism keyed to this pitch of human indignation?

The poet was highly critical of the Anglo-French diplomacy which went on propitiating and surrendering before Fascism. The Munich Pact was the ominous portent of what follows peace without honour. After the signing of the said pact the poet Tagore sent a poem to Prof. V. Lesny in Czechoslovakia:

"They have confidence in their indulgent
God
Who may send them timely wisdom
To divert all sacrifices needed for the
Worship
Towards the less strong,
Leaving their own soiled hoardings
Undivided."

In his discussion with Einstein on the "Nature of Reality" Rabindranath put forward his concept of a human universe. He said to the scientist:

"Matter is composed of protons and electrons, with gaps between them; but matter may seem to be solid. Similarly, humanity is composed of individuals, yet they have interconnection of human relationship, which gives living solidarity to man's world. The entire universe is linked up with us in a similar manner, it is a human universe. I have pursued this thought through art, literature and the religious consciousness of man."

Further he says:

"When our Universe is in harmony with Man we know it as truth, we feel it as beauty."

The European civilisation was in a state of dissolution, it was running into innumerable channels which went parallel or across each other. Spengler's *Decline of the West* uttered the prophetic doom. Evidently things were out of joints. Fascism exploited this mass of disgust and raised the slogan of the elemental life. Terror, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, violence were openly held out as correctives to a disjointed age.

IV

Tagore's panacea of setting man in harmony with the Universe did not appeal to the generation to which the Absolute was only a myth. Dr. Aranson in his admirable study *Tagore Through the Western Eyes* colates the varied reception to Tagore in the West. In Romain Rolland alone Tagore found a kindred spirit. Between them the two savants held aloft the banner of man's conscience against all the storm and stress. Romain Rolland the individualist veered round to collective action in the last phases of his life and proclaimed fearlessly the inalienable conjunction of thought and action. The French writer's allegiance to the Russian Revolution, though passing through changing accents, was firm and unassailable. In 1931, he remarked that it was no longer the question of the purity of means and ends, such academic discussions only led to the strengthening of Fascism. In 1933 Rolland was elected President of the International Anti-Fascist Committee.

The quicksands of European politics did not admit of a foothold to a poet to contemplate Eternity. Tagore did not follow Rolland's example by openly taking sides. In the poet's own country Fascism was not such a menacing reality as was British imperialism. Yet he was increasingly growing aware of the doom that overhang the western horizon. In 1919 he had signed "the Declaration of the Independence of Mind" which was issued by Romain Rolland. It was the first alarm-signal hoisted by the intellectuals of the world.

Between the infinite and the infinitesimal where did the poet stand? Evidently, he had moved forward from the abstract 'infinite'. His sensibility had begun to absorb the patterns of life emerging from the socio-economic situation. In his great endeavour to restore musical harmony between man and nature he had caught sight of big gaping chasms which continually sent up orchestral notes not quite in tune with the melody which swept the poet's universe. It was as it were a wild choir threatening to submerge everything in it.

This turbulent flood of music emanated everywhere in the world from the marching millions. Culturally they represent the revision of the established set of values; and a distinctive transformation of the affects of man. The solidarity of the masses was the strongest bastion against Fascism. Tagore was no stranger to the common people. The peasants, fishermen, Santals, and shepherds he had included in the subject-matter of his songs. But hitherto he had viewed them in isolation from their social milieu. The 'pathmaker' of *Gitanjali* breaks the hard stones alone.

In post-1930 Tagore the working man is more concrete, his features are well-defined, he is of the earth, earthy. He does not move alone, he is one among the many. In 1941, the poet wrote the poem "The Toilers", proclaiming the vital and abiding existence of the working classes when the imperialists and their creation crumble at the touch of time:

"When on this earth I cast my eyes,
Great multitude I see there
Moving with tumult,
Along diverse paths in many a group,
From age to age,
Urged by mankind's daily need in life,
And in death."

And further:

"The myriad hum of voices thunderous
Woven together night and day
Makes resonant the great world's
Livelihood
Sorrows and joys unceasing
Blend in chant raising the mighty hymn
Of life
On the ruins of hundreds of empires,
They go on working."

But the poet was conscious that he had not completely identified himself with the masses. In a poem entitled "The Great Symphony" written in the same year he says:

"Not everywhere have I won access,
My ways of life have intervened
And kept me outside
The tiller at the plough
The weaver at the loom
The fishermen plying his net,
These and the rest toil and sustain the
World
With their world-wide varied labour."

And then the regret:

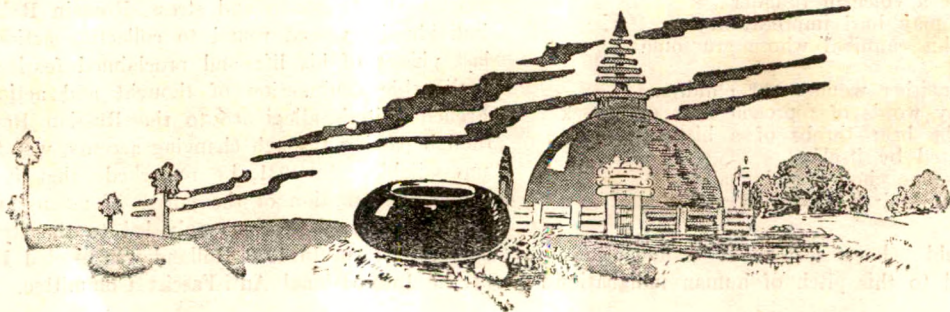
"I know that the basket of songs
Becomes burdened with trinkets
When link is lacking
Between life and life."

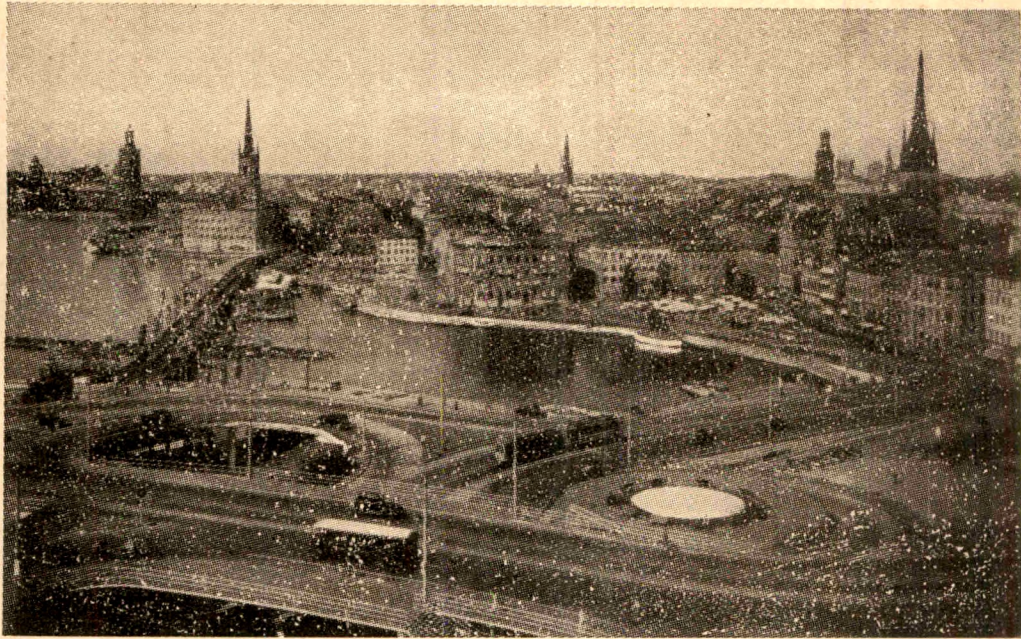
With advancing years the poet grew increasingly conscious of the inevitability of clash between the haves and the have-nots. In a way, his earlier enthusiasm for co-operative world-effort through the commerce of cultures suffered a set-back as the international picture grew more complicated and bizarre. The grouping of power-blocs, doctrinaire fanaticism and unashamed exploitation began to shake his former faith. In his address on the occasion of the celebration of his eightieth birthday he confesses his disillusionment.

Fascist aggressions in China and Spain are rankling in his mind. The dire poverty of the Indian masses rends his heart. He says:

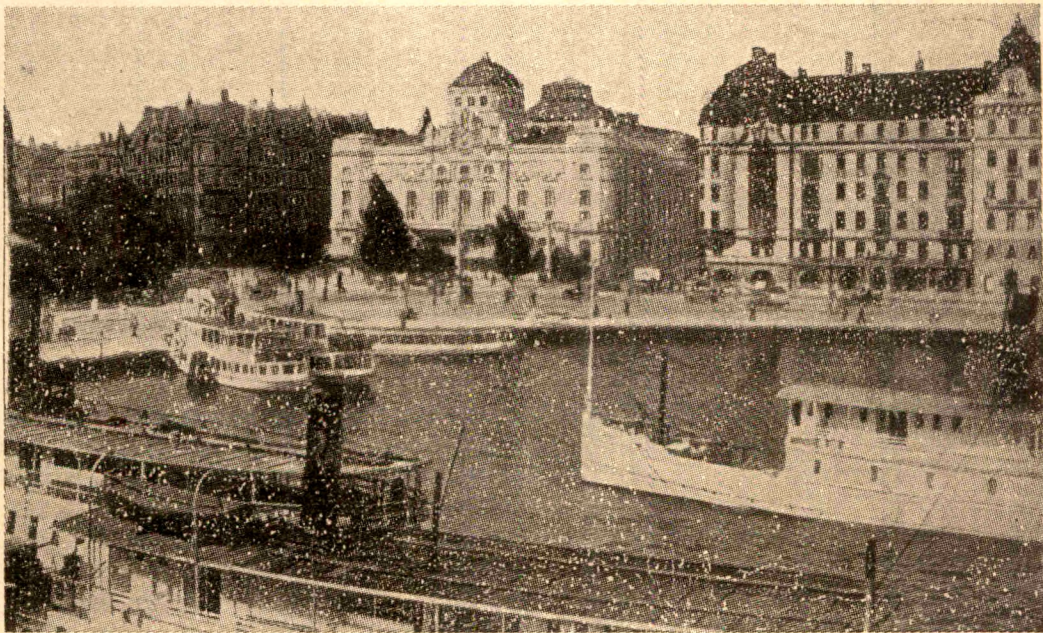
"I had at one time believed that the springs of civilisation would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether."

(To be continued)

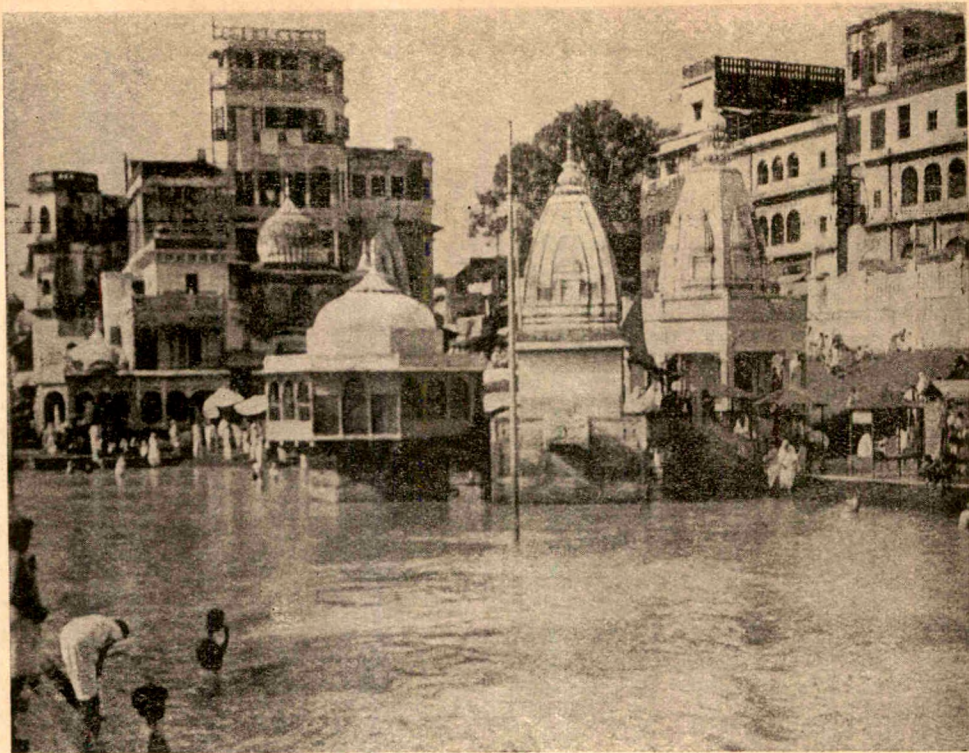




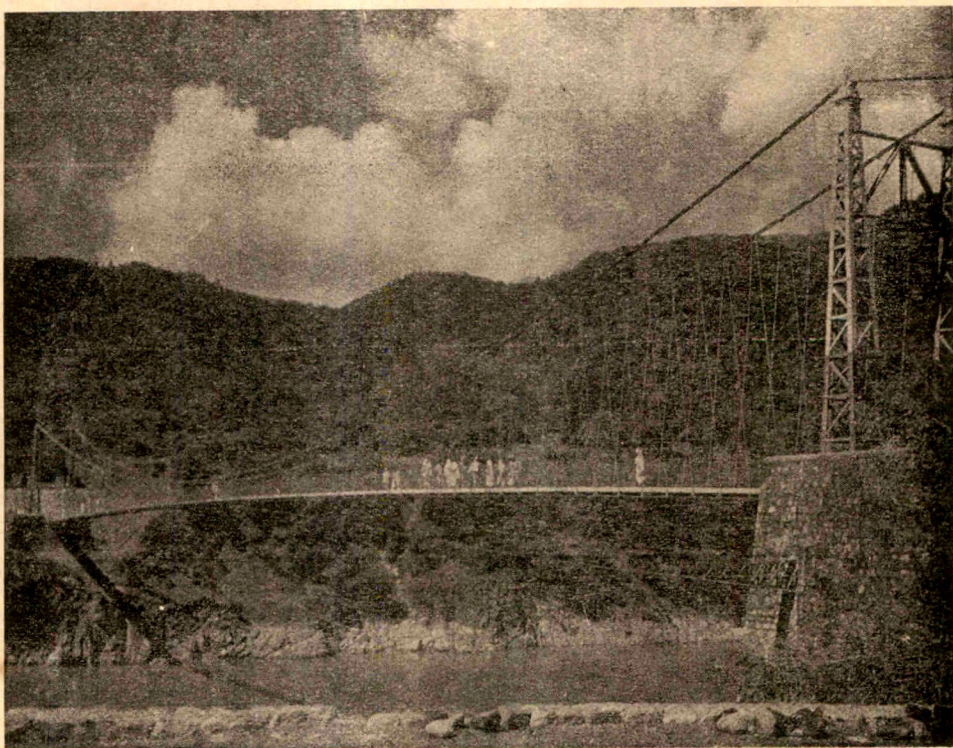
Slussen, viaduct, Stockholm



The Theatre, Stockholm



Brahmakunda Ghat, Hardwar



Lachman Jhola—Suspension Bridge, Hardwar

THE DEARTH OF CAPITAL How to Deal With ?

By K. P. THAKUR, M. COM., A.I.B. (LOND.)

THE purse of Kuver, the treasurer of the gods, is believed to be inexhaustible, according to Hindu legends; yet they say one cannot carry on far too long if his current income is not sufficient to meet his current expenditure, even if he is endowed with the resources of Kuver. In many quarters, India's Sterling Balances were considered to be similarly sufficient to meet India's growing needs of capital; and this was why India was so conscious in the post-war period to safeguard her sterling balances and so much opposed to any proposal for their scaling down or writing them off.

Barely three years and a half have rolled on since the termination of hostilities and suddenly we are amazed to discover that our sterling resources have been depleted beyond imagination without giving us in exchange any industrial weapons to defend us in the post-war era against the onslaught of foreign competition in the field of trade, industry and commerce.

In the middle of 1946, India's sterling balances were to the tune of 1600 crores of rupees approximately. Besides her "Balance held abroad" stood at nearly 500 crores of rupees, thus bringing her aggregate foreign holdings to the order of 2100 crores of rupees. At the same time, the Central Government balances with the Reserve Bank of India were 460 crores of rupees; while scheduled banks' balances were well over 100 crores of rupees. Thus our total resources in 1946 amounted to a little over 2650 crores of rupees—a remarkable achievement of opulence in the financial history of the nation in the last couple of centuries. No wonder, in the contemporary period, we heard so often of day-dreams for plans and projects for economic regeneration of this long neglected land.

In less than a quarter of a decade after the attainment of independence how different a picture we witness today! The summit of the sterling balances tower has fallen aground and now lie prostrate at about 700 crores of rupees. Even allowing for reasons, arising out of the partition of the country and sub-division of assets, we cannot establish that we were not extravagant with our wealth. During a period of less than 9 months beginning from July 1948 to March 1949 we have spent out sterling balances worth about 600 crores of rupees. The spending out of such large funds within such a short span of time is the crux of our concern.

Our "Balances held abroad" now stand at 155 crores of rupees; which means we have lost 345 crores of rupees on this account. A further capital expenditure of 346 crores of rupees has been incurred by us from

the Central Government and scheduled banks' deposits with the Reserve Bank. Thus the total diminution of our capital resources has been roughly about 1391 crores of rupees. In other words, in the post-war period ranging over less than three years we have managed to have about 66.2 per cent of our savings accumulated in the war and pre-war years flickered out; but in lieu thereof we are constrained to see no appreciable advancement in our standard of living, no reasonable replacement of our war-worn machineries, no improvement in agricultural methods of farming to fight against famine and starvation.

The moot question is why could we not effect any improvement in our economic organisation even at the sacrifice of about 60/70 per cent of our available funds? The reason is the lack of any co-ordinated policy in our methods of economic rehabilitation. The reeling figure of our sterling balances appeared to us like a mirage, moving after which we lost sight of all other things. Batches of Indian industrialists roamed the Anglo-American countries in their vain attempts to procure capital goods at any price, thanks to war-profits and quick air journeys! Although in many instances adequate response was unavailing, these businessmen succeeded in securing a certain percentage of their desired goods though they had to pay inflated prices ranging, in cases, to 400 per cent above the pre-war rates.

To-day, the market for capital goods as well as consumers' goods has considerably changed. A few of the European countries are now gradually coming forward as sellers where England and America held the sway. Had we adopted a little "Wait and see policy" and not rush in for goods we could have by now got the advantage of a "seller's market" and met our requirements at reasonable cost much to the saving of our capital resources.

The next obstacle that stood in our way to raise capital is our mistaken foreign trade policy. Enamoured by the glow of our sterling balances, the importance of the "Balance of payment theory" got out of our mind. We could have derived a profitable lesson from the policy adopted by the Labour Government in England but to which we paid no heed. In consequence, we went on as a debtor country year after year commencing from 1945-46 bringing our deficit in international trade to about 116 crores and 71 lakhs of rupees at the close of 1947-48. During the year ended 31st March 1949 our imports exceeded our exports by 92 crores of rupees. Unless a country is economically self-sufficient it must pursue a fiscal policy of earning foreign assets by way

of surplus exports if it desires to be solvent; otherwise attempts to make deficits good by continuous withdrawals from accumulated foreign assets must fail in no time. And herein lay the faulty fiscal policy of India in the immediate post-war era.

The introduction of the Open General Licence No. 15 replacing O.G.L. 11, the suspension of which was announced by the Commerce Ministry on 4th May is a step in the right direction for the conservation of our foreign assets; but had the step been adopted earlier much of the savings which were wasted in the purchase of unnecessary or comparatively little necessary luxury goods, numerous fancy plastic products, fountain pens, etc. of hard currency countries, could have been employed profitably in course of time.

The third detrimental effect on capital procurement project was generated by the policy of issuing bonus shares pursued by more than one concern who even after payment of Excess Profit and Business Profit Taxes was able to create large reserves, which in the immediate post-war period could not be ploughed back into the industry for want of available capital goods. During the period from 1st October, 1945 to 31st March, 1948, nearly 151 crores and 77 lakhs of rupees worth of bonus shares were issued by joint-stock companies operating in India and these were done after obtaining necessary sanction from the Controller of Capital Issues. Had no such permission been given these resources could now have been employed in the furtherance of Indian Industrialisation and no money would have been wasted to capitulate shareholders and over-capitalise the financial structures of Indian Joint-Stock Companies. Alternatively such companies could have been forced by legislation to invest surplus money in Government loans to retard the inflationary spiral.

Much valuable time and opportunity has thus been lost and no benefit is likely to accrue out of regrets. Expectation for fresh foreign capital for investment in Indian Industrial projects at the present moment is well-nigh impossible against the upsurge of Communists in Burma and China. We are, therefore, left at where we began.

In framing out a capital procurement policy for India we must first think out what should be the framework of our economic structure. Notwithstanding our best efforts India may not expect to be an industrial country as England is today. With 75 per cent of the population connected with land, agriculture in India will hold its own against industrialisation. The various enactments by the Government for wage-increases and the ever-increasing cost of raw materials have hammered down the profit figures of industrial units in India. It is, therefore, time that we should think over whether to concentrate on big industrial projects or to establish decentralised medium and small-scale industries evenly distributed throughout the length and breadth of the country. In view of our utter lack of experience in the conduct of big industrial projects com-

pared to Anglo-American and European countries it is also necessary that we should better begin with projects of manageable size and not founder in high seas. For a great country like India transport assumes a major role for distribution both in war and peace. The decision of the Central Government for establishment of the fertilizer factory at Sindri (Bihar) and the new Iron and Steel Plant in the Central Provinces instead of adding them to the already over-congested industrial area around Calcutta or Bombay is, therefore, laudable.

Secondly, we are also required to decide upon whether we should depend on multi-lateral trade for meeting our needs or we should try to be economically self-sufficient. During the war years, India was able to set up business connection by way of exports with the Middle East and Far Eastern countries when we had none to compete with us. At the close of the war Japan has re-appeared as a strong competitor in textile trade and it is doubtful whether Indian goods will be able to stand in defiance of outside competition. Over and above, the absence of standardization of Indian produce and the lack of business integrity amongst the Indian industrialists have culminated in the loss of foreign markets for India to a considerable extent. In his report of the 1st June 1949, Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Commerce Member, has clearly demonstrated how Indian trade is gradually receding on account of the above shortcomings on the part of Indian traders. Information has been received that living and dead insects were found in black pepper, turmeric, cashewnuts, celery seeds of Indian origin exported to U.S.A.; stone-chips were mixed with groundnuts and water with castor oil. The long-established Indian textile trade in Iran, is also falling of late and similarly tea trade in the U.S.A.

To a greater degree, we are handicapped by the partition of the country and creation of Pakistan. The jute and the cotton industry of India are endangered for shortage of raw materials which grow in Pakistan. Even the iron and steel industry on which we depend so much may also be at stake in no distant future. The observation of Mr. J. C. Driver of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Limited, while delivering the Calcutta University, Taraprasad Khaitan lecture is appropriate and worth mentioning in this connection. He says, *inter-alia*, "Antimony is an important metal for alloying purposes in the steel industry. The loss of Baluchistan chrome-ore will be felt by India when the present scattered sources of this ore near about the main steel works and in the Mysore State are exhausted. Ultimately, it seems, Western Pakistan will be a great centre of re-rolling industry, and to that extent Indian steel industry will suffer."

The next barrier to our further industrial development is the enhancement of wage bills under the awards of more than one industrial tribunal. Hedged between two difficulties, one, scarcity of raw materials and the other, increase in workers' pay and allowances many of

our jute and cotton mills are finding themselves unable to make both ends meet and to maintain the old level of profits. In many cases, the authorities had no other alternatives but to close down their mills.

Of the many plans so far brought to light the Bombay plan sponsored under Tata-Birla is the one most discussed. In its suggestions have been made to secure capital under the following methods: firstly, capital may be earned by sale of hoarded gold, liquidation of sterling balances, export surpluses and by raising loans in foreign countries. Secondly, capital may be procured out of public savings and/or by fresh issue of Notes.

With our natural inclination for the yellow metal remaining unchanged much confidence may not be laid upon the method of securing capital in exchange for gold. On the contrary, due to the vigilance of the Income-tax Commission, fresh money is continuously in the process of being melted into gold to avoid additional tax burden. The expectation of getting enough capital in exchange of our sterling balances, exportable surplus or by way of loans and advances is also not reassuring. Pressed by inflation the public is finding it well-nigh impossible to save anything worth mentioning. We are, therefore left with the remaining and the only alternative of printing additional Notes. That way also is not without its danger.

Then what is the solution? In fact no concrete plan on the subject-matter has yet been offered by any one which may be translated into blue-prints. We have so far heard only of the customary sayings, namely, reduction of income tax, ceiling of labourers' wages and allowances, de-control, etc. Apart from these, there appears to be another avenue for capital procurement, which may be tried with advantage considering the peculiar economic environment of India.

In comparison with 1938-39 the number of co-operative societies has increased by 41 per cent in the current year while the membership rose by 70.6 per cent and the working capital by 54 per cent. With the betterment of their status and conditions the co-operative societies may naturally come forward to undertake this new task

of securing capital under co-operative methods. As the Damodar Valley, Koshi, Hirakund, Mor, etc. irrigation projects develop to bear fruit, a beehive of small-scale cottage industries is expected to grow in the surrounding territory. Such industries may be taken up by co-operative societies for their management, running them for the benefit of the country. Besides small scale industries, irrigation work and excavation of canals and wells may come within the purview of these societies. We have witnessed in the past that in many of our development projects much money was wasted, while the schemes remained in files of the Secretariat and the whole money was expended in drawing up the preliminary work leaving nothing substantial for the time when money was required most. Taking a lesson from the pages of our past history, we may leave such spade works in the hands of the sons of the soil and support babies when they start growing. Much better results at lesser cost is expected to be derived from such experiments.

The Union of Soviet Russia offers us plenty of such instances where with public co-operation gigantic development projects grow up which were believed to be incredible before. The wresting of tillable soil from the steppe and the desert of Kazakhstan has been a wonderful achievement. The 157 miles long Ferghana Canal in Uzbekistan is another illustration. To quote two American Engineers, Daires and Steigar, "When the Ferghana Canal was under construction there were days when 10,000 people contributed the labour and even organised field kitchens, taking their meals in picnic fashion, while native dancers and singers performed, in order not to waste time by going home to eat and dress. The canal literally grew under them having been built in the record time of 17 days." The conquest of the world's driest desert the Karakum in Turkmenistan and opening it up for crop production are mile-stones of Soviet agricultural farming. If comparable enthusiasm is awakened among Indian peasants (public not being excepted), similar feats may also be achieved in our land and much of our waste land may be reclaimed into green pastures and paradise.



REVIVAL OF INDIA INSTITUTE IN GERMANY

By DR. PHIL. FRANZ THIERFELDER

WE are happy to announce to the Indian public, interested in promotion of friendly relations and cultural co-operation with the people of Germany, that *India Institute* (which used to be India Section of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich) has been re-established, to carry on its activities in a very modest way.

With this announcement, we wish to record that after two years' efforts (1926-28) on the part of Dr. Taraknath Das, aided by his late lamented wife Mary Keatinge Das and many German friends of India, such as the late Director Fritz Beck, Professor Arnold Sommerfeld of Die Deutsche Akademie, the present writer and others, India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie was started in 1928; and the first group of four Indian scholars who received the Deutsche Akademie Fellowship (one for Bio-Chemistry, one for Engineering, one for Indology and one for Medicine) arrived at Munich in 1929. The work of the Institute in securing scholarships for advanced post-graduate Indian students in German Universities and Engineering Colleges and helping Indian scientists to gain practical experience in various industries continued with great success, until during the World War II, these activities had to be stopped.

During the period of its existence, more than ten years, India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie aided more than one hundred Indian scholars to get higher education and practical training. It was under the auspices of India Institute, the late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University gave a series of lectures on "Modern India" in connection with the Engineering College of Munich and acted as a Visiting Professor to various German Universities. India Institute of Munich received many distinguished Indian visitors, such as the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the late Jagadish Chandra Bose, Professor Raman and others.

During the month of October 1949, through the initiative and active support of Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor of Public Affairs, New York University, and Lecturer in History, Columbia University, New York City, India Institute has been re-established in Munich, Germany.

To-day the German people are struggling hard under most adverse circumstances to revive their destroyed

Fatherland. To them, revival of their great educational institutions is one of the most urgent tasks. In fact German Universities have again begun to function on a limited scale; and it is to be hoped that within a short time — a few years at the most — they will be in a position to serve the people of the world, according to their traditions of "academic freedom," search for knowledge and its spread all over the world, in co-operation with the people of the world without any discrimination.

We hope that Indian scholars of advanced academic qualifications will soon begin to attend German institutions of higher learning, and Indian Universities will invite distinguished German scientists and scholars so that they will be able to serve India through development of her great institutions of learning. This can be accomplished effectively only through co-operation of Indian leaders of every walk of life.

We know that many of the former scholars of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie are now professors in the Indian Institute of Science, and Universities at Allahabad, Benares, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Madras and other culture centres as well as in the College of Engineering and Technology at Jadavpur (Calcutta). Some of them are serving the Government of India and also great industrial concerns of India. Two of India Institute Fellows in Medicine are doing most useful work among their countrymen in Trinidad (British West Indies) and in the island of Fiji. We sincerely hope that all former scholars of India Institute will actively co-operate with us and help us in carrying out our task. We shall be happy to hear from them and others who may be interested in our work.

On behalf of the people of Germany, India Institute extends its heartfelt greetings to the people of India for the establishment of a Federated Republic of the United States of India and assures friendship and cultural co-operation. We wish the people of India a glorious future in the service of Humanity.

All communications should be sent to :

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THE IVORY TOWER

By PROF. MOHANLAL KASHYAP

'O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life, I bleed!'

CONVERSING with the West Wind, the 'beautiful and ineffectual angel' of the English Romantics thus besought it, for a 'heavy weight of years' had chained and bowed Shelley, erstwhile 'tameless and swift and proud.' One may question the validity of Wordsworth's pleasing dictum that 'heaven lies about us in our infancy,' nevertheless it is certain that the rigours of life, its stains and blemishes do not approach the hallowed ground of childhood. The child may not be father of the Man, he is in many respects the wiser of the two, and unfettered are his imaginings, without exciting a derisive shrug of the shoulder. Down the long vale of years, lost in the labyrinthine woods of life, bled and beaten and bowed, a quiet yearning overtakes the tired man, to look back on the gilded horizon of childhood in the distance, where still a few glorious clouds linger and chafe his thought. Dreams, yes fantastic dreams, enwrap his fugitive mind, and never is man more miserable than in that single nostalgic moment of utter unrealisation. We often ask ourselves and go on asking why is it so very impossible to withdraw deliciously into our childhood, and share once again its delirious and innocent delights. 'We,' as the poet wisely lamented, 'look before and after, and pine for what is not.' All grow into a mystery around us, and 'tease us out of thought.' Our intellectual inquiries may, at one stage, be summed up as 'the desire of the moth for the star.' Life, every moment, every advancing minute of it, when we seem to grow, annihilates us, forces us to be what exactly we are not and to act in a manner which should only belie our native and original selves. Life again, as Shelley declared, 'stains the white radiance of eternity.' Thus it is the hatred of life, the disgust of society, the contempt of what is commonly known as 'Civilization,' are born. We all, sooner or later, in our unguarded moment, not of frustration but of self-realisation, become like the poet's Skylark, 'a scorner of the ground.' The iron enters into our soul, the spirit lies chill and dormant, the arteries are hardened. Money and materialism, name and honour, love and learning, all lag behind in our march into eternity. Ingratitude, unkindlier than winter wind, saps our original instincts. The society's obstinate insistence on resting its gaze on our darker profile only embitters us. And then we raise our voice in prayer; our thoughts, like dying embers, burn into our brooding mind. Alas, we cannot surrender our reason, and violently disbelieve the magic-show of Aladin's world.

Even Shakespeare needed to round off his workmanship in the enchanted ground of the *Tempest*. Milton, the bard of sublime strains, had to feed his hungry soul

with the twin-vision of Paradise. Edmund Spencer had to hide his muse in the languorous company of the *Faerie Queene*. Omar, the Persian singer, explained the pre-requisites of his paradise as 'wine and verse and Thou.' There is something in the tragedy of growing-up that importunately beckons us to the younger world of dream, unreason and delight. Did not Coleridge sing of such a spirit, when he said:

'For he on honey-dew hath fed
And drunk the milk of paradise.'

The critic sneered and scoffed and doubted the entire life of the 'Ivory Tower'. Sainte-Beuve had applied this much-maligned phrase first while discussing the work of his friend, Alfred de Vigny, describing his life, though active yet aloof and fastidious. Remoteness from the immediate environments is a peculiar quality of such 'towers'. But, why 'ivory'?—for it is costly and beautiful?—for it is dreamy-white? And why 'tower', high above the grim vicissitudes of life, to look down on the harsh realities, or to soar above like the bard's skylark? Indeed, it would be a very delicate structure about which, perhaps, W. B. Yeats cautioned, when he said, 'Tread softly, for you tread on my dreams'. The inevitable hardness of human life, as defined by Willa Cather in the Song of the Lark, needs a softer counterpart to make it bearable. When John Clare bemoaned, 'My friends forsake me like a memory lost', one has only to lean back on names, which according to Charles Lamb, 'carry a perfume in the mention.' Far-off shores, distant ends, the stray but oft-recalled moments of human contact, remote moorings, broken patches of a long-lost conversation, the faint, enigmatic Mona-Lisa smile of a stranger that had instantly lit us ablaze, the flicker of a surviving candle, all throng into our vacuous mind and waft us away from the immediate surroundings. Call it 'Ivory Tower', sneer at us, O Wit, we all shrink into our self-complacent, secure and satisfying shells, at one time or another.

The life of the flesh is but a faint echo of the agitation within. A soft whisper of the hungry soul. We live basically more within than without. All tremor and tribulation are only weak and indefinite shadows of the spirit. The human spirit throbs not always in violent action. Its pulsations react on our limbs too and we experience a peculiar state of intoxication. The whole panorama of the past unrolls into the present and stretches into futurity. Time does not matter, Space ceases to exist. The Mind lives, the Matter may decay. Did not Horace admit centuries ago, *Mens agitat molem*, Mind moves Matter? And reclining into the bower of our

fancy, we chew in our own cud, in 'sessions of sweet, silent thought'; a new life is witnessed along with—

'Charm'd magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.'

Names do not matter, nor does virtue, nor vice. Life of a different character is forged in such a state. Just as, when I hold the pen in my hand, all my thought and personality quietly transmit themselves on to paper, and the 'rest is silence'. Similarly, what matters in an Ivory Tower, is its own exclusive life with no trammels of an outer world, which for the while has ceased to exist.

Whatever the peril and abuse of Ivory Towers, one thing is sure. They provide their owners an escape from so much of the life outside, as does not please them. Let me shut myself in a figment, and shed aside the distasteful bonds of reality. How many of us hide ourselves, even though for a couple of hours, in the celluloid world of the screen! The Moorean Utopia, the Huxleyan Brave New World and the Wellsian Shape-of-Things-to-Come, are all intellectual manifestations of a disgust of the Real and a yearning of the not-to-happen. And there are towers of all kinds. Wine lures in many, carnal indulgence wraps in thousands, pure metaphysics and mathematics claim a few. Towers all the same, ivory or otherwise.

Within the sheltered and secluded haunts of an Ivory Tower, our Sir Prudence proclaims, there is essentially a denial or distortion of reality and truth. But, what is reality, pray, what is Truth? We ask, like the Jesting Pilate, and stay in vain for an answer. Can we really reduce mankind into an algebraical symbol? The corporeal element of passions, if abstracted, will reduce man to a mathematical equation. Charles Morgan is considered to be a novelist of the Ivory Tower. But, admittedly though, his world in the *Fountain* and the *Voyage* smacks of the exotic and the alien, it invariably delivers the reader from the 'oppression of an outward reality' and guides him to a 'deeper level' of the spirit. And at these levels both Truth and Reality are stronger and purer. Prof. G. H. Hardy, the mathematician, in *A Mathematician's Apology* observes, again, that 'many people, of course, use *sentimentalism* as a term of abuse for other people's decent feelings, and *realism* as a disguise for their own brutality.' It is clear, thus, how both Truth and Reality masquerade in elusive shades and what

varying degrees of personal emotions determine our use and application of such clichés.

The people who seek refuge from real life in Hollywood films, alcohol, or jazz music, are too inarticulate to defend their choice. This must be remembered by the wise men who deride these people. It might be, however, suggested that it is impossible to get away completely from reality, and there must be a certain measure of reality in an Academy Award film, a loathsome song or even in the mythical legend of a nomad hero. The realists bigotedly maintain that nothing is real unless it is unpleasant, that no food is nutritive unless it is austere or even distasteful. And at some stage these puritans might believe all good health, natural buoyancy of spirit displayed in laughter and hilarity clearly as objects of suspicion. Life's experience itself would persuade them that a happy love-story, a pot of beer or a sweet song are every bit as real as a skin disease, or the mind of Einstein. Stronger advocates may face such criticism bravely and declare that they have withdrawn into their so-called 'ivory towers', which are only a state of mind, accepted as a home, precisely because they find reality within it, and much unreality outside it.

There are, besides, realities of all kinds. The physical reality. The temporary flux of everyday life. The mathematical reality, the most austere and the most remote of all arts and sciences, which for many a mathematician may well serve an incomparable anodyne. It is not necessary to draw a wild flower to be a real painter, to sing in the jingo of the coal-miner to be a good poet. It has been remarked in our own times, you cannot make people good except by Acts of Parliament, and there totalitarianism insinuates the thin end of its wedge into our democratic society. And a cry comes from every window of our ivory towers that within the little world of man there are regions where Acts of Parliament mean nothing, and such regions hold no less reality. Our civilization is threatened not so much with economic or political disaster; but activities mocked as dull vibrations of an Ivory Tower are needed to sustain it and protect it before it crumbles down. To surrender these intimate vacations of the human spirit to the urgency of practical ends would be to dwarf the very stature of the human soul.



A BRIEF HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY

By NRIPENDRA NATH SEN, M.A.

DEMONIC VIEW OF MENTAL DISEASE

PSYCHIATRY, the science of the treatment of the mentally ill, which has made wonderful strides in the twentieth century, was not only unknown but inexorably mixed up with demonology a couple of centuries ago. In the 14th and 15th centuries the mentally ill were supposed to be possessed by the devil, and therefore open to execution. The magician, the sorcerer, the witch, the heretic and the mentally ill were all regarded to be agents or servants of Lucifer. Mental abnormality was considered to be a symptom of satanic influence on the 'possessed.' Between 1487 and 1489, two German monks—Sprenger and Kræmar—brought a book entitled *Malleus Maleficarum*, the Witch's Hammer, which was the most authoritative document of the age. *Malleus* reads,

"Those err who say that there is no witchcraft, But this is contrary to true faith which teaches us that certain angels fell from heaven and are now devils. . . ."

It further says that the devils "have six ways of injuring humanity. And one is, to induce an evil love in a man for a woman, or in a woman for a man. The second is to plant hatred and jealousy in anyone. The third is to bewitch them so that a man cannot perform the genital act with a woman, or conversely a woman with a man, or by various means to procure an abortion, as has been said before. The fourth is to cause some disease in any of the human organs. The fifth is to take away life. The sixth is to deprive them of reason."¹ Thus the whole sphere of sexology, criminology and psychiatry has been condensed in such a simple, yet dreadful formula. Next to the devil, the wrath of the monks fell on women.

"All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in woman insatiable. See Proverbs XXX"²

The spirit of *Malleus* dominated Europe for over two centuries, when in the name of Religion, Morality and Society innocent men and women, even children were subject to ghastly and inhuman tortures.

JOHANN WEYER (1515-1588)

The first to raise voice against the pernicious doctrine of witchcraft was Johann Weyer. Against the judges of his time he said:

"The Judges would discharge their duties much better and more reasonably if the logs and the faggots on which innocent people were burned are put to better use and if the expenses incurred in order to maintain this carnage were considerably cut down."³

Diagonally opposed to the spirit of *Malleus Maleficarum*, Weyer declared that the witches were mentally ill and as such they should receive all amenities due to ailing humanity; the monks and the judges who tormented

the witches must be punished. He attempted to show that the Biblical references to witches, which were quoted in support of the malicious tenets of the *Malleus* had all been misinterpreted and they all but lent support to this argument that the witches are mentally sick people. As a true physician he attempted to show that those diseases, etiology of which were attributed to witches had natural causes. Though in his age, Weyer's was a lone voice, yet he was the first to overthrow the myth of witchcraft and to advocate a scientific and humane approach to the mentally ill.

PHILIPPE PINEL (1745-1826)

Johann Weyer's plea for medical and legal steps against the criminal tortures perpetrated on the insanes was translated into practice after two hundred and thirty years, as the wrath of the monks and dogmatism of the people took time to subside.

"The mentally sick," declared Pinel, "far from being guilty people deserving of punishment are sick people whose miserable state deserves all the consideration that is due to suffering humanity. One should try with the most simple methods to restore their reason."

Accordingly, when in 1793, Pinel was appointed in the Bicetre in Paris, the zoo of the mentally sick people, who were chained and confined there, without hope of redemption, he decided to let them free. He had the firm conviction that they were intractable only because fresh air and liberty were denied to them.

"Does not the deranged," asked Pinel, "need to breathe pure and healthy air?"

But even such innocent and pertinent plea fell into deaf ears as the air was still surcharged with demonic views. Pinel's work aroused so much suspicion, horror and indignation in the minds of the people that one day he was knocked down on the street by an angry mob and would have been lynched had not an ex-prisoner of Bicetre fought off the crowd. But the steady feet of the scientist never wavered and throughout the tumultuous period of the French Revolution, Pinel continued with the zeal of a Reformist to study, write and train medical personnel for psychiatric nursing. Pinel's theories and classifications of mental diseases, though methodical and clear and sometimes original, are not of much importance now, for Psychiatry has already passed its infancy. But his contribution lies in the establishment and organisation of mental hospitals on scientific and humanitarian lines. Mental hospitals are necessary not only for the sake of insanes, but also for accurate observation, tests, comparisons, verifications, etc. A mental hospital is the laboratory of the Psychiatrist. Zilboorg observes:

"...it is the organisation of proper mental hospitals which made 'moral treatment,' that is to say Psycho-therapy possible."⁴

1. *Malleus Maleficarum* (Eng. Ed.), pp. 2, 3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

* *Ibid.*, p. 159.

3. Quoted from Zilboorg: *A History of Medical Psychology*, p. 200.

4. Zilboorg: *A History of Medical Psychology*, p. 327.

Pinel's contribution in the organisation of mental hospitals must be regarded as the true beginning of Psychiatry.

MESMERISM

Mesmer (1734-1815), an Austrian student of medicine, struck upon a remarkable discovery "animal magnetism" and in 1778 came to Paris, the cultural and intellectual hub of Europe. Common people who flocked to Mesmer were so easily impressed and overwhelmed by the mesmeric practices which produced fits, starts, laughing and crying, insensitiveness, etc., in the magnetised persons, that Mesmerism, within a short time, became the order of the day. Mesmer's theory of 'animal magnetism' was however "a bizzare combination of Newtonian discoveries and astrological reveries." He was deeply influenced by the teachings of Paracelsus, a sixteenth century physician who had attempted to demonstrate stellar influence on human health. Mesmer believed that stars exerted a mysterious influence on all human beings by means of a constant flow of a magnetic fluid. A balance of the magnetic fluid in our body keeps it healthy, but a disturbance in the equilibrium causes disease. The magnetiser seeks to re-establish the lost equilibrium.

Though Mesmerism had evoked a great wonder and appreciation by its spectacular results among the common people, the scientific circle was quite sceptical of the extravagant claims of Mesmer. A Committee of the leading scientists, including Lavoisier and Benjamin Franklin, appointed by the Academie of Sciences to investigate the phenomenon of Mesmerism considered the existence of majestic fluids fictitious and mesmeric practices, such as touchings and pressures as definitely harmful for the patients. The Committee declared:

"Any public magnetic treatment cannot but have at length very harmful results."

Philippe Pinel, the great pioneer of the Psychiatric movement, had no high idea about Mesmerism. In a letter to a friend, he humourously confides:

"...the ladies here harbour a great zeal for this new medicine; and as certain contracts are required and the development of a certain industry on the part of the doctor who magnetises, the ladies find it all very sweet."

Despite the ridicule of Pinel and contempt of the scientific circle, Mesmerism continued to grow and find new adherents. It invaded England and America. In England, Dr. John Elliotson, a Professor of Medicine, in the University of London, devoted himself assiduously to 'magnetising.' But when he was considering the feasibility of using mesmerism as an anæsthetic in surgery, the Council of University ruled that "the Hospital Committee be instructed to take such steps as they shall deem most advisable to prevent the practice of mesmerism or animal magnetism in future within the Hospital."⁵ Instead of attempting at a scientific understanding of the baffling phenomenon of animal magnetism, the scientific

and medical professions of both France and England, evinced an inveterate prejudice against innovations, born of conservatism which is so very natural, yet contrary to true scientific temper. Unmindful of strong and bitter opposition, Elliotson continued his research and found in Mesmerism a truly psychological technique of therapy opposed to the then prevalent practices of blistering, purgation, bleeding, etc., in case of neuroses. Elliotson asserted that

"Mesmerism was useful in hysteria and other functional nervous disorders (that is neuroses). Those diseases, he said, are generally misunderstood, and treated in a worse than useless manner. . . . Marriage, with disastrous results, was sometimes suggested as a remedy for hysterical women, on the supposition that the disease was essentially of a sexual character. It is not, however, necessarily connected with the uterus, nor confined to the female sex, but occurred frequently both in boys and men. Mesmerism, not medicine (that is drugs), was the appropriate treatment of hysteria."

Thus, Elliotson was one of the earliest to use mesmerism as a therapeutic agent other than drugs.

Another English surgeon, James Braid (1795-1860), studied Mesmerism and was convinced that the whole phenomena had nothing to do with 'animal magnetism,' 'magnetic fluid,' 'stellar magnetism,' etc. and were based on subjective reactions, or 'imagination.' James Braid, however, could not put forward a plausible psychological theory, though he rightly discarded the myth of magnetism. He introduced the terms 'hypnotism,' 'hypnotiser,' 'hypnotic,' which are now in vogue.

HYPNOTISM

Liebeault (1823-1904), a French country doctor began to use mesmerism entirely on different lines. He asked his patients to co-operate with him. He found that a greater spirit of co-operation shown by the patient yielded a quick result. He further noticed that nervous and hysterical patients were most refractory to hypnotic suggestions. This was contrary to popular belief. Liebeault proceeded with his work in a thoroughly unassuming and unpretentious manner. It is only for his dispassionate and methodical survey of the mesmeric phenomenon, which was hitherto contentiously advocated or contemptuously rejected that mesmerism emerged not only as a technique of treatment of certain diseases but a new method of psychiatric investigation.

Charcot (1825-1893): As differentiated from the Nancy School of Hypnotism founded by Liebeault, Charcot, a neurologist and medical investigator, founded the Salpatriere School of Hypnosis in Paris. Charcot and his followers experimented on a large number of patients, recording patiently various symptoms exhibited in the process of hypnotising. Changes in the state of the musculature, the reflex activities, the characteristics of sensory were carefully tabulated. Three successive levels of hypnosis—lethargy, catalepsy and somnambulism—were discovered. Charcot's approach being thoroughly neurological, his main effort was to find out changes in the brain

5. Bramwell: *Hypnotism, Its History, Practice and Theory*, p. 7.

6. Bramwell: *op. cit.*, p. 9.

and nerves which accompanied and were responsible for various hypnotic states. As distinguished from the Nancy School, the investigation of the Salpatriere School led to the conclusion that all the characteristics of hypnotic states could be induced and observed in hysterics.

In 1882, Charcot won a great battle over the Académie des Sciences which had twice condemned all investigations on animal magnetism, forcing it to accept the existence of the hypnotic phenomenon. It was a great success, no doubt, as it broke the age-long dogmatism of the conservative medical men and as a consequence neurologists from various parts of Europe flocked to Salpatriere School for their studies. Among the young neuropathologists was Sigmund Freud who came in 1885 and who, fifteen years later, brought a revolution in the field of Psychiatry.

Bernheim (1837-1919) who was a friend and disciple of Liebeault and worked in Nancy, began to collect data on a massive scale. He hypnotised about ten thousand persons, studied and recorded their symptoms and came to the conclusion that the Salpatriere School's finding that it was only hysterics who exhibited characteristic signs of hypnosis, e.g., lethargy, catalepsy and somnambulism, was unsubstantiated by facts. Bernheim raised a legitimate objection against Charcot's method of hypnotising, in which inadvertent 'suggestions' made by the hypnotiser produced endless variety of manifestations. Bernheim further contended that all people, leaving a few exceptions, could be hypnotised, and that we must study suggestion and suggestibility in order to understand the hypnotic process. Not to speak of hypnosis, the majority of our social and religious behaviour, normal and abnormal, are influenced by 'suggestion.' Thus Bernheim attempted to unearth the roots of hypnotic symptoms in something which guided human behaviour in general. Zilboorg observes:

"Historically this conception of Bernheim's, no matter how tentative, should be considered the first (known) attempt to evolve a general understanding of human behaviour, and its motivation on the basis of the study of psychopathology rather than on the basis of philosophical systems."

Ultimately Bernheim carried his point against Charcot as the former was fully equipped with an impressive clinical data to corroborate his contentions.

Janet (1859) made a special study of hysteria and amassed abundant psychological material. He distinguished the inner conflict of the hysterics with reality and also recognised 'unconscious' tendencies manifesting in hysterical symptoms, but he failed to broaden the concept of the 'unconscious' and apply it to mental dynamics of all sorts which Freud did. With the predilections of Salpatriere tradition he seemed to take "no special interest in penetrating more deeply into the psychology of the neurosis"⁸ and looked for the etiology of hysteria in congenital factors.

CONTRIBUTION OF NANCY AND SALPATRIERE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHIATRY

Whatever be the differences of these two schools as regards the method and theory of hypnosis, both of them brought a revolution in the field of psychiatry by their methodical research on the hypnotic process—a new technique for the study of insane as well as non-insane. Though no satisfactory theory of hypnosis was put forward, yet the first stage of scientific progress, i.e., collection of data, was gone through with extraordinary success. The psychiatrists, in their attempt to cure their patients, learned more and more of the nature of neurosis. Thus psychotherapy led to better knowledge of neurosis which, in its turn, led to improve therapeutic measures. The dark and sinister forces of superstition and bigotry, let loose by the *Malleus Maleficarum* were overcome by humanitarian and scientific attitude. The foundation of psychiatric hospitals, societies, publication of research reports marked the advent of a new era in psychiatry—the age of systems.

The work of Nancy and Salpatriere School represents only one line of psychiatric investigations which, in the nineteenth century, had assumed a vast and complex structure with numerous psychiatric organisations, clinics, asylums, periodicals, schools and independent investigations. Among the independent psychiatrists of the first half of the 19th century was Guillaume Ferrus (1784-1861) who became physician-in-charge in the Bicetre in 1826, where Pinel had initiated revolutionary changes. He went one step beyond Pinel by segregating criminal insanes from ordinary insanes, since the former required special attention. He made his patients work in the diary and workshops and hospitals, and thus inaugurated what is known as "occupational therapy." But the main pre-occupation of Ferrus was criminals and prison reform. Though Ferrus treated his patients with humaneness and kindness, yet he was frankly against the idea of 'non-restraint' introduced by Conolly (1794-1866), an English psychiatrist. 'Non-restraint' meant that the patients must be free from all mechanical restraints. Ferrus considered this impractical and idealistic, for even in Conolly's hospital he found an epileptic patient held by four powerful guards.

So far as psychiatric theory was concerned, Ferrus believed that mental disease was a brain disease. Ferrus said:

"An alteration, or at least a powerful organic modification (in the brain) is the only thing which can explain the perseverance and the long duration of the malady."⁹

Esquirol (1772-1840), a pupil of Pinel, studied a great number of clinical and medico-legal problems of psychiatry. He was the first to treat psychiatric data statistically. He also introduced and defined the term 'hallucination,' and the definition is still regarded as the correct one. As distinguished from false perceptions or illusions, hallucinations were actual pseudo-sensory pro-

7. Zilboorg: *A History of Medical Psychology*.

8. Freud: *Autobiography*, pp. 20, 21.

9. Zilboorg: *A History of Medical Psychology*, p. 338.

ducts of the mental disturbance itself. Esquirol's studies on hallucinations were followed up by Baillarger (1809-1890), who was the first to observe that hallucinations were 'involuntary.' Baillarger also studied the hallucinatory experiences in the normal people in the state between going asleep and being awake. Farlet (1794-1871), another pupil of Esquirol, made a special study of mental depressions accompanied by suicidal impulses. He noticed that a state of elation or mania was followed by that of depression or melancholia. Elation and depression follow each other in a cyclic manner; thus he discovered what is now known as manic depressive insanity.

Morel (1809-1873) started his career with a strong plea for greater emphasis on psychological studies which in his time were neglected in favour of the physiological studies. But he himself later abandoned his view-point and emphasised the role of hereditary factors in the genesis of mental diseases. Mental illness was to him a sort of degeneration, and all degenerations were hereditary. Like his contemporaries, Morel devoted himself to medico-legal problems, which earned him reputation.

We have reviewed till now French Psychiatry from Pinel to Morel, the main characteristics of which are as follows: Firstly, a humanistic, rational, practical and experimental approach to the problem of insanity; secondly, a general tendency to observe carefully and describe mental and physiological symptoms, instead of hurrying to classify and to theorise; and thirdly, a thoroughly physiological standpoint which led to the separation of psychiatry from psychology, which was still regarded as an handmaid of philosophy.

ENGLISH PSYCHIATRY

Psychiatry in England received its first impetus from William Tuke, a contemporary of Philippe Pinel, when in 1792 he founded York Retreat, a humane hospital for the mentally ill. Tuke's York Retreat attracted many European visitors, and with it began a new epoch of reorganisation of hospitals and legislative reforms, which gradually tended to become more and more humanistic and rationalistic. Some of the notable English psychiatrists of the 19th century were Andrew Marshall (1742-1815), Mason Cox (1762-1822) and Andrew Combe (1792-1847). Their writings evinced a clear physiological approach. Mental diseases were supposed to be due to brain lesions. Psychological symptoms, such as delusions, hallucinations, depressions, etc. were regarded as only incidental results of a brain disease. The humanistic trend in English Psychiatry was visible from its emphasis on medico-legal reforms. Average man's fear and disgust of the criminals and insanes are reflected in the laws of a country, derived as they are from the customs, conventions and history of the land. English Psychiatrists, like the French, waged war against age-old superstitions of man. They sought to make the community alive to its duty towards the lunatics and the law-breakers, and demanded that the State must protect them from thoughtless persecutions and criminal negligence. Imbued with the spirit of humanism, English medical psychologists

sought to remove all sorts of mechanical restraint exercised on the mentally ill. Though 'non-restraint' method did not prove a practical proposition, it reflected democratic respect and sympathy for man. From the middle of the nineteenth century, English Psychiatry began to show greater interest in classification of the clinical data. But a dispute arose regarding the basis of classification. Whether mental diseases should be classified on the basis of symptoms or etiology was the point at issue. David Skæ (1819-1873) and his followers advocated symptomatic approach towards mental disease, since, according to them, classification ought to be on the basis of facts, i.e., symptoms and not assumed causes. Skæ's classification contained such groups as idiots, chronic masturbators, 'sthenic,' 'asthenic,' etc. But Skæ failed to stick to his principle since he could not but think in terms of assumed causes. On the other hand, H. Maudsley (1835-1918) was the typical representative of the etiological approach. Mental diseases were viewed simply as brain diseases. Purely physiological states, e.g., anæmia, infections, poisons, toxic conditions, were regarded to be causes of mental diseases. Maudsley followed the traditional scheme of classification into emotional disturbances, affective insanity and disturbances of imagination.

D. H. Tuke (1827-1895) offered a classification of three groups with twenty-two sub-groups. Though the classification itself was based on considerable clinical material, yet it failed to point out the etiology of mental diseases. Further, any rigid classification of mental diseases implied the existence of separate and distinct mental diseases, which was, however, not borne out by facts. No mental disease can claim to have certain symptoms, exclusively its own. Psychiatrists failed to prove that they really dealt with separate diseases.

Daniel Hack Tuke, grandson of William Tuke, founder of York Retreat, was the most influential psychiatrist of his time. In early years he lived in York Retreat when he became intimate with and sympathetic towards mental patients. He made extensive tour in Europe, and met and discussed with all the notable psychiatrists of his time. In 1884, appeared his *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles*, a product of phenomenal industry and great clinical acumen. In the *Dictionary of Medical Psychology* he contributed sixty-seven articles. He also brought out and edited *Manual of Psychological Medicine and Journal of Mental Science*. Regarding asylums, Tuke said:

"The treatment of the insane ought to be such that we should be able to regard the asylums of the land as one vast Temple of Health, in which the priests of Esculapius, rivalling the Egyptians and Greeks of old, are constantly ministering and are sacrificing their time and talents on the altar of Psyche."

It marks the culmination of the humanistic trend in psychiatry flagrantly in contrast to callous inhumanity prevalent only two centuries ago. Regarding Tuke, Zilboorg observes:

"His influence on English Psychiatry was inestimable, and it is sad to relate that none of equal

stature arose in England to replace him. His professional authority was immense, and the combination of scholarship and leadership which he presented was rare.¹²⁰

GERMAN PSYCHIATRY

Since the days of Pinel and William Tuke, the leadership of psychiatry belonged to France and England. But after the middle of the 19th century, Germany which was lagging behind came to the forefront. German psychiatry in the beginning of the 19th century was under the influence of mysticism and romanticism, and the 'a priori' method of metaphysics was in vogue. The romantics were rich in ideas, which were, however, cloaked with theological, sentimental and metaphysical terminology. Among the important leaders of this period were Friedrich Groos (1768-1852), Heinroth (1773-1843), Alexander Haindorf (1782-1862), Wilhelm Idler (1795-1860) and Beneke (1798-1854). They stressed the importance of studying the psychological or the subjective states of the mentally ill. They looked upon man in his totality, and therefore advocated the consideration of the whole structure of our society, civilisation, culture and history. This movement was, however, short-lived as it was submerging by somatological psychiatry which followed it.

Among those who sought to extricate psychiatry from romantic affiliations, the most outstanding and influential was *Wilhelm Griessinger* (1817-1878). He was a somatologist, who believed that all mental diseases were organic diseases. He regarded numerous typically psychological reactions as reflex actions of the brain. All psychological activity was translated in terms of reflex actions. Thus, Griessinger was a forerunner of Pavlov's Reflexology. Though Griessinger's extreme somatology may now seem to be insular and unwarranted by actual observations, it performed an historical need in weaning German Psychiatry from its romantic moorings. *Mynert* (1833-1892), a younger contemporary of Griessinger, and a Professor of Sigmund Freud, sought to classify mental diseases strictly on anatomical grounds. He ventured to relate psychoses to the changes in the circulatory system. Little evidence was, however, found in support of such preposterous and extravagant notions. *Karl Ludwig Kahlbaum* (1828-1899) sought to introduce the method of natural science into the field of psychiatry. Every disease must be watched through three stages—origin, course and outcome. Kahlbaum gave a monograph of each disease.

The emergence of *Emil Kraepelin* (1855-1926), who founded a system and a school, was the most significant fact towards the close of the 19th century. Kraepelin like his predecessors, was deeply imbued with the spirit of natural sciences. He warned his followers against the stultifying influence of German metaphysicians like Kant, Fichte, Hegel, etc. Kraepelin's approach was thoroughly deterministic and formalistic. He studied carefully thousands of cases, sorted out common features in them and made a generalised picture of mental diseases. In conformity with the formalistic creed, which was the temper

of his age, he disregarded and discounted individual characteristics and emphasised the common forms. On the basis of his statistical tables, Kraepelin classified mental diseases into two main groups—*dementia precox* and manic-depressive psychoses. Manic-depressive insanity had cyclic course, the patient being alternately subjected to a series of attacks of elations and depressions. *Dementia precox* was characterised by auditory hallucinations and delusions, persecutory trends, loss of emotional and affective contact with society. It led to deterioration, and Kraepelin held that manic-depressive insanity was curable and *dementia precox* was incurable. *Dementia precox* was considered to be an endogenous illness—that is caused by constitutional or inherent factors as distinguished from exogenous psychoses, which resulted from external or environmental factors. Kraepelin's conception of *dementia precox* was fatalistic, for he attributed it to certain constitutional predispositions which *naturally and invariably* led to deterioration of mental faculties, which could not, therefore, be cured or checked.

The weakness of Kraepelinian system was its bare formalism and artificiality. Man was reduced to merely an entity, belonging to a system of causes and effects.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PSYCHIATRY

Since the days of Pinel till the close of the 19th century, Psychiatry had made considerable progress. Of its numerous achievements, the more important ones, which were of a lasting nature, were: *Firstly*, the age-long superstition and religious bigotry, which considered the mentally ill as possessed by devils or as agents of Satan and executed them, were transplanted by a humanistic and scientific outlook. The insane were actually sick people, deserving utmost kindness, care and vigilance. It required much time to win the simple point: the 'insane' are sick. *Secondly*, the progressive realisation of the above fact led to the foundation of psychiatric organisations, hospitals and journals, and immense clinical data were obtained and classified. *Thirdly*, the discovery of hypnosis was of monumental importance in so far as it was the first psycho-therapeutic agent, as distinct from purely physical methods of treatment by bleeding, blistering, purgation and drugs. *Fourthly*, almost all types of psychopathological reactions were closely observed and classified. Much of the clinical data are of great importance even now, for typical cases are rare, and advanced psychiatry cannot dispense with observations made and recorded with meticulous care.

This is but one side of the picture. Psychiatry needed a revolutionary re-orientation. In spite of vigorous research for three centuries, a fundamental question, *viz.*, 'What is mental illness' could not be answered. Physical illness is palpably clear; the patient knows that he is suffering, but mental illness is seldom recognised by patients as well as by onlookers, unless it verges on total insanity. The influential psychiatrists before the 20th century regarded psychological symptoms as secondary manifestations of brain's lesions. All forms of mental

¹²⁰ Zilboorg: *A History of Medical Psychology*, p. 425.

illness were regarded to be of physiological origin. In their zeal to combat romantic and theological notions of mental illness, and to build up the new science after the analogy of biology and medicine, psychiatrists built up a psychiatry without psychology. To them, mental illness

was ultimately a form of physical disease of the nervous system. A change in this outlook was necessary, and to Sigmund Freud belongs the credit of bringing about the most significant revolution in the whole history of psychiatry.

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A POET OF MEN: WALT WHITMAN

By Dr. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.

AN artist is as much a product of his society as his art is a product of his own reactions to life. Even the greatest of artists is sometimes a conscious, sometimes an unconscious plagiarist of his time spirit and the time spirit is, of course, the total outcome, the quint-essential accretion of all the political, social, religious, and scientific changes of a particular age. The historical aspect of art, therefore, however minor or unimportant it may be for aesthetic purpose, cannot be totally ignored.

Yet strange it is that many great poets dealing with the lives of their own time were not appreciated, not even sometimes understood by their coevals and contemporaries. Minor artists with their exclusive outlook on life, their cheap idealism and disregard for men and things round about them and their shocking novelty of technique may quite reasonably alienate themselves from the public, but why should the greatest and the best whose works have been the veritable cosmographies of their periods suffer this contumely? Without giving an answer to this question which might be flattering to the poets, suffice it to say that the indifference of their ages does not in any way rob them of their artistic glory, not because the common reader is not the ultimate connoisseur but because they have the potentiality of being understood and appreciated under changed circumstances (the process of such changes they might even foresee). To be explicit, a poet whose works are convertible into valuable and accessible property to all in any future age can unhesitatingly make his claim to immortal fame however callously he might have been treated by the people of his own generation. Popularity, of course, is not the test of great poetry, but great poetry can be popular and if a poet is both great and popular at the same time and there are some who are really so — what can be better than this rare but desirable combination? In fact, knowledge or appreciation of greatness is more or less intuitive. To receive for instance, the impression of awe and grandeur that a wild surging sea gives, one need not undergo a period of training and moreover the impression of the common man does not fundamentally differ from that of the uncommon man if there be any. A great poet for his artistic subtleties may not be aesthetically enjoyed and appreciated by the common man but his poetry with its word-music, its imageries, its love for and faithfulness to life, its note of

idealism will certainly bring to him a consciousness of life and feeling of joy and nobility.

Walt Whitman is a great and a popular poet in spite of the fact that he was not properly appreciated in his life-time. Though he sang of a new world and a new life that were in the making in his age—and still are in the same process—the various facets of that world and life which he could foresee did not yet lay themselves bare and circumstances, therefore, were unfavourable for a proper assessment of his poetic talents. A Whitman to be fully judged and appreciated by his own age required to have been preceded by a Freud, an Einstein, a Lenin and some of the exponents of *vers libre*. And since he was born a little earlier than his time like many of the great poets and since people all over the world have now started realising the importance of the Marxist ideal of equality, Freud's revelations about sex, physicist's idea of the world and the new experiments in rhyme and meter, Whitman will naturally have a willing and appreciative audience. And hence this growing interest in and enthusiasm for his poetry.

Language being his medium, a poet is apparently at a greater advantage than other artists who communicate through less familiar media. Yet generally painting and music impress with greater force and more immediacy. The reason for this seeming paradox is not far to seek. Poetry has the danger of being exclusive and its exclusiveness more resented for the familiarity of its medium because words in poetry very often shake off their commonly understood meaning; the simple meaning becomes oblique and in such cases poetry is saved from becoming idiosyncratic or inartistically personal by the elements of painting and music inherent in the words themselves. The question that naturally arises is: How much of the simple meaning of the word is retained in poetry? or Is the simple meaning fatal to poetic expression? The difficulty in understanding or appreciating a poem is mainly due either to the use of unfamiliar words or the unfamiliar use of familiar words. But great poets need not and also do not fight shy of the simple meaning with a spirit of affected disdain, so also do they not scornfully set aside the common experiences of man and abstain from picking out images from the life of the senses that we everyday live. The poet's alchemy is not so much due to twists in the meaning as to the wielding of a metrical or rhythmic pattern.

and also to the constant and abiding reference to common life. Verily and aptly it is said: "No poetry which when mastered is not better heard than read is good poetry" and that "the test of a poet is the frequency and diversity of the occasions on which we remember his poetry." In fact a poet is said to be popular when his poems are heard and appreciated rather than read and understood for, the readers of poetry will always be few but great poetry if it is read out is appreciated by many. All great poets in this sense are popular because great poetry is characterised by a note of metric or rhythmic declamation. So are the epics and the dramas too.

In this sense also Whitman is a great poet of men.

In setting, style and subject-matter, his poems taken together and considered as a whole will give the impression of an epic. One may even form an idea of what a modern epic would be like, loose and complicated in construction even as the modern life is, in style wide and wild, oratorical and forceful, set to an orchestral music by the infinite and varied cadences of *vers libre*. And at the same time his poetry has the direct and imposing effect of drama because he expresses himself always in the first person. Yet *Leaves of Grass*, his poetic autobiography, is the life-story of a universalised individual, of a singing America. In his own words:

"Most great poets are impersonal, I am personal.

In my poems all revolves round, concentrates in, radiates from myself. I have but one central figure, the general human personality typified in myself. But my book compels, absolutely necessitates every reader to transpose himself or herself into the central position and become the living fountain, actor, experimenter himself or herself of every page, every aspiration, every line."

Or, as Whitman declared, his *Leaves of Grass*, called by his biographers 'the Bible of Democracy' is "A nation announcing itself" and as such it deals with "something not exactly mine but spoken through me that must outlast me, something not owed to my ego but having a race quality." This announcing self at times may appear to be very proud, asserting and self-conscious, but this is what it is to be as the mightiest and the finest of God's creations or even as the potential God. Nineteenth century America, the New England, was an age of renaissance; if not so much of wonder at least very much of recognition of permanent human values but not at all less creative for that matter. Lincoln played the Elizabeth for Whitman and he sang of a life bewildering in its variety, unfathomable for its contradictions, mighty in its exuberance.

Whitman has been accused of a facile optimism which accusation is wrong and untenable simply because it is based on a misunderstanding or a superficial understanding of his poetry. As a poet his only duty was to accept life heroically, to look squarely at facts, to receive all and reject none for,

isn't this life worth living, so charming and mysterious because of its paradoxes and inconsistencies? Isn't our sky rainbowed with colours each differing from the other?

"I am not the poet of goodness only, I do not decline to be poet of wickedness also.

What blurt is this about virtue and about vice?

Evil propels me and reform of evil propels me,

I stand indifferent,

My gait is not fault-finder's or rejecter's gait,

I moisten the roots of all that has grown."

No, he is not even afraid of contradicting himself because he is vast and wide and wild as life is.

"Do I contradict myself?

Very well then I contradict myself,

(I am large, I contain multitudes)."

True it is he was an unflinching believer "in the wisdom, health, mystery, beauty of every process, every concrete object, every human or other existence" but this belief did not come to him through books or preconceived ideas, but through his own intimate personal experiences, the experiences of common man as he would call them for he considered himself to be so and there is nothing of a patron's inspiration, a condescender's buck up or a sympathiser's affectation in him; he is always addressing his equals and all are his equals.

"I have look'd for equals and lovers and found them ready for me in all hands."

Yes, an average man he was so far as the life he lived and professions he chose and took to in rapid succession are concerned. Born in a farmer family in 1819, he was educated in a public school, learnt printer's trade, taught in a country school, did editorial and reportorial work in newspapers, made an extensive pedestrian tour as a workman through the United States and Canada and subsequently employed himself as a carpenter and a builder. His brother was wounded in the Civil War and he rushed for his aid only to remain at Washington and Virginia as a voluntary army nurse. After the war he accepted a Government clerkship in Washington but fatigue and strain due to his heavy and ceaseless work in the hospitals ultimately brought a severe attack of paralysis in 1873 and though he lived up to a ripe old age to die in 1892 he never regained his former health. The sacrifice of his life for his country, therefore, was as vicarious as any true patriot's. There is no condescension, no pity or compassion, not even a half-hearted acceptance of an unpleasant life with 'a can't help it.' His acceptance is heroic, ungrudging, armful with a feeling of mystery and joy and relish. He would not, as his Boswell Dr. Bucke writes, "allow his tongue to give expressions to fretfulness, antipathy, complaint and remonstrance...He never spoke deprecatingly of any nationality or class of men or time in world's history or against any trade and occupations not even against any animals, insects or inanimate things, nor any of the laws of Nature nor any of the results of these

laws, such as illness, deformity and death. He never complained or grumbled either at the weather, pain, illness or any thing else. He never exhibited fear and I do not believe he ever felt it."

When such a man sings of life there is bound to be in his poetry all the glow and the zest and the excess of life itself. How truly he writes :

"Comrade, this is no book,
Who touches this, touches a man."

And Lincoln said when he saw him striding down a street in Washington, 'Well, he looks like a man.' Elsewhere the poet himself writes :

"Behold, I do not give lectures or little charity,
When I give, I give myself."

Whitman sang of America. Was he then merely a national poet? Is his America a geographical and a political unit, a particular people or a nation? No, it was not even Lincoln's America; he calls it the New World with a symbolic implication. Yet the inhabitants of this New World will have an infinite and soulful relish for the life of the senses, they will follow the natural religion, they are pagan epicureans and yet avowed idealists. In his poetry therefore there is a happy and harmonious union between idealism and realism: 'He is an idealist bound by a solemn vow to be a thorough-going realist.' For this 'good gray poet' 'the caresser of life wherever flowing' what is America then, what does it stand for? 'If America is not for freedom,' he said once, 'I do not know what it is for. I am for getting all the walls down, all of them.' 'But must you not take care of home first of all?' asked an American. The reply was: 'Perhaps, but what is home? To the humanitarian what is home?'

So, to know his America we will have to turn to his poems. No 'Inside U.S.A.' will serve as the guide book in his New World. For an entry there the passport is a copy of the *Leaves of Grass*. The poet himself suggests :

"I heard that you ask'd for something to prove
this puzzle—the New World,
And to define America, her athletic democracy,
Therefore, I send you my poems that you
behold in them what you wanted."

Let us now read the 'inscription' just before entering his World :

"One's self I sing, a simple separate person,
Yet utter the word Democratic, the Word
En-masse.

Of physiology from top to toe I sing,
Not physiognomy alone, nor brain alone is
worthy for the
Muse, I say the Form complete is worthier far,
The female equally with the Male I sing.
Of life immense in passion, pulse, and power,
Cheerful, for freest action form'd under the
law divine,

The Modern Man I sing."

Modern men and women, them he calls the 'children of Adam.' Simple, vigorous, dreamy they

turn their eyes on every little bit of life with Adamic wonder, for them there is no end of miracles, charm and beauty :

"The revolving cycles in their wide sweep having
brought Me again
Amorous, mature, all beautiful to me, all
wondrous."

In the poems of the next book the burning and passionate desire that has been so poignantly expressed is one for unity, for pulling all the walls down.

"Passing stranger! You do not know how
lovingly
I look upon you,
You must be he I was seeking,
Or she I was seeking, (it comes to me as of
a dream)
I have somewhere surely lived a life of joy
with you,
All is recall'd as we flit by each other, fluid,
affectionate, chaste, matured,
You grew up with me.....
I am to wait, I do not doubt I am to meet
you again,
I am to see to it that I do not lose you."

or

"It seems to me there are other men in other
lands yearning and thoughtful,
And it seems to me if I could know those men
I should become attached to them as I
do to men in my own lands
O I know we should be brethren and lovers,
I know I should be happy with them."

So they take to wings, these 'Birds of Passage'—the pioneers, their marching song is the song of the universal :

"Give me O God to sing that thought,
Give me, give him or her I love this quench-
less faith....
Belief in plan of Thee enclosed in Time and
Space,
Health, peace, salvation universal.
Is it a dream?
Nay but the lack of it the dream
And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream.
And all the world a dream."

The tan-faced children of Adam, the pioneers move on :

"These are of us, they are with us,
All for primal need work, while the followers
there in embryo wait behind,
We to-day's procession heading, we the route
for travel clearing,
Pioneers! O pioneers!"

And then at last,

"Far, far off the day-break call—hark how loud
and clear I hear it wind
Swift! to the head of the army! — swift!
spring to places,
Pioneers! O pioneers!"

This march continues, the birds now drift over the sea and now stride ahead by the roadside and then are heard the 'Drum Taps':

"Beat! beat! drums! blow! bugles! blow!"

But whom to kill? Who is the enemy? War may be a necessity, but only reconciliation can justify it.

Reconciliation—"Word over all, beautiful as the sky,.....

For my enemy is dead, a man divine as myself is dead,
I look where he lies white-faced and still in the coffin — I draw near,
Bend down and touch lightly with my lips the white face in the coffin."

Or

"Then to the third—a face nor child nor old, very calm as of beautiful yellow white ivory,

Youngman, I think I know you—I think this face is the face of Christ Himself.

Dead and divine and brother of all and here again he lies."

After 'Drum Taps' the 'Autumn Rivulets.' By this time he has seen 'all the sorrows of the world and all oppression and shame,' 'the wife misused by her husband, the treacherous seducers of the young woman, the ranklings of jealousy, slights and degradations, meanness and agony, sorrow and sympathy' shocked him to silence. All these 'I sitting see, hear and am silent.' Yet at the sight of a poor dead prostitute he burst out:

"Unclaim'd, avoided house—take one breath from my tremulous lips,
Take one tear dropt aside as I go for thought of you,
Dead house of love—house of madness and sin, crumbled, crush'd,
House of life, erewhile talking and laughing—but a poorhouse, dead even then,
Months, years, and echoing, garnish'd house—but dead, dead, dead."

No one will now think that he did not turn the other side of the shield. Yet his faith he did not lose, ecstasy of wonder was there still in his heart and eyes. In the same book he writes:

"I go from bedside to bedside, I sleep close with other sleepers each in turn,
I dream in my dream all the dreams of the other dreamers,
And I become the other dreamers."

Then follow some 'Whispers of Heavenly Death' and then a survey, a rumination of the life already lived 'from Noon to Starry Night.' He remembers the faces:

"The faces of hunters, and fishers bulged at the brows,
The shaved and launch'd faces of orthodox citizens,
The pure, extravagant, yearning, questioning artist's face,
The ugly face of some beautiful soul, the handsome detested or despised face,
The sacred faces of infants, the illuminated face of the mother of many children,
The face of an amour, the face of veneration,
The face of a dream, the face of an immobile rock,

The face withdrawn of its good and bad, a castrated face ...

Sauntering the pavements thus, or crossing the ceaseless ferry, faces and faces and faces."

And then 'the Time draws Nigh' to sing the songs of parting. There is 'the Sobbing of the Bells' and he is bequeathing the 'Legacy' of 'certain remembrances and little souvenirs' bound together in a 'Bundle of Songs.' 'The Sobbing of the Bells' the 'sudden deathnews everywhere,' yet:

"Joy, shipmate, joy!
(Pleas'd to my soul at death, I cry),
Our life is closed, our life begins,
The long, long anchorage we leave,
The ship is clear at last, she leaps!
She swiftly courses from the shore,
Joy, shipmate joy!"

Such sumptuous frolicking joy at death and yet such abundant and passionate love and respect for love for life. In 'Sands at Seventy' how ecstatically he sings of life.

"Ever the undiscouraged, resolute, struggling soul of man;...

Ever the grappled mystery of all earth's ages old or new;

Ever the eager eyes, hurrahs, the welcome-clapping hands, the loud applause;

Ever the soul dissatisfied, curious, unconvinced at last;

Struggling to-day the same—battling the same."

And now 'Good Bye My Fancy.' He is bidding good bye with a mixed feeling of despair and hope, despair because he could not come to the finale of his song.

"How dare one say it? . . .
After the countless songs, . . .
Still something not yet told in poesy's voice or print—something lacking,
(Who knows? The best yet unexpressed and lacking.)"

'Grand is,' of course, 'the seen' but 'grander far the unseen soul of me.' And then with the same unflinching voice he welcomes the future poet the 'Full-grown Poet,' and also takes leave of his fancy. He sets himself to an atlantian task in which perhaps he could not succeed—among artists who could? but:

"When the full-grown poet came,
Out spake pleased Nature—saying, He is Mine;
But out spake too the soul of man, proud,
jealous unreconciled—Nay he is mine alone;...

—Then the full-grown poet stood between the two, and took each by the hand;
And to-day and ever so stands, as blender, uniter, tightly holding the hands,
Which he will never release until he reconciles the two,
And wholly and joyously blends them."

Thus with his heart full of the dreams of the new poet he comes to take leave of his fancy:

"Good bye my Fancy!
Farewell dear mate, dear love!

I'm going away, I know not where,
 Or to what future, or whether I may ever see
 you again,
 So Good-bye my fancy.
 Now for my last—let me look back a moment;
 The slower fainter ticking of the clock in me,
 Exit, nightfall, and soon the heart-thud
 stopping.
 Long have we lived, joy'd, caress'd together;
 Delightful! — now separation—Good-bye my
 Fancy."

Leaves of Grass as we have it to-day is a collection of his poems which taken together give the impression of a whole. In my discussion I have traced a structural continuity from the beginning to the end. Hence *Leaves of Grass* may even be considered as a single poem each book forming an architectural part of the whole. Structurally, considered as such, it may be called an epic in spite of its loose and scattered construction but its strain through and through is lyrical. Perhaps modern epic if this form reappears is bound to be epico-lyrical both in form and spirit.

Every great poet creates for him a standard of judgment and Whitman should be judged according

to his own. He is very often considered as a philosopher, a thinker, a man of ideas and even as a propounder of a new religion. I have considered him only as a poet. As a poet he is no doubt an unequal writer, his grand style has not the sustenance of a set standard yet it has the flexibility, the width and the exuberance of life itself. True it is, his style ran into extremes and vices and at times into something jarring, even stale and flat, but at his best—and a poet is to be judged by his best—specially when as in his case the best are greater in number than the failures—he can 'with the peculiar wild starring charm of his poems and their titanic sweep make the regular verses seem tame and insipid.' His greatness as a poet is that from under all his limitations and shortcomings he emerges victorious shaking his invincible locks. It is not for me to justify his ways; the duty has been imposed by Whitman himself on the poets to come :

"Poets to come! orators! singers! musicians to come!

Not to-day is to justify me and answer what I stand for,

But you a new brood, native, athletic, continental, greater than before known

Arouse, for you must justify me."

THE LATE SIR HARI SINGH GOUR A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, ADVOCATE

THE passing away of Sir Hari Singh Gour at the ripe old age of 78 years marks the end of an epoch and the disappearance of the foremost of the very few of our elder statesmen. When certain organisations claim monopoly of patriotism, it becomes really difficult to spot out true patriots. It is certain that a solitary swallow does not make a political summer. What is more, those that work single-handed according to their lights are often misunderstood. In addition to that, their means criticised, motives are questioned and the results are doubted in spite of their intrinsic worth. Very few ultimately vindicate their stand and win public approbation. Sir Hari Singh passed through all these stages.

He established high reputation as a successful barrister, great jurist and learned author in law and philosophy. Very naturally, he could not fit himself into the frame-work of any popular party. Still he was called upon to occupy positions of responsibility and trust from time to time. As the President of the Nagpur Municipal Committee, he justified the public choice and rendered remarkable service to the metropolis of C. P. and Berar, as its first citizen. His record as a Legislator was unique. His varied efforts to improve the social and civil status of women were noteworthy. He might have been a moderate in politics. But he was decidedly an extremist in matters of social reform. He was responsible for raising the age of

consent. He consistently fought though unsuccessfully, for the introduction of divorce among Hindus. As a member and Deputy President of the Central Legislature, he displayed the qualities of a first-rate parliamentarian. When he thought that he would be able to serve the interests of his country by joining the Indian Central Committee that co-operated with the Simon Commission, he did not hesitate to do so in spite of the country-wide opposition and resentment. It is important to remember that what the Indian Central Committee recommended in 1929, namely, Dominion Status, was achieved nearly two decades later, thanks to the boldness, wisdom and sagacity of the Labour Government in Britain headed by Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Clement Atlee, who was himself a member of the Simon Commission. Thus Sir Hari Singh Gour stands vindicated before the bar of public opinion.

Subsequently he left for England and practised before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with credit and distinction. He followed the developments in India with keen interest. When prosecutions were launched against the members of the Indian National Army organised by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, before the Court Martial at Red Fort, New Delhi, this leader knight clarified the legal position with remarkable lucidity and thereby strengthened the stand of the I. N. A. Defence Committee. His in-

imitable and eloquent elucidation of the issues involved attracted wide attention. He stated that

"The theory of allegiance to the Crown postulates the fulfilment of the Crown's duty towards its subjects of safety and protection both of person and of property. When on account of its defeat in war this protection is no longer available, International Law takes the course of 'Inter Arms Lilet' (war suspends the law)."

Turning to precedents he observed that breaches of allegiance were recognised by the various governments when they were obliged to do so by persuasion or compulsion. He added that

"In the British Empire itself there are the instances of Ireland and Canada and the Boer War in which the British subjects who took arms against the Crown were given the status of belligerents. The members of the I. N. A. owed their allegiance to the British Crown; but when they were coerced by the Japanese into a breach of their allegiance and compliance with their allegiance to Japan and moreover when such allegiance was in conformity with their natural love for their motherland, no international jurist could weigh in golden scales their technical offence in spite of the defeat of the Crown and coercion by the enemy conqueror."

He came to the conclusion that these were the considerations that called for serious notice and sympathy by the Government of India who should treat the members of I. N. A. as prisoners of war.

Besides, he was a pioneer in the field of education. He was a successful and popular Vice-Chancellor at the Universities of Nagpur and Delhi. During his

regime he introduced many reforms and initiated important measures at both these seats of learning. His last act in establishing a University at Saugor, his native town, was the culmination of his intense interest in education. He created a trust by contributing twenty lakhs of rupees to ensure its successful working. Thus he shared the honour of founding a University single-handed with the late Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar. But he was no merchant prince with fabulous wealth. His contribution consisted of his entire hard-earned fortune at the Bar and as an author. He indeed joined the ranks of other eminent lawyers like the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Mr. V. L. Ethiraj, who also contributed their hard-earned legal fortunes to the cause of educational advancement.

Sir Hari Singh kept himself aloof from party-politics and commanded the respect of all irrespective of caste, creed or persuasion. His attainments were unique, his patriotism was above reproach and his philanthropy was wholehearted and wholesome. The Congress High Command recognised his stature by getting him elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly. Abole all, he was unassuming and fast in his friendships. In spite of the striking disparity in age, ability, experience and status in life, I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. We often exchanged personal notes on questions of public importance. His mind was mobile to the end. His death has created a void which can not be easily filled up. I salute Sir Hari Singh Gour, the jurist, scholar, social reformer, educationist, philanthropist and patriot, who passed away from mortality to immortality.

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SLAVERY IN ASSAM

BY PROF. AMALENDU GUHA, M.A.

THE Ahom feudalism which held its sway in Assam from the 13th century down to the early years of the 19th, was throughout a peculiar and unique institution. In other parts of India, even in the mediaeval days, the ryots were the theoretical owners of land whereas the king had only a right to land-revenue, in kind or in cash. But under Ahom feudalism, as under European feudalism, the king was the sole owner of all lands in his domain. It was from him that the noblemen in the courts and the ryots at large, used to receive grant of land in exchange of definite services to the king. Naturally, the institution of labour-rent, serfdom and slavery were the very basis of the Ahom feudalism.

Broadly, there were two classes of people — the Dangariahs or the noblemen and the Paiks or the Ryots. It is obvious that the Dangariahs had a parasitic existence. They had agricultural farms worked by bondsmen.* They served the king as ministers, administrators and military chiefs. The

Paiks also received land from the king in exchange of service to him. Majority of them had agriculture as only occupation; some were artisans as well. Each Paik had to be in king's service for four months in a year, normally. Three Paiks were grouped together into a unit known as the "Got." The three members of a "Got" were known as Mool, Dowal and Tewal respectively. They served the king by turn. When one member was out on service, the other two had to look after his land so that he and his family could be supported. Thus the king was ensured of a continuous supply of labour, as $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Paik population was always at his disposal. This huge labour-army took to arms in times of war and took to spades in times of peace. The innumerable tanks, temples and roads constructed in mediaeval Assam are all due to the unpaid toil of the Paiks. In exchange of this service, the Paik was granted $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 Purahs* of cultivable land, free of revenue.

* Purah—near about an Acre.

The Dangariahs and the holy Gosains, the respective Lords Temporal and Lords Spiritual in Assam, were granted huge landed properties. A portion of the Paiks were relieved of duty to the king and were attached to the Dangariahs to whom they rendered personal service. These people were known as 'Lagoohs' or 'Liksus.' When attached to temples, they were known as 'Bhakats.' This class of Paiks can be compared to the serfs in mediaeval Europe. Like serfs they also could not be bought and sold. But possibly they enjoyed more freedom than the serfs.

There were yet another class of people who were granted to the noblemen and the priests in perpetuity to till their farms. These men were known as 'Buhatiahs,' meaning 'attached to the farm.' They were also known as 'Khatwals' as the farm owned by a Dangariah was known as a 'Khat.' These people were only little better than slaves, as the grantee had the power of disposing them of. "Prisoners of war-criminals who had been sentenced to death and even a portion of the free population used to be granted by the king to the individuals as slaves." * Moreover, free persons frequently sold themselves off for money. Voluntary bondage was an accepted method of repaying debt.

We are completely in dark as to the conditions of slavery in the hey-days of Ahom rule. But we get a glimpse of the system as it existed on the eve of the British rule, from the administrative report of the District of Darrang submitted by Mr. Mathie who was in charge of that District in the 'thirties of the last century.' In his report, dated 15th February 1835, Mr. Mathie observed :

"The following is the average price of good-caste (Koleetah, Koyat, Koch) slaves in my district.

Male adults each Rs. 20 from 18 to 30 years old.

Boys each Rs. 10 to 15 from 8 to 18 years old.

Girls each Rs. 8 to 12 from 8 to 16 years old.

The slaves of an inferior caste (Jugee, Doom, Cacharee, Barcah, Boarihee) sell for a third less.

There is very little traffic now carried on with slaves, none are allowed to be exported and I conceive the whole might be emancipated and the system gradually abolished, on very easy terms."

From Mathie's report, it seems that in the early 19th century, regular traffic in slaves was carried on. There was even an average market price for slaves, and this was exactly equal to the price of a buffalo, in those days. Man and buffalo had an equal value in the feudal economy.

It is quite possible that a regular slave-market developed only in the period of Ahom decadence, when the economy was in shattered conditions due to prolonged civil wars and invasions. Under such

circumstances, bondage could have developed as an alternative to insecurity. Col. L. W. Shakespeare in his *History of Assam Rifles* (page 16) observes that the Magas very often raided into the districts of Nowgong and Cachar in the 'thirties of the last century' "to obtain slaves through the agency of Bengali traders, a class who it was found, carried on a regular slave trade." In Mathie's report also it was pointed out that regular sale of children to zaminders and businessmen of Rangpur and Sylhet was one of the causes of the depopulation in Darrang. These observations tell us that outside elements became involved in the slave trade of Assam in the last days of the Ahom rule. By 1835, the export of slaves outside Assam was claimed to be stopped. But even then slavery as an institution existed. In that year, slave population in the district of Darrang was about 3 per cent of the total population.

Assam came under British occupation, at a time when anti-slavery agitation reached its climax in England. David Scott, to whom the administration of Assam was entrusted in November 1823, liberated twelve thousand slaves in the District of Kamrup alone, in course of his march. Following the footsteps of the retreating Burmese, Captain Neuf-ville liberated several thousands of Singphau captives who had been taken away as slaves. But David Scott had to abandon this policy very soon. Economic conditions in Assam were so acute on the eve of the purge of the Burmese that freedom for the slaves actually meant freedom for starvation. So, David Scott decided to give slavery a new lease of life. He issued a proclamation in 1825 allowing the free Paiks to sell themselves as slaves to the rich people, agreeably to the old custom of the country. In this matter, Scott did not secure the Governor-General's approval. He did not at all inform the Governor-General of this proclamation until 1828. When the Court of Directors of the East India Company came to know that Scott allowed slavery to continue, they took strong objection to this. In paragraph 3 of their despatch dated 10th March 1830, they wrote :

"Slavery in every form is an evil of great magnitude and peculiarly revolting to the moral feelings of Englishmen. In this case it would appear that temporary relief from the Government would have obviated that dreadful necessity of selling themselves as slaves for life to obtain present subsistence which seems to have been brought upon unfortunate people of Assam by a distress of temporary nature."

But in spite of this attitude of the Court of Directors slavery continued to exist in Assam for more than a decade, even long after the liquidation of the Feudal Dangariahs. Slavery in the valley of Assam could be suppressed only -during the 'forties.' But among the Hill Tribes in the Frontier Tracts slavery still continues in various forms.

* Quoted from Mathie's Report, an unpublished official report.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

MY FIRST LOVE : By Ivan Turgenev. Translated from the Russian by Delano Ames. Edited by Stephen Graham. Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., 36, Chowringhee, Calcutta. 1947. Price Rs. 2-12.

Turgenev's (1818-83) name had been popular in India long before the modern period of Russian influence—not merely literary — began. His works had, influenced our major writers, but his novels mainly were appreciated.

This is a new translation of Turgenev's. Of the three stories incorporated in this volume, the first and the longest (which has lent its name to the book) shows his capacity to describe in detail the growth of the passion of 'love'. The second is a tragic story of a sudden kindling of the passion through the magic influence of the book *Faust*; that mediaeval legend still retains its mystical charm. The third and the shortest is also a tragic story, the experience of a village doctor.

Though these stories had been already translated into English, the new translation will serve to introduce Turgenev to a new circle of readers. Turgenev will repay perusal, and the whole volume has been well edited, the frontispiece doing justice to the theme. Is not the gloom in our life inseparably connected with its joy?

P. R. SEN

NORTH INDIAN SAINTS : Author's name not mentioned. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Second Edition. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 2.

This book gives 'biographical and critical sketches' of more than a dozen north Indian saints from Ramananda to Ramatirtha. It recounts briefly the lives and teachings of Kabir and his guru Ramananda, Nanak and Govind Singh and other Sikh Gurus, Mirabai and her guru Ravidas the Chamar saint, Dayananda Saraswati and his guru Swami Virajananda, Vallabhacharya a commentator of the Brahmasutras, Tulsi Das and Swami Ramatirtha. Besides Dayananda, Virajananda and Ramatirtha, all others appeared in the mediaeval age and initiated fresh movements of religious reform. These revivalist movements of mediaeval India may be fairly compared with the Protestant reformation of Europe. But these Indian reformers, as it has been rightly pointed out in the publisher's note, were in no sense militant theologians like Luther and Zwingli. They did neither overturn the current religious institutions nor overthrow the existing governments like the Protestant reformers.

Our scriptures being in Sanskrit were sealed books to the masses. Hence to broadcast the scriptural wisdom among the masses in their tongue and to democratise our religious culture and to liberate our faith from the shackles of superstitions was the great mission of these saints. Caste superstition became so rigid in that age that it turned people of low caste into untouchables. Ravi Das, who was a Chamar or shoe-maker, did a good deal to free

religion from the fetters of caste. He made an idol of God out of hide and worshipped it. He was, however, accepted as the guru of Queen Mirabai and other higher class people. The new scriptures created by them in the local vernaculars took the place of the old ones. In fact they saved the Hindu Society from Semitic aggression and conversion. Hence the lives of these saints are in a sense the real history of Medieval India. Of these saints Swami Ramatirtha alone went abroad in 1903 and preached Vedanta in America, like Swami Vivekananda. His lectures in America were highly appreciated.

It is regretted that the life of Sri Chaitanya, the Vaishnava reformer of Bengal, is not included in the book. Chaitanyadev did for Bengal what his other contemporaries did in other provinces in that age. In the second edition the book remains the same as in the first. It is replete with valuable information and quotations of the inspired sayings of the saints. The book is sure to be interesting to the students of Indian religion and mysticism. In consideration of the size the price is quite moderate.

SWAMI JACADISWARANANDA

THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO : By Sri Nolini Kanta Gupta. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library Madras. Price Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the following topics which, as the author himself says, are reproductions in his own language of the discourses given by the Mother in French. Some of these contain the well-known philosophical views of Sri Aurobindo based on spiritual experiences, while the rest discuss novel subjects hitherto unknown in the field of knowledge. Descriptions of the various grades of existences from the Absolute to Matter are really vivacious and interesting. The book is recommended to those readers who want to know something of the philosophy of the great Master of Pondicherry.

(1) The variability of the consciousness between the mutable and the immutable is, due to the play of the immutable with a free self-determination of the mutables. This freedom of choice crosses the safe zone of Divine consciousness and the Light in the Divine becomes inconscience. Life as death, delight as pain, power as incapacity, knowledge as ignorance, truth as falsehood and the spirit as matter only to demonstrate a more integral way of the affirmation of the spirit. So, the creation has a purpose. (2) Humanity knows full well that the present man must change his nature by transcending it but nobody knows how to do it. In order to effect any change in the outside world, one must change from within since the individual is a projection of the universe within and vice versa. (3) The body has a consciousness of its own and left to itself without the interference of the vital and the mind, it has sufficient strength to maintain its health and bear the weight of all the levels of consciousness.

(4) The conception that everything is predestined in relation to time, is based on mind which cannot see a thing excepting by division but when one rises to the height of consciousness, this factor in the first instance contracts and finally is telescoped. (5) Man as a species has a personality which is found at the beginning of the creation and the principles that uphold the manifested universe are the trinity of Life, Light and Delight and the actual man possesses them in his human form. (6) Evil is not divine but since it was created Grace was born. But for this man would not have seen the Mother who has descended into this vale of tears. Thus the undivine has been made to serve the Divine. (7) Emergence of Superman is a certainty. The present man will have to shed his zest of life such as reasoning power to intuition, the source of direct knowledge. Superman being one in self with the universe, will be an intermediary between the present animal-man and the divine humanity. But if the former resists the latter, there is just the chance of the extinction of the present race, or its reversion to the state of wildness. (8) Charity, as commonly understood, proceeds from elan vital, and so it cannot cure the ills of the world but a man who has known the Bliss of the Spirit can project it from a distance for curing the illness and remedying the miseries of man. (9) In the Semitic conception Man and God are two separate entities but the Indian boldly declares that a man can become God and so also all the creation is. The Christian idea is a *via media*, for according to it, Christ is not only the son of God but he was a God-man. (10) Children are nearer their Psychic beings but they depart more and more from this true being, receiving shocks after shocks from the misconduct of their elders. So, the teachers should behave in such a way that they do not get these shocks. (11) A nation has a soul and when it dies, its soul goes to the psychic world like the soul of man after death for rest. This has happened with respect to the souls of ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, etc. The cause of death is the absence of plasticity in the body that behaves contrary to the behest of soul. As the soul of India has got this virtue, she never dies. (12) Remembrance of past life is only possible, in the psychic touch comes back by *yoga*. There is a Hierarchy of souls from the Supermind to Man and accordingly, different grades of consciousness from the highest to its lowest form, that is, matter. Light, Knowledge of the Absolute become Inconscience and Ignorance in man.

SHYAMADAS CHATTERJEE

STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW: By R. F. Gupta. *Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 1-12.*

A short guide on the subject for students, also useful for day-to-day journalists. Short notes on cases in international law enhance the value of the book. e.g., Savarkar, when undergoing trial for murder of Gandhi, was responsible for reference to the Hague Tribunal in 1911.

INSURANCE VADE-MECUM 1949-50: By S. L. Tuli. *Insurance Publicity Co. Price Rs. 4.*

This is the 24th edition of the well-known Insurance Agents' Bible to which he may refer whenever in need or in difficulty. The premium rates of nearly 200 companies have been given and the figure work seems to be accurate and reliable. The educative section is really educative telling us how to select a life office, and what are the essentials of successful salesmanship and how to prove age, etc., how the profit is distributed in different ways. The printing is clear and the get-up is neat.

J. M. DATTA

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. I: 1757-1857; Vol. II: 1857-1917; Vol. III: 1917-1939: Edited by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price for Vols. I and II Rs. 10 each, and for Vol. III Rs. 12. Second Edition.

In these three volumes the Editor has taken pains to collect the documents ranging over a period between 1757 and 1939 with a masterly introduction to each one of them. The reader should not think that only the state papers have been given here, as the caption might indicate. Selections from the speeches of men in authority, members of Parliament, Indian leaders of different times and different shades of opinion, pronouncements of Congress Presidents and other prominent Congressmen, the Muslim League Leaders, Assembly debates as well as documents on Indian States are incorporated in these volumes. To the student of India's constitutional history, the importance of these volumes is great. These will prove useful to the publicists also. Our hearty congratulations for the Editor for taking up such a stupendous task which it is the duty of the State to perform. Only one thing we should suggest. In future editions important and epoch-making Documents and utterances should be given in full. If that is not possible, some more extracts from these may be added so that the reader may have a fuller grasp of the subject in question. Printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. That these have run into second editions is indicative of their appreciation by the reading public.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

CONSTITUTION MADE EASY: By V. B. Kulkarni. *Hindusthan Newspapers Ltd., 341, Tardeo, Bombay 7. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book gives a brief account of the salient features of the Constitution of the Indian Republic in a simple form which is intelligible to the ordinary reader and easy for the common man to understand. It is reprinted from *Bharat*. The book is illustrated and the get-up is attractive.

B. K. SEAL

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1941-42: *Government of India Press, Calcutta, 1947.*

The useful work done by this survey was much hampered on account of war conditions. After the fall of Java, the main source of Quinine in this country, Indian resources were tapped and considerable progress was made in this respect. The Royal Botanic Gardens' Herbarium as well as the Industrial section of the Indian Museum were supplying valuable information to those including the military authorities for various purposes.

During the year under report 14 new species were added to the Indian flora and we hope the various unexplored regions in India should be surveyed for developments of the floral wealth of the country. This will help in finding out many economic and medicinal plants.

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1942-43: *Calcutta, 1948.*

The valuable work, carried out by this survey was much curtailed and in some respects stopped due to war conditions.

During this year the much longed for "150th Anniversary Volume of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta" with a foreword by H. E. Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal came out of the press. This valuable book contains 28 contributions on different branches of botany by eminent authors. Besides, several papers of scientific value were also contributed and published.

Quinine substitutes were searched for shortage of Quinine in this country and *Enicostema littorale* Bl. was considered as one of the several probable substitutes.

This is no doubt a distinct gain for the country. *Pyrethrum* cultivation has been extended in several parts of the country also. *Derris elliptica*, an important insecticidal plant of Malayan Peninsula, has been recorded to occur in parts of Chittagong. Besides, *Derris ferruginosa*, which occurs in Assam, is being regarded as a favourable substitute for this Malayan plant. It is hoped much useful work will be done when the normal time returns.

R. M. DATTA

INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEMS : Edited by Prof. A. N. Agarwala. Published by Indian Research Association, Allahabad. Pages 401. Price Rs. 16.

There are twenty-three contributions in this compilation on the various aspects of Indian labour such as statistics, wages, hours of work, conciliation and arbitration, India and I.L.O., rural labour, child labour, woman worker and maternity benefit, workmen's compensation, social insurance, industrial welfare, employment exchanges, labour discipline in factories, efficiency and technical training, factory laws, trade unions, etc. Difficulties are many in the matter of labour investigation because of unsatisfactory data and want of adequate and reliable statistical information. A beginning has been made in this regard by the Government as private investigations are sure to be incomplete and imperfect in view of the tremendous task and cost involved. Most of the essays are well written as they are contributed by authorities on the subjects but on account of delay in publication, some have become more or less out of date. In spite of this defect contributions from labour experts, economists, Government officials, industrialists, factory officers and others are sure to be illuminating on the subjects dealt with. The editor is to be congratulated for bringing together so many distinguished contributors such as Dr. N. Sundara Rama Sastry, Prof. N. K. Bhojwani, Dr. P. P. Pillai, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, Mrs. Mithan Jamsheer Lam, Principal J. R. Batliboi, Shri L. N. Birla, Shri J. Dalmia, Dr. K. R. Masani and K. C. Ramakrishnan, etc., for the symposium. The Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister to the Government of India, has written an Introduction for this volume.

A. B. DUTTA

EASTERN CLAY : By Louis Gracias. Published by the author from 2-1 Sudder Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10-8.

This is a collection of fourteen stories touching life at various points, romance, pathos, dream and reality. The author has for some of these stories chosen certain characteristic slices of life and has given a good account of his power of visualisation.

But "Eastern Clay" is not all very Eastern. The author, however, has contributed something towards the stock of Anglo-Indian literature. The cover of the book is attractive but does not lead one to the theme of the book, rather misleads him.

THREE SISTERS OF GOLDERS GREEN : By Dr. A. K. Das Gupta. Published by the Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow. Price Rs. 6.

A drama of forty-eight scenes, it describes the dreams and realities in the lives of the three daughters of an Indian doctor, settled in London, by his English wife. The situations described in it are presumably such as might have prevailed in the city of London during 1938. Even if the incidents and situations were adopted from real life the dramatist seems to have ignored the value of an artistic composition of such incidents and situations. A reader, and much more an audience,

when the play may be staged, is apprehended to be confused about what the dramatist ultimately drives at. A drama of situations alone cannot at all fulfil the aims and ideals of play-writing. Characterisation through dialogues and situations is only half of it; the other half is the infusion of sentiment in a highly sustained manner culminating in a well-defined ideal.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

BENGALI

PRACHINA BHARATER DANDANITI : By Mm. Yogendranath Tarka-Samkhyā-Vedantatirtha. Prachya-Vani Mandira, Calcutta. 1356 B.S. Pp. 193. Price Rs. 5.

This learned and thought-provoking monograph from the pen of one of the most erudite living Sanskrit scholars of our country marks, beyond doubt, a milestone in the progress of our recent vernacular literature. Drawing extensively upon the material in the Epics, and some famous Kavyas of Sanskrit literature, with frequent references to the Smritis of Manu and Yajñavalkya and their commentaries, the author has well appraised the value of our ancient Arthashastra and Niti works even in comparison with modern advanced standards. What is more, he has tried repeatedly and very successfully to emphasise the high role which Dandaniti played in India's literature and life in the centuries of her greatness. Of particular interest in this connection is the author's original and learned disquisition (Pp. 49 f) on the studied neglect of Arthashastra from the 7th century onwards, and its terrible retribution in the shape of centuries of national servitude. It is to be hoped that the author will utilise the opportunity of a new edition of his work to include within its compass such rich storehouses of material as the Jatakas, the Mudra-rakshasa drama and other works. It may also be worth his while to consider whether the so-called Paitamaha, Vaisalksha, Barhaspatya, Ausanasa and other *tantras* with their authors as well as the teachings of Narada, Prachetasa Manu and the rest, in spite of their alleged historical character, are not after all merely apocryphal. It may also be possible for him to reconsider his interpretation of a number of administrative titles such as prasasta, samaharta, samvidhata (sannidhata?) (p. 32) and uparika (p. 70).

In view of the free status of our country at present we wish this highly informative publication a wide circulation. We would further like it to be accompanied by an English or a Hindi translation in the near future.

U. N. GHOSAL

HINDI

SANKHSHIPT JAIN ITIHAS : Vol. III, Part 4 : By Babu Kamtaprasadji Jain. Mulchand Kisanadas Kapadia, Kapadia Bhavana, Surat. Pp. 152. Price Re. 1-4.

This part in the author's history of the Jains covers the period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries when Kalchuri and Hoysala dynasties ruled in the south. It bears the stamp of scholarship and painstaking research. A useful publication for the students of Indian history.

G. M.

GUJARATI

PRACHIN GURJAR KAVYO of the Seventeenth Century : By Bhagilal J. Sandesara, M.A. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pp. 206. Paper-cover. Price Rs. 2.

Besides the well-known poets of the 17th century like Premanand and Akha, many other poets, some of them of minor importance, and some of more than that, have written presentable poems. Mr. Sandesara, who is well-qualified for the task, has edited, after research, the works of eight such poets. They are intended to help those interested in old Gujarati literature and really do so.

K. M. J.

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yogi vastly learned in the Astrology and Astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with supernatural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-shiromani, Raj Jyotishi, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

This powerfully gifted great man can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future, and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, can help people to win difficult law-suits, and ensure safety from dangers, prevent childlessness and free people of family unhappiness. His three important predictions (prediction about the British victory on the very day—2nd September, 1939—of the declaration of last World War, prediction of the achievement of independence by the Interim Govt. with Pandit Jawaharlal as the Premier made on the 3rd Sept., 1946, and prediction regarding the future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Religion and National Welfare

Since the attainment of her political freedom, India has been witnessing a conflict of various ideologies regarding the future reconstruction of her national life. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

Persons are not wanting to whom the very word 'religion' is anathema, and who tell us that religion is useless, may harmful, to the individual and to society. For, they hold that India is backward, ignorant, and poor, and was subjugated by reason of her religion. Also religion is useless because it cannot give us physical comforts or aeroplanes or, for that matter, atom bombs to destroy our enemies. In these matters, it is easier to convince a person who cannot understand than one who will not understand. The name of religion has been polluted by fanatics and designing persons everywhere. Many irreligious and unholy acts are perpetrated by evil-doers in the name of religion. Such men, far from being religious, are condemned as enemies of humanity. And religion was never intended to supply the material wants of ladies and gentlemen. A baby may, as well, stand up and exclaim, 'Does religion bring me gingerbread? If not, religion is good for nothing.' The main point to be considered is what these thoughtless critics are pleased to mean by religion. If a set of fanatical dogmas, doctrines, and rituals, unrelated to spirituality, is misnamed religion, then we can only pity those who still continue to believe in this type of religion. But real religion is a way of higher life, leading man to transcendent spiritual realization. All religions are working for the good of mankind. There is abundant proof that religion has given peace, harmony, courage, joy, and, above all spiritual unfoldment to millions of its votaries all the world over.

Religion is realization, a sublime process of soul-affirmation, as opposed to glorification of the brute in man expressing itself through communalism, sectarianism, and hedonism.

There are again others who say that religion retards progress and tends to make people lead indolent lives because of its emphasis on illusoriness of the world and renunciation. Nothing is farther from truth. Recognizing the needs of practical and secular life, the ancient Hindu seers expounded the Dharma, synthesizing ideals that seemed opposite. The Karma-kanda of the Vedas deals with man's natural desire for enjoyment of material happiness and prescribes elaborate methods for achieving worldly desires, while the Jnana-kanda leads man to the *summum bonum* of human life. Further, everyone who follows the Dharma is not asked to remain indifferent to the world thinking it unreal, but is called, upon to scrupulously pursue the four basic ideals of life (*purushartha*), viz., moral conduct or, righteousness (*dharma*), wealth or economic pursuit (*artha*), fulfilment of sensuous and aesthetic desire (*kama*), and finally liberation or freedom (*moksha*) from the cycle of relative phenomena (*samsara*). The first three ideals, which

serve the ends of the pursuit of happiness in this world, are naturally of an ephemeral character and should not be divorced from God who is the goal of the last ideal in life. It is a travesty of religion and the spiritual life to say that these are a hindrance to national welfare and human progress. Wealth and enjoyment of desires, sanctioned by Dharma, are not opposed to righteousness and perfection. Physical well-being is considered an essential requisite of the individual's spiritual life. Pleasure is not divorced from good life, and a man of spiritual realization is far from being a kill-joy.

In ancient India when religion was best understood and practised, the development of the country in art and culture, in commerce and industry was great.

Our Sanatana Dharma enjoins on us the path of intense activity coupled with calm resignation to the will of the Lord. It does not ask everyone to renounce the world, wear sack-cloth, and retire into seclusion. India possesses the most militant and stirring of all the world's evangels—the message of Sri Krishna in the *Gita*—uttered from a war-chariot on the actual battle-field. A truly religious man is constantly active, striving for his own Moksha and, at the same time, rendering unselfish service (*nishkama karma*) to his fellowmen, in a spirit of worship. Even the illumined sage who has realized the supreme goal of existence and has nothing to lose or gain in the world, works with joy for the welfare of others (*loka kalyana*) and protects the social order. Our scriptures warn man against inactivity, for that means stagnation and death. The Upanishads exhort us to work enthusiastically for augmenting national welfare and bringing happiness to one and all, so that every particle of dust may be converted, as it were, into honey (*madhumat parthivam rajah*). Religion eternal, embracing all the religions of the world known to man, is the greatest and surest factor that has ever contributed to the collective welfare and progress of mankind. Such a universal religion places before man, the ideal of sovereign self-restraint and the building up of a corporate personality. National well-being can result only from the removal of ignorance by knowledge, replacement of selfishness by altruism, and elimination of aggressive evil by aggressive good. Every nation, like every man, has to make a choice as to the ideal it will pursue, the path it will tread. About India's future we have made the choice long ago. To those who think it has been a bad choice, we can only say, If our religious ideals and practices are really bad, how then have we been able to preserve our national integrity untarnished through the ages. Our Sanatana Dharma has always been characterized by an assimilative spirit and has, in the past, absorbed many non-Hindu cultures. Our Dharma will once again become quick with the all-embracing fervour of the mother of religions and draw unto her spiritual bosom all the inhabitants of the motherland, irrespective of their caste, creed, or community.

Background to Tibet

R. N. Rahul writes in *The Maha-Bodhi* :

Tibet is an ancient country of ancient people, though its early history is shrouded all in miracle and mystery based only on a tradition that the Tibetan race descends from Chen-re-zi, the patron deity of Tibet. Nothing exact is known of the political and social conditions that obtained in Tibet before the reign of King Srong-btsan Gampo: the Tibetans themselves have no contemporaneous records of the early periods of their history. Real Tibetan history begins from the first half of the 7th century A.D. when King Srong Gampo extended the frontiers of Tibet far into Sinkiang in China and to Nepal in India, in those far off times. On the personal persuasion of his two Buddhist wives, the Chinese Wencheng and the Nepalese Bhrikuti Devi, Srong Gampo embraced Buddhism about the year 640 A.D. and declared it to be the regular religion of his country in place of old Bon and Shaman cults. This royal conversion gave to Buddhism in Tibet an impetus which, helped on from time to time by the missionary efforts of Indian pandits from Kashmir and Nepal, especially *Padma Sambhava* and *Srijnana Dipankara*, had a profound effect in subsequent eras on the destiny of this lamaic nation. King Srong-btsan thus brought his people to the notice of history by his imperial and pious achievements and laid the first foundations of the history of Tibet. He also built the famous Potala which has been the residence of the Dalai Lamas of Tibet since the middle of the 17th century, the Vatican of Central Asia. For his great acts of 'merit,' the lamas have deified Srong-btsan and incorporated him in their great pantheon.

To-day Tibet is known to the outside world as the land of the lamas, who firmly established themselves in Tibet by the end of the 13th century when Kublai Khan, the first Mongol Emperor of China, became a convert to Lamaism and granted the sovereignty of Tibet to the head-lama of the Sakya monastery. The Khan looked upon Tibet as the sovereign domain of the Lamaic church of Central Asia, and its head as his spiritual adviser.

The present incumbent of this lama-theocracy is the 14th Dalai Lama Lobsang Vishey Tensing Gyatso.

Lamaism is a blend of the Bon and Shaman cults of the Central Asian highlands touched with the brightest gleams of the original Buddhist faith of the Indian plains. This unique combination, incorporating also the symbolic deities and ritualistic aspects of Indian Tantrism in their *trans-Himalayan* conception, is nothing but the Mahayana Buddhism of the lamas. But ritualism in lamaism seldom takes the place of worship, as it often does in Christianity; it is pure 'meditation' or what the outsiders call 'magic' or 'charm.' Lamas adept in this faculty acquire the power to prevent evil spirits from harming human beings and to invoke benign deities for their good. That is the peculiar bent of Lamaism, the high importance Tibetans attach to meditation. The *literati* in Tibet follow the *Madhyamika*, the *uma* doctrine or 'the middle way' of Klu-grum, the great philosopher Nagarjuna, as expounded in *Prajnaparamita*, which Tibetans of all sects hold in highest reverence.

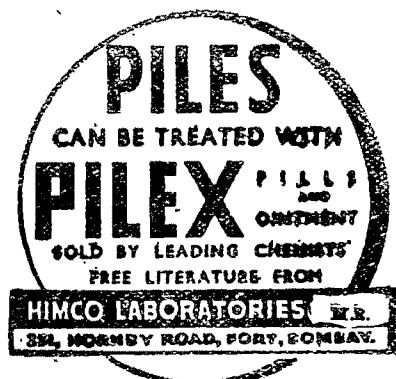
The lamas, the most notable section of the population of Tibet, live in monasteries which often are bigger than large villages, and are sort of residential universities on the models of the monastery-universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila of old India. There are over 3,000 of these in Tibet, the largest and most powerful is the monastery of Drepung near Lhasa. Gauden and Sera are immensely wealthy and their lauded estates are comparable in size and strength with those of the Government of Tibet itself.

The abbots of these monasteries have a strong representation on the Depashung (the Government) and the Tsongdu (the National Assembly). All institutional establishments of the country are located in the monasteries where congregate Tibetans, rich and poor and high and low, for studies spiritual as well as temporal. Here in the monasteries the lamas study the scriptures, the *Kang-yur* and the *Tangyur*, and are engaged in practising virtuous life for themselves and for the people on whose benefactions they live. Praying is the main occupation of the lamas.

The monasteries are centres of art and culture and exert a great influence on the everyday life of the 'people.'

The monastery-architecture, though medieval in style and character, is generally a delight to the eye: austere and perfect in line with evidence of a definite artistic perception from white walls striped in red or black or ochre bands along their tops. The lama painters have a distinct fondness for catching some fundamental mystery of the lamaic faith in order to give body and shape to it for purposes of analysis and interpretation. They paint remarkable frescoes depicting the various phases of human life. The lama-dances, known to the world as the 'devil-dances' of Tibet, are also meant to interpret through gestures and tilts, this or that mystery of life, and death for the common people and amuse them as well for a while. The music, though weird and jarring in tone and rhythm to the fans of the film-music, is also conceived to produce the maximum lamaic effect for the Tibetan listeners.

The murals and paintings within and without the monasteries, though not conceived with Eastern intellectual brilliance or emotional insight, always have for their theme religious inspiration in the typical Indian way. The lama-painters, who decorate the walls of the monasteries with fluid frescoes illustrating various aspects of the faith of the Buddha, the deities of the lama-pantheon, deified lamas and lamaic symbols, have not allowed the extinction of the great art-tradition of Buddhist India as revealed from the Ajanta frescoes whose artist threw down his brush perhaps in 650 A.D. Even the first lama-artists of the *thahkas*, temple banners, like the early artists of Nepal and Khotan, went for picture and poetry to the 10th century India when cultural contacts were most intimate between North India and South Tibet. The early missionary-envoys of India to Central Asia and the Far East used picture-art as the vehicle for the spread and teaching of the doctrine of the Buddha in Greater India countries. And the Tibetan artists, who were keen



on the quick spread of Buddhism in their country, found the tradition of the picture-scrolls to be the most convenient mode for conveying home to their folks the life and teaching of the Buddha. Hence the origin of the Tibetan thankas for whose rich brilliance lovely Chinese brocades and natural vegetable-dyes were locally available.

As a community, the Tibetans are the happiest lot in the world.

They are simple people and the generality of them pass on their days merrily, drinking their chhang. The pious are busy chanting 'Om mani padme hum.' For Tibet is quiet a land of self-sufficiency in regard to food and other essentials of life. Tibetans are very fond of dancing and singing: they dance and sing together, men and women. And they sing as they dance to rhythm of body and soul. Dance and song and youth and beauty, it moves with joy the spirit of the onlookers of these *linga* festivities, the gala and gay summer picnics or monastery fairs. Even at work their men, women and children always have some tune or another: the young men always sing and the girls always whistle. A marked characteristic is the scrupulous observance of the social etiquette in everyday life. And any breach of it in any form is considered to be a great offence.

The Tibetans are an extremely friendly people: their unique religious outlook, hospitality and faithfulness make them so. If medieval, they are not the savages that we find them often described by globe-trotters. The inaccessibility of their country and their unique lamaic cults and social customs, which provoke outsiders and quicken their imagination to take to 'wander-lust' to increase our knowledge of Central Asia, have made the Tibetans exclusive and shy in their outlook and behaviour towards others. But to-day Tibet is a 'close preserve' not because of the Tibetans' religious scruples or because of their utter spite for external relations but for the political machinations of the lamas whose chief function now seems to be an uncompromising exclusion of others. For the lamas know it that intercourse with other nations would destroy their own influence with their own people. It is also not surprising that a country which has for centuries been cut off from the rest of the world does not trust outsiders. They may be only explorers, pilgrims or traders, but they may also be agents of some powerful nation which perhaps has designs on Tibet to interfere with her age-old traditions and to snatch her freedom from her. However, even Tibet has soon to give up her old ideas and secrets. For time and tide wait for no one.

Tibet's mineral potential, particularly gold, copper, lead and borax-deposits, is believed to be inexhaustible, though it still remains undeveloped. Their mining methods are so primitive.

The famous musk, the precious turquoise stones, *lapislazuli* and the *pushmina* wool come from Tibet. The whole country is pretty picturesque with its mountain

flora and fauna, though comparatively poor in vegetation owing to intense bleakness. Northern Tibet, the Chang Thang, comprises the desolate and treeless northern wilds, for its climate is so cold. Southern Tibet, Tibet Proper south of the Tangla mountains, is the most fertile and the chief inhabitable area containing the cities of Lhasa, Shigatse and Gyantse, for here lie the sources and valleys of the great rivers of India, China and Burma, the Brahmaputra, the Yangtse and the Salween. Eastern Tibet has beautiful landscapes, farming grounds and grazing pastures. And Western Tibet is the area of the famous gold mines of Jalung, known to Herodotus, 2,500 years ago, as the area of 'the gold-digging ants.'

The Tibetans are a nation of natural traders and they carry on trade with China, India and Soviet Mongolia with whom Tibet barter wool, salt, musk, furs and borax for tea, silk, gold-lace, grains and cotton and other consumers' goods. So deep-rooted is the love of trading with the Tibetans that even the Dalai Lama and the Government of Tibet do not scruple to carry on trade in their own names. There is, of course, no wheeled traffic in Tibet, and all transport is by means of pack animals, horse, sheep and yak, that go in caravans from village to village collecting and distributing merchandise over the country's famous trade-routes.

The chief trade-routes are the (1) Srinagar-Leh-Lhasa road via Gartok, the (2) Hindustan-Tibet road via Gartok, the (3) Kathmandu-Lhasa road via the Kuti Pass, the (4) Kalimpong-Lhasa road via Phari, the (5) Lhasa-Yarkand road via Leh, the (6) Lhasa-Orga road via Nagchuka and the (7) Lhasa-Peking road via Dartsendo. Over these rough tracks the Tibetans bring even to the remotest regions of their country things of merchandise from the outside world. The towns on these routes have served, since long past, the purpose of effective contacts. India through ages of recurring contacts along these routes was able to make a deep impress on the art, life and literature as well as manners and customs of the people of the countries of Central Asia in no uncertain measure.

The unique position of Tibet in Central Asia has made it a land of international interest.

In the past Tibet has been a play-ball of the foreign powers of Britain, China and Russia. There has been a lot of political intrigue on India's northern frontiers. And Tibet may again become that old playball. For Britain, which always was a balancing factor in the Tibeto-Mongolian affairs, has withdrawn, at least for the time being, from Tibet handing over all responsibility to India. In the past, India and Tibet were closely drawn towards one another by intimate ties of geographical contiguity and cultural affinity. And the Tibetans, who know full well the importance of those past relations, are now anxious to effect a fresh friendship with India in order to contribute their share to a permanent peace in Central Asia where India's role may become paramount.

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The Dalai Lama, the first divine incarnation of lamaism, is the spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet and the head of the Gelug-pa, the most dominant sect in Tibet to-day. He governs the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of this country with the assistance and co-operation of the Panchen Rimpoche, incorrectly known to the outside world as the Tashi Lama of Tashilhunpo, the Kashag and the Tsongdu. The Panchen Lama is believed to be the incarnation of the Dhyani Buddha, the Buddha of 'the Boundless Light,' and therefore the spiritual head of Tibet. But he is so regarded only by the people of Shigatse over whom he himself rules. Thus only two houses, the Depashung and the La-brang, shape the destinies of this nation, though only the Dalai is the active element of godhead. For it is the rule in Tibet that all official bodies work as one and none has the power to issue or acknowledge orders separately. And all reports on matters of national importance have to go from them or through them to the Lonchen, the Chief Minister, who forwards these to the Dalai for his approval and signature. The Dalai signifies his yes or no to these orders by placing a dot of bright blue ink along with his red seal.


The present incarnations of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Rimpoche are minors and Tibet is passing through the most difficult period of 'regency'. The last Dalai Lama 'retired to the heavenly fields' in 1933 from Lhasa, the political and spiritual capital of Tibet, and reincarnated himself on 6th June, 1935, in the person of a boy called Lhamo Dhondup. He was discovered near Kumbum early in the autumn of 1939 and installed in the Potala as the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet—in November, 1939. For six years (1933-39) the Dalai Lama was merely away from Tibet on a journey to different

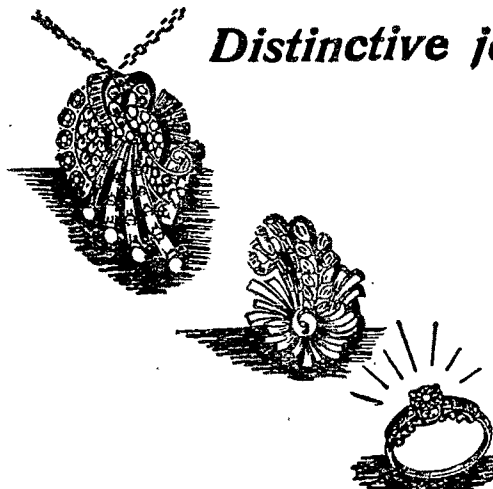
worlds. Such at least is the Lamaic belief of the Tibetans.

The Tibetans regard the Dalai Lama as the 'Living Buddha' who appears on this earth from time to time for the spiritual good of humanity at large, though he has earned for himself the right to *Nirvana*.

The last Panchen died in Western China in 1937 and has not yet been discovered officially, though there have been three claimants to this exalted office. In 1941, the Lama dignitaries of the Kumbum lamasery, near Koko Nor in China's remote north-west, chose over there a peasant boy, Tuteng Chuchchik of Yuehsang, for this high office and put him under the regency of Lo-ch'ang Ching-chen. Now the Kuomintang Government have enthroned this 12-year youngster as the Panchen Lama of Tibet. The Lhasan authorities do not accept this boy-novice as their young Panchen. And there shall be real trouble in Tibet, which there is none at the moment, if this young Rimpoche would come or even attempt to come to Tashilhunpo, his holy diocese. The Dalai Lama's Government would resist such a move with all their strength and strategy.

It is in this critical period of Minority and Regency, even without a Chief Minister in the Cabinet, that Tibet is looking abroad for help. To the independence of Tibet there is once again clear threat from China. The Tibetans are anxiously watching the Communist developments in Central Asia. They will defend their independence against all foreign aggression, with all their might, though they do not have the necessary armies for it.





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Civil Liberties In India

Civil Liberty is impossible except in a democratic form of government. The constitution which has just been adopted by the Constituent Assembly does provide for absolutism. P. R. Das writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

I should now like to refer to the speeches which the Prime Minister of India has recently delivered in America and in England. In the great speech which he delivered in the House of Representatives on October 13 last he said : "It may interest you to know that in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India we have been greatly influenced by your Constitution." He added : "We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter, therefore, the community of free nations within the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people." I suggest with great humility that there is no resemblance whatever between the fundamental rights of the Constitution of America and those recognised in the Constitution of India. The American Constitution provides that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. The Indian Constitution provides that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

The difference lies in this. The Constitution of India secures procedural due process only. It affords no protection against tyrannical laws. The American Constitution, however, gives complete protection against tyrannical laws. This is one point of difference between the American Constitution and the Indian Constitution. In America the press is completely free; in India the different Acts in operation place the press completely at the mercy of the executive governments. In America the people have the right to take out processions and hold public meetings. In India orders have been passed throughout India which make it impossible for public meetings to be held without the previous permission of the District Magistrate. I suggest, therefore, that it is absurd to say that in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India the Constituent Assembly has been influenced by the American Constitution. It was in fact influenced by one article of the Japanese Constitution. The Prime Minister in the course of his speech said : "We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce to any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is endangered, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral." He should have added "except in India."

He was, however, closely questioned on the condition of civil liberties in India, when he was received by the New York Press correspondents. In answer to one of the questions put to him, he said that the first thing they had to consider on achieving independence was the unity and stability of the country which could not be allowed to break up whatever happened. He added that there was something approaching a rebellion and that they had arrested and convicted those who resorted to violence. In point of fact, they were arrested and detained but not convicted. He held his final Press conference in America on November 7, and he was closely questioned on civil liberties in India. He said that no person had been imprisoned unless he had committed or preached violence. I beg to ask the Prime Minister, who has told him that no one has been imprisoned in India unless he had committed or preached violence. He

did not personally examine any of these cases. The Prime Minister of India, of course, has the greatest confidence in the Prime Ministers of the different provinces. The Prime Ministers of the different provinces have the greatest confidence in their police officers. It comes to this, that arrests are made on police reports, and I do not believe that they are examined critically by the Home Ministers of the different provinces. They have not sufficient time for that purpose. Numerous orders of release which have been made by the different High Courts show that the orders of detention were made on insufficient grounds. I have myself come across fantastic grounds being given for detention of individuals.

Civil Liberties Union is in no sense a political organization. We have nothing to do with politics, or with political parties as members of the Union. We are, however, bound to enter our solemn protest against the serious infringement of civil liberties in India. We are bound to point out that the want of confidence of the Executive Governments in the judiciary—as shown by the speech of the Prime Minister in the Constituent Assembly—does not justify the proud claim made in the preamble to the Constitution of India that "we the people of India" have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a democratic Republic. We are bound to point out that the Security Acts, the Press Acts, and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts constitute a grave menace to the liberty of the subject and, therefore, to democracy. For many of us the situation in the country today is one of great perplexity. Many of us believe that there would have been chaos in the country if the Congress had not taken up the burden of governing the country when independence came. Many of us sincerely believe that no alternative Government is possible in India today and for many years to come. But we also believe that the possession of these large extraordinary powers must ultimately pave the way for Congress dictatorship; and we will not have dictatorship in the country at any cost. I do not suggest that the Congress leaders are consciously aiming at dictatorship. But such is the corrupting influence of power—as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has reminded us in his autobiography—that the exercise of those powers must inevitably pave the way for dictatorship. Emergency legislation has a habit of staying for all times in this country; and it will be proper for the Congress leaders to consider seriously the wise words of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha which I have already quoted. Our choice is clear.

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The "Hundred Great Books" Fallacy

Victor S. Yarros exposes the fallacy of "Hundred Great Books" and suggests the right method of educating our youths and students in *Unity*, September-October, 1949 :

It is generally known that we have a school of thinkers and educators who believe that the best way to educate ourselves, in or out of the colleges and schools, is to study the Great Books of the ages, including our own. To the Great Books we owe all that we know, all the wisdom we possess, all the noblest aspirations we seek to realize as civilized men. Why, then, should we read inferior books or depend on textbooks, asks Mark Van Doren in his *Liberal Education*? The Great Books are our textbooks. And has not culture been defined by Matthew Arnold as "knowing the best that has been said and written through the ages?"

Few colleges have been persuaded to discard their textbooks and to make the one hundred Great Books the substance of their respective curricula. Many of the Great Books are not recommended to the students in most of our colleges, and are not read by the majority of our youth. Only St. John's College, in Maryland, has had the boldness and the rigorous logic required to treat one hundred and ten books as its textbooks, and to insist that the professors and instructors, as well as the students, read, ponder, and discuss these Great Books. The list, as last revised in the light of reflection and experience, is presented in full by Van Doren, and if we analyze it dispassionately, without prejudice, some very important lessons emerge, lessons educators and enlightened laymen cannot afford to ignore.

What is true of the St. John's list would be true, in the main, of any other list of "the greatest books." The notion that any list of the greatest books is adequate from the viewpoint of the liberal educator and should serve as the college curriculum in our time and the actual world situation can be shown to be thoroughly fallacious. It is easy to show, further, that a man may conscientiously read and ponder all the books on St. John's list and yet go out into the contemporary world wholly unfit to do his part as a citizen of a democracy, or near democracy, to think straight on the most vital and difficult problems of his day, to vote for the best candidates and the soundest party platforms, to defend his essential rights.

This may strike many as an amazing statement about the St. John's carefully prepared list of the Great Books, but it is absolutely true.

Plato, Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine, Dante, Leibnitz, and most of the other classical authors on the list will not enable us to deal intelligently with such questions as mass unemployment, finance capitalism, corporate monopoly, the divorce between ownership and management of industrial enterprises, effective regulation of public utilities, war and peace, the proper relationship between legislative bodies and executives, justice in taxation, and a score of other baffling issues which we face and must deal with in the light of our technology, our science and our ethical ideas.

A list of Great Books which fails to include a single book on the French Revolution, on the decline of *laissez faire*, on the rise and development of the Trade Union and Labor movements, on Socialism, on Russian Soviet-Communism, on the Wilson-Roosevelt economic

and social reforms, on the growth of Unitarianism, Agnosticism, and Rationalism in the religious realm, on poverty in the midst of potential abundance, such a list is fantastically grotesque.

A list of Great Books in which we find nothing of Carlyle, of Ruskin, of the British Christian Socialist, of the Fabian Society, of the democratization of Britain and her colonial policy, of the virtual elimination of the House of Lords, of similar trends in the United States, exemplified by the Referendum and Initiative, the transformation of the Senate, the enfranchisement of women, the demand for further major changes in our Federal Constitution, is not a list which prepares our citizenry to interpret correctly the intellectual and social movements and phenomena of their era.

Let us look at the extraordinary list from another angle. What thinkers and writers have shaped, molded and directed the spiritual and philosophical trends of the last seventy or eighty eventful years? We naturally and spontaneously name, first, the following: Comte, Spencer, Huxley, Proudhon, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Nietzsche, Wells, Shaw, Henry George, Dewey, Renan, Fraser, Freud. Not one of these men is on the list. Surely, their place in our world cannot be taken by Plato or St. Thomas.

Parenthetically, it may be observed that the list betrays a dubious and suspicious slant even in the selection of purely literary works. Dostoevski, for example, is represented by a single novel, *The Possessed*, which is not his best work. Flaubert is represented by *Bouvard and Pecushet*, a minor work, Ibsen by *Ghosts and Rosmersholm*. Not one of the "radical" social plays of Ibsen is listed. Not "The Pillars of Society," not "The Enemy of the People," not "The Doll's House." Jane Austin, Balzac, George Eliot, Hardy, Meredith, Hugo, Wells, Zola, Melville, Henry James are conspicuous by their absence.

So, oddly enough, is *history*. Herodotus and Thucydides are on the list, but not a single modern historian, German, French, British, or American, is honoured by the slightest recognition. This contempt for modern history is not explicable on any rational ground. There is a limit to superstitious veneration for classicism and tradition. St. John's College seems to believe in intellectual isolationism and total indifference to the present.

The quintessential consideration is, simply this: knowledge and education are not acquired or utilized in a vacuum. We must ask: Education and knowledge for what? The rational answer is: For citizenship, for civilized living in a modern community, for an enlightened attitude toward industry, for the proper use of leisure, for appreciation of beauty in the arts and in human conduct.

Let the adult education classes do their work with the foregoing question and answer in mind, and no one will doubt their utility. The books they will read and discuss will enable them to comprehend, and help solve eventually, the pressing and vital problems of our period—outlawing war, taking some cautious steps toward World Government, freeing trade from crippling restrictions, promoting industrial peace, effectively regulating monopoly, and substantially improving utility control, providing decent housing in our over-crowded cities, preventing mass unemployment, combating anti-Semitism and Negrophobia.

Let us suppose that a circular signed by eminent educators and scientists went forth to millions of our people, describing the classes and courses just mentioned and the beneficial effects that might be reasonably expected. Not seventeen, but seven hundred communities would respond enthusiastically, organize classes, and engage in lively, stimulating, and profitable discussion. Politics would enter a new phase. Issues would replace platitudes and tags. Candidates would be forced to take clear and honest positions on actual questions. Vulgar name-calling would be frowned down, and campaigns would cease to be ill-smelling mud baths.

The books selected for these courses would not all be "great." Some would be ancient—Plato's *Republic*, for instance, Machiavelli's *The Prince*. But the list would include works by Henry George, John Maynard Keynes, Alvin H. Hanson, Charles A. Beard, Norman Thomas, Ralph Bliss Perry, the Fabian Society, Leon Blum, John Dewey, Albert Einstein. In other words, useful, informing, up-to-date books on the social sciences would outnumber the "great" classics, which, of course, are great and should be read by all enlightened persons.

What adult education needs is vitality and immediate appeal. We crave culture, but we have to work, live in society, vote, invest, save, attend to tasks that brook no delay, find rational recreation and entertainment.

To conclude and repeat: The Great Books Foundation rests on a fallacy.

Two recent developments in higher education may perhaps serve as significant commentaries on the foregoing observations. In California, an eighteen-month experiment by sixteen schools, undertaken by the State Department of Education, is said to have demonstrated the fact that the systematic use of current materials—editorials, magazine articles, reports by major groups or organizations, and the like—enables teachers and pupils to function much more effectively than do classes conducted under traditional practices. Subjects generally considered dull take on freshness, vitality, and interest. Pupil participation becomes lively and discussion spirited. This is true of courses in government, economics, language. Teachers feel they have to be alert, up-to-date, and well informed. Routine undergoes a process of dramatization. This "project," as it is called, is arousing attention and is likely to be adopted in other states, at least experimentally. What is there surprising in all this? Intelligent journalists and editors would have predicted the results in question.

The new president of Dartmouth, Mr. John Dickey, is raising a fund of four million dollars for the purpose of constructing and operating a modern auditorium, with appropriate annexes and facilities, designed to terminate the isolation of the colleges from the dynamic life of the society it is supposed to educate and fit for the tasks of life. In addition to the regular courses and classes, the college will invite representative outsiders, lay and other, to talk to the students on the issues of the day—political, social, ethical, industrial. Bankers, corporate executives, labor leaders, writers, statesmen, clergymen, educators will appear in the annual series of lectures and debates, and members of the Dartmouth faculty will be given opportunities to take part in the series in a new role—as individuals sans privileges, on a footing of equality with the outsiders. President Dickey expects much benefit, intellectual and moral, from this new feature. And he is amply warranted in this expectation. The tides and currents of life cannot in our time be arrested at the gates of the college or university. They must be allowed to enter and reach the student body as well as the faculty. Plato will be studied, but so will Norman Thomas, Henry Wallace, John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, Walter Lippmann,

Professor Niebuhr and Professor Northrop. More light, more air, more movement, more realism will revivify our academies and invigorate our youth. Apathy, cynicism, and nihilism will vanish.

The Port of Antwerp

An Oath of Fidelity taken 117 years ago by Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg, marked the birth of modern Belgium. His triumphal entry into Brussels meant the beginning of an independent, Democratic State. That date, July 21, 1839, is commemorated each year with much the same ceremony as Independence Day in the United States and Bastille Day in France.

The Belgians cherish their heritage of freedom and have valiantly defended it in two Great Wars. Their almost phenomenal economic and industrial recovery from both conflicts is due in a great measure to a strong feeling of nationalism which predominates throughout the land.

Trade is the life-blood of Belgium. Centuries before the founding of the Democratic nation, vessels of the Hansaetic League plied between the channel ports and the North and Baltic Seas. Today that commerce is on a world-wide basis, tremendous volumes of foreign goods moving in exchange for the products of revitalized Belgian industry.

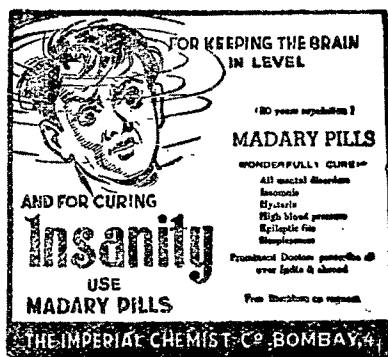
Industrial reconstruction within Belgium has been along lines which place manufactured products back on the Export market. Steel, Chemicals, Machinery, Textiles, and a variety of minor Export commodities are moving in volumes which exceed pre-war levels.

Belgian Export commerce is high, but so too are her Imports. Vast quantities of raw-materials—Cotton, Ore, Oil, Lumber, and others—are needed to sustain the productivity of her manufacturing enterprises.

Linking Belgium and a large portion of Western and Central Europe with her world markets are the fine Belgian ports. The nation's great port, Antwerp, is one of the most important communication centers in all Europe.

Situated on the right bank of the Scheldt River, roughly 34 miles from the North Sea, Antwerp is easily accessible to the large vessels. The port area is divided into two parts, the quay along the river and the much extended inner docks, connected with the river by way of four sealocks.

The inner docks, or wetdocks are 27 in number; 19 are equipped for ocean-going vessels and eight are used by coastwise and inland craft. Augmenting these are many miles of quays all of which accommodate 240 deep draft vessels.



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With the tremendous volume of cargo moving through the port of Antwerp, storage facilities and cargo handling equipment must naturally be adequate. There are 96 sheds either open or closed for storage. The Royal Staple House alone has a capacity of 110,000 tons. There are in addition municipal warehouses and any number of privately owned facilities. Special storage facilities include grain silos, potassium storehouses, refrigerated storage and more than 520 oil storage tanks.

As impressive is the array of technical equipment which includes 539 quay cranes of capacities up to 15 tons, five loading bridges of 15-ton capacities with two 200-ton storehouse chargers, 21 grain elevators and 130 mobile cranes.

Antwerp's strategic location to a vast industrial hinterland which imports and exports the greater percentage of Western Europe's produce gives rise to the opinion that today that port is the most important on the continent. In 1947 Antwerp handled 22,000,000 tons of goods, an increase of almost 80 per cent over the pre-war level. Of that total, 16,000,000 tons were imported. However, in 1937 the exports and imports balanced at 14,000,000 tons each way, which indicates that when conditions become normal a vessel calling at Antwerp to unload will be reasonably sure of return freight. Another impressive figure is the number of vessel which call at Antwerp, the figures showing 2,080 for the first three months of 1948.

Transshipment from Antwerp via inland waterways is an important factor to be included in a resume of that port. It was to and from prewar Germany that most of this traffic passed. It is noteworthy to mention that transit traffic represented 30 per cent of pre-war inbound traffic and 45 per cent of the outbound traffic.

No story of the port of Antwerp would be complete without mention of another Belgian commercial center, Ghent. This second biggest Belgian port plays an equally important role in the economic story of the nation.

More than 1,000 seagoing vessels entered the port in 1947, using facilities of 562 acres of docking space. The important textile industry, which includes 67 weaving factories utilizing 50,000 modern machines, make Ghent the busiest textile center on the Continent. The Port is specially equipped to handle the tremendous volumes of cotton imported annually. Two warehouses alone can store 60,000 bales. The total storage capacity of the port is more than 250,000 bales.

Democratic Belgium through its industry is today one of the soundest economically in all Europe. Recovery is almost complete; the nation's future prosperity is tied to industrial production and the great ports through which this production flows.—Belgium, August 1949.

Israel's Neutrality

David Ben Gurion enunciates 'Israel's neutrality in the case of a future World War :

It would seem that the fate of the world whether for peace or for war lies in the hands of the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. On the face of it one might conclude that the small and medium powers are of no significance and cannot determine their own destiny or share in the decision of the fate of the world. But such a view is completely erroneous. The two great powers cannot simply execute whatever they get a notion to do. Other countries also carry great weight; and even though in most cases they follow one of the two great powers they still exercise direct and indirect influence and must be taken into consideration. It is unrealistic to maintain that the small countries have no influence in determining international politics.

Before Israel came into being, many Zionists as well as non-Zionists made the same mistake concerning the Jews and denied them any political significance. They maintained that we were in a position to make demands solely on the basis of justice and that our interests would be considered only to the extent that justice was honored. However, reality did not support such a contention. Now that Israel is a state our political potentialities must not be under-estimated or exaggerated. We must be aware of the modest nature of our position and the limits of our strength, but we must also realize that we are an international factor and must therefore have an international policy.

It would be erroneous to describe our policy as one of neutrality. We are not neutral. Neutrality implies a negative, passive attitude, an attitude of non-intervention and political indifference. Whereas our policy is positive and active. Ours is a policy of peace and constant effort on behalf of peace in the world at large and in that part of the world in which we live. It is our policy to support all efforts which lead to a greater understanding between the peoples and to strengthen the competence and the usefulness of the United Nations. We are not neutral in the sense that we are not passive either ideologically, economically or politically.

In the field of ideology we do not identify ourselves either with America or with Russia. We maintain our intellectual sovereignty and cherish our own ideology. We believe that various social orders can coexist in peace despite their ideological differences. Wars are no less frequent between identical social orders than between countries living under different social systems. Basing ourselves on our ideological independence we do not consider the world to be divided into two blocs, one of



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which is all white and the other all black. We appreciate the positive traits of both sides nor do we close our eyes to shortcomings of which neither side has a monopoly.

Economically we need assistance from other countries. The State of Israel cannot be economically self-sufficient and it will have to seek aid wherever that is to be found.

Politically we are interested in peace. We know that peace is of greatest and most vital interest to the world. We are opposed to all war-mongering, whether it is aroused in our midst by *Heruth* or *Mapam*. Nor is our striving for peace an internal matter concerned with the interests of Israel alone. It is true that for a long time to come we will be primarily occupied with the building of our country, and our entire energy will be directed inward. But the State of Israel has the mission to become one of the chief forces in the world in the struggle for peace. Israel will find various countries, small and medium sized, in the East as well as in the West that will work with it for peace. By reason of its ancient tradition, its moral strength and its peculiar geographic situation, Israel could well become the leader of the small peace-loving countries, because there is no country in the world more interested in peace than Israel. Its own existence, as well as the existence of the entire Jewish people, is dependent on world peace.

The Jewish State will be able faithfully to fulfill its mission of strengthening world peace if it will guard its ideological freedom and its moral independence without involvement with either contending side.

Like other countries Israel is politically and economically dependent on international forces. It must learn from other nations and utilize their assistance. In our war of independence we were aided by friends in the East and in the West. In our political struggles we were assisted by the sympathies and the goodwill of small countries in the new as well as in the old world, in the East and in the West. We look forward to immigration, as well as material and technical support, from every part of the world.

But there is one sphere where we must strictly and stubbornly guard our complete independence; this is the sphere of ideology, thought and morality. We will not borrow from others the vision of our future. We will use our own moral and intellectual strength to shape our strivings for a life of freedom, equality and justice, for a workers' society free from injustice and exploitation or any form of discrimination, for international relations based on peace and mutual influence, neighborliness and mutual assistance. We must guard our freedom of thought and our criticism of human, social and international values. For the independence of a people consists not only in its strength, its political sovereignty and its international status. It resides in its heart and soul. The true source of individual, national and class freedom lies in the freedom of the spirit. We cannot make any compromises or concessions where our spiritual, moral and intellectual liberties are concerned. There is no such thing as a half-truth, nor is there such a thing as a half spiritual freedom.—*Jewish Frontier*, November, 1949.

No International Regime for Jerusalem

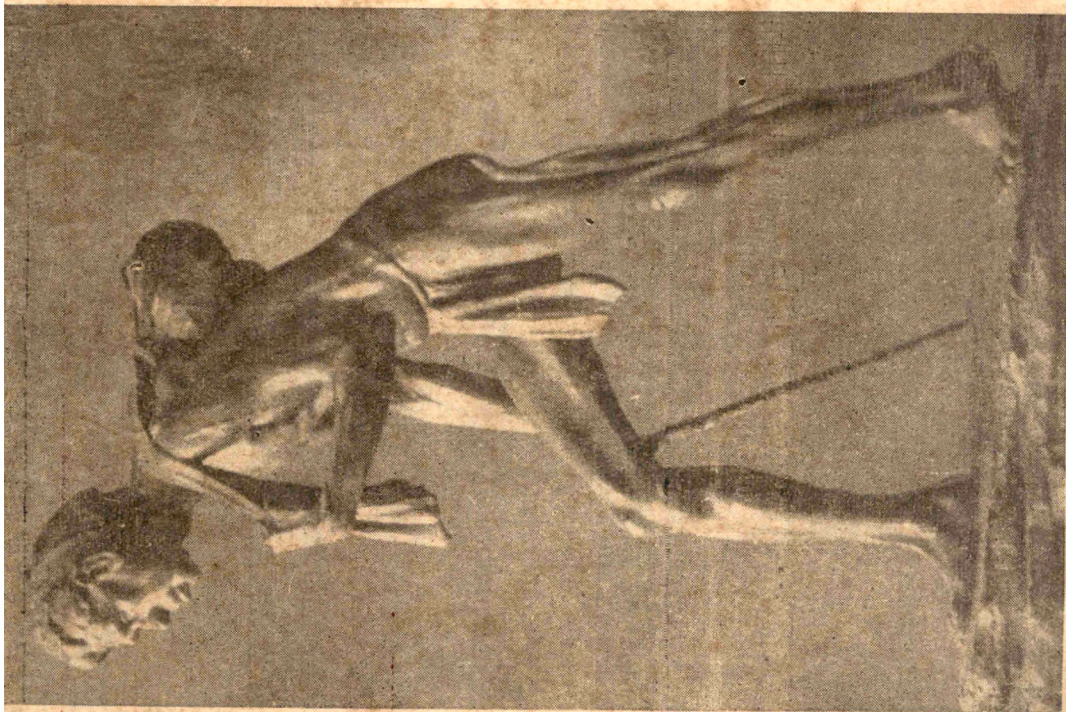
Hayim Greenberg asserts emphatically in the *Jewish Frontier*, November, 1949 that an International Regime in Jerusalem is unacceptable and dangerous to the Jews as well as to the Arabs:

For Jews an international regime in Jerusalem is unacceptable and dangerous on political, economic, religious and emotional grounds. Such a regime would be dangerous in the present and threatening for the future. It would be an insult to both Jews and Moslem Arabs. Objectively such a regime is unnecessary, and would be of no benefit to the Christian world. Christianity's heritage will, in any case, be scrupulously guarded by Jews as well as by Arabs. Nor is it in the interest of world peace and mutual co-operation again to arouse religious suspicions and antipathies. The suggestion to internationalize Jerusalem smacks, be it ever so slightly, of a new Crusade. Yet the Christian world gained nothing from the medieval Crusades, neither honor nor prestige, and the recollection of those events are scarcely of a sort to glory in, even from a religious, Christian standpoint.

We have maintained that an international regime for Jerusalem would be harmful to Jews and Arabs and unnecessary for the Christian world. There is also the question whether such a regime is feasible under present circumstances.

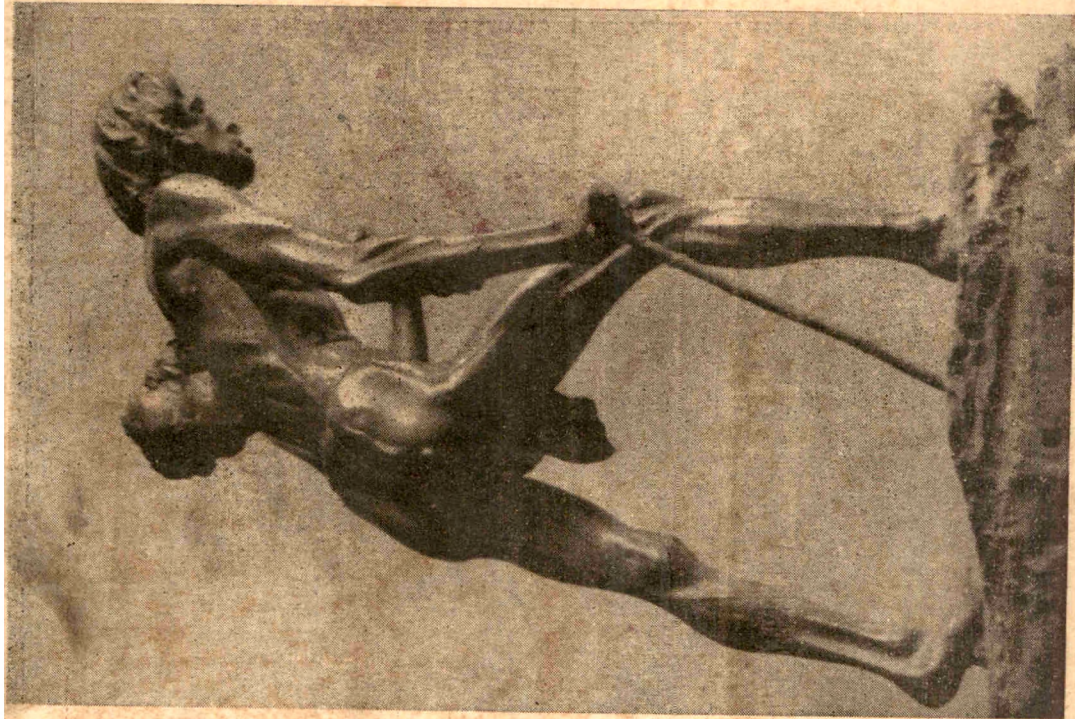
How many international regimes has the U.N. set up so far? Is the U.N. sufficiently well organized to be capable of establishing such a regime? Where would they take an international police force to maintain order in Jerusalem and its environs? From what countries would it be recruited? Would the Soviet Union be allowed to participate in such a force? How quickly could a governor for Jerusalem be selected? (Five years after the U.N. began discussing the subject of selecting a governor for Trieste, that area still has no administration). Could an international administration govern the city against the will of the people? Whence the assumption that the one hundred thousand Jews of Jerusalem would co-operate with an international administration, even if Israel were compelled to submit to such a decision? There is scarcely a single Jewish home in Jerusalem that is not in mourning for a son fallen in defense of the city. What force could the international regime apply, what repressions could it exercise, and how many punitive expeditions would the U.N. be prepared to send against the people of Jerusalem, should they refuse to co-operate with an international regime?

The government of the United States once more acted hastily and without seriously weighing the situation when it came out for an international regime for Jerusalem. It acted with similar thoughtlessness in April, 1948, on the eve of the proclamation of the State of Israel. A few days before the British evacuated their last forces from Palestine the United States still insisted at Lake Success that an international trusteeship be imposed on all of Palestine. But it could not explain even then how such a trusteeship was to be carried out. It was an abstract suggestion without a practical program for its realization. The trusteeship plan then became one of the less inspiring chapters in the history of U.S. diplomacy. The government of a great country, which is a leading force in the United Nations, cannot afford to propose vague schemes which it does not know how to put into effect and is not even sure can be put in practice. American championship of the internationalization of Jerusalem at present is likely to lead the government into a similar political impasse. The State Department is once more sponsoring an abstract notion without having any concrete and feasible plan for its realization.



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MAY



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 5

WHOLE No. 521

NOTES

The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact

The question before Bengal is the Pact and its implementation. The rest of the Union of India has been satisfied with the speeches and reasonings of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, and has decided to consider the fate of the entire Bengali race as a purely parochial—though somewhat troublesome—issue. But the world outside has got quite a different picture. That picture may seem to be an irritating phantasy in the eyes of our Rip van Winkles, who have been soothed by the lullabys uttered by our somewhat gullible Olympians in whom even today, as ever, the wish is the father of the thought, tied up as they are with shibboleths and taboos and surrounded as they are with time-servers and sycophants.

To illustrate our point we quote *in toto* a despatch to the *New York Times* of April 12 by its extremely capable special correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger:

Outbreak of a full-scale war between India and Pakistan which could conceivably have led to a world conflict apparently was averted narrowly this past week-end as a result of some skilful behind-the-scenes diplomacy and level-headed statesmanship displayed by Liaquat Ali Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru in the New talks.

During the past month, the situation had been deteriorating rapidly. (a) *New riots in Bengal had forced mass Moslem migration into East Pakistan. Military dispositions were being taken and irresponsible press elements were calling for "action" by India.*

The new United States Ambassador to Pakistan, energetic Avra Warren, who came here straight from his previous post in Finland without taking any leave, found the atmosphere increasingly pessimistic.

Karachi was convinced that India was being pushed to aggressive action by the extremist Mahasabha organization. (b) *Information here was that India had concentrated almost her entire army in the vicinity of West Pakistan.*

(c) *After the troop movements had been completed, according to Pakistan sources, the Indian press, using the excuse of February's anti-Hindu riots in*

East Bengal, began a propaganda campaign for police action by India in East Pakistan.

Simultaneously, it is claimed here, (d) *India quietly encouraged Afghanistan to foment trouble with Pakistan along tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province which Kabul covets and hopes to organize into an Afghan satellite "Pathanistan." Fakir of Ipi, a north-west tribal leader who had been a traditional nuisance, showed signs of restiveness and it is claimed here he was encouraged financially by New Delhi.*

(e) *Pakistan feared India would informally invade East Bengal and then, when Pakistan resisted, claim Karachi had begun a war and attack in Punjab with her assembled forces.*

Mr. Warren, when appraised of the gravity of the situation by Pakistani leaders, flew to New Delhi to consult with United States Ambassador, Loy Henderson and pushed for compromise talks. (f) *Last week's discussions between Prime Ministers Nehru and Liaquat Ali eventually resulted.*

However, after slow progress, these almost broke down Friday evening. The Pakistani Government was extremely worried lest they fail utterly. It reckoned that in such an event war would break out in a matter of days or weeks. The monsoon commences in East Bengal at the end of May, making it unfit for campaigning later.

Fortunately Saturday morning a final compromise was reached. (g) *It is now regarded as a virtual certainty that the danger of war can be excluded until autumn—after the end of the monsoons.*

Unfortunately so much blood has been spilled on both sides since the partition was effected August 15, 1947, that not only do many Indian extremists ache to reconquer all the territory of the subcontinent but some Pakistanis would like a crack at the "Bharat," as they call the Indian Union. About 1,000,000 Hindus and Moslems have been slaughtered in the two and a half years and 14,000,000 have emigrated.

This country, which blames Lord Mountbatten for the tragic situation and claims he could have maintained order by keeping British troops in India some months after the partition, figures it has a one-to-four military inferiority with India although the pro-

portion is slightly less unfavourable in the air and in armor. Both sides have famous fighting troops.

Pakistan's navy is inferior and it depends on that to maintain contact between its two areas divided by more than 1,000 miles of India. It has somewhat redressed its inferiority on land by withdrawing almost all regular forces from the north-west frontier tribal area and depending on subsidies and the common appeal of Islam to keep the tribes quiet.

(h) *But Pakistan will be militarily inferior for some time to come.* It has no coal, makes no steel and partition left it without a single munitions factory, almost without an arsenal and with few technicians.

According to Finance Minister Ghulam Moham-mad, the partition awarded to Pakistan 164,000 tons of military stores in India of which only 23,000 have been delivered "and that mostly useless."

(i) *Pakistan is anxious to buy up to 200 of the latest type Sherman tanks from the United States and to improve her air force to attain balance with India's* estimated seventy-two Tempests and Spitfires plus three jet fighters and nine American Liberators. It is argued that a better arms balance between the two nations would safeguard peace.

It would seem that the political temperature has dropped sharply during the last seventy-two hours and that despite unsettled conditions in both East and West Bengal and inability to adjust the Kashmir dispute, (j) *the danger of war has at least been postponed for six months.*

Now a plain analysis of the above shows that a very powerful section of world opinion has been led to believe that :

(a) The genesis of the present crisis was in West Bengal and not the eastern part where peace reigned supreme. (b) That the efficient Pak spy-chain inside our defence and war organisation sent full and convincing intelligence about warlike movements to Pakistan proving (c) that the entire outcry against the widespread atrocities and nation-wide race-riots in East Bengal was a totally got-up affair. Indeed India's machinations reached into (d) Afghan and Pathan territory. It is further shown that the "sweet reasonableness," shown by Mr. Liaquat Ali at Delhi, was induced (e) by the imminence of war on very disadvantageous terms for Pakistan, and that (f) the U. S. A. Foreign Department—as also Mr. Attlee—intervened, causing the collapse of Pandit Nehru. It is clearly proved (g) (j) that this pact is a temporary truce forced on India to give Pakistan breathing space, and moreover (h) since Pakistan will be militarily inferior for "sometime to come," it will have to obtain (i) armour and planes from U.S.A. within the truce period to offset the disparity.

Question remains, which version are we to believe? As for the Pact, we will say that the proof of this latest *Dehli-ki-laddoo* is in the eating thereof. When we see the misery-laden refugee masses stream

back to East Pakistan in thousands, we shall start to regain faith. *We shall entertain no other proof.*

Indo-Pak Trade Agreement

The Indo-Pakistani Agreement for the revival of trade has been published after ratification by both the Governments. Although the Agreement will be in force up to July 31, 1950, provision has been made for supplies to be completed by a later date if necessary. The Agreement includes a deal in which Pakistan will sell four million maunds of raw jute and will, with the proceeds, make purchases in India. It is also stated, the two Governments will make efforts to increase the flow of trade so that Pakistan may obtain the coal she needs and India may get the cotton she requires. This virtually lifts the ban on coal export to Pakistan without making any mention of it in the Agreement.

The jute deal has raised a storm of protest all over West Bengal. Before even the Delhi Agreement had passed the stage of uncertainty, the jute deal had become a *fait accompli*! Several jute dealers' associations had protested against this deal. It had been clearly pointed out from several knowledgeable quarters that the deal had been ill-timed and would not serve the best interests of the country. The agreement price to be paid for the raw jute from Pakistan, though lower than the control price for "bottoms" in India, was higher as compared with prevalent prices in Pakistan. The Jute Dealers' Association, Calcutta, expressed its belief that if India kept up a rigid attitude in negotiating with Pakistan for a few months more, the situation would favour India as there has been a large accumulation of low quality jute lying in East Bengal in a practically unsaleable condition. The Association also pointed out in a telegram to the Commerce Minister that the quality of jute for which negotiations were going on are absolutely unsaleable to any other country except India, irrespective of prices, and as such, the Association is of the opinion that any deal at a price higher than that obtaining in Pakistan would mean a tacit acceptance of Pakistan's unduly enhanced currency ratio.

In an article to the *Hindusthan Standard* on April 20, a correspondent analysed the business aspect of the deal and pointed out that India was being asked to pay 35 per cent more for a thing for which she was the only buyer. The concluding portion of the report is of importance :

So far as the stock position and output of jute goods are concerned, it is no longer true that India is dependent on the sweet will of Pakistan to keep her jute mills working. India has not been idle since Pakistan started this trade war with special reference to jute. We have developed our own resources ; and a position has been reached in which we shall not need to buy from Pakistan more than a third of our former purchases. *From the long-term point of view, therefore, this deal is, to say the least of it, unnecessary. But it has most dangerous immediate consequences. By helping Pakistan out of the glut of raw jute, we shall help*

her to put up the prices in the immediate future both because stocks will have been reduced and also because her merchants will be getting more money with which to rig up the market. If this purchase of 800,000 bales at the present juncture is not made, the world supplies of jute in the 1950-51 season will be 3 million bales, being unsold stocks from the current crop in the hands of Pakistani cultivators and being the unsold stocks with Pakistan Jute Board; plus 4 million bales (may be 5 million bales as, in spite of reduction in acreage, the crop in East Bengal is due to favourable weather conditions, likely to turn out a bumper crop) of Pakistani crop in 1950-51 season; plus 5 million bales being Indian grown jute for the next season; plus at least 500,000 bales of mesta and other fibres; or, in all 13½ million bales. Even a tyro in the jute business knows that nothing can keep the 1950-51 prices of jute at current levels. It is a safe guess that, in four to five months' time, the price of jute should work out to less than Rs. 25 per maund delivered at the mills in Calcutta.

Thus not only are we helping Pakistan to sell her jute, we are helping her also to put up the prices against us.

But the worst aspect of the jute deal is that it will cut across our most vital national interests in the years ahead. Faced with the demand for higher prices for raw jute, and bearing in mind our heavy trade deficits with Pakistan, the Government of India decided to develop our resources in raw jute, wipe out the adverse balance with Pakistan and improve our general balance of trade position with the rest of the world. This jute deal proposes to take us back to the old position. And what is worse, it proposes to give gratuitous strength to the Pakistan rupee and to Pakistan's contention that its currency is worth more than ours. *It is impossible to think of any proposal which can at one stroke do even half as much harm to our national interests, short-term as well as long-term.*

It is now widely rumoured that more than normal interest had been taken in the deal by the officials of the Commerce Department. Only the Commerce Minister, Shri K. C. Neogy, opposed it all along. The gain for India in this deal is still a matter of mystery, the disadvantages to be encountered by us a few months hence is quite clear from the extract from the *Hindusthan Standard* correspondent quoted above. We consider it imperative in the interest of the State that names of the firms that have got the contracts and the officials through whom the agreement has passed should be published. The public must have clear knowledge of the persons who are responsible. *We have to write strongly on this matter because we feel that the agony and misery of millions in the two Bengals have been capitalised by Big Business with the aid of high officials with such haste as can only be characterised as shameless and brazen. This deal must be kept before the public eye, in its fullest significance, therefore.*

While the jute deal was going through in Karachi, Sardar Datar Singh came to West Bengal and tried to

persuade the Government to allocate more acres to jute. We have no doubt that the same process is going on in Bihar and Assam. We fail to understand what is the idea behind these moves to increase jute acreage in India while the Mills would run to Pakistan even for hubby jubbies and bottoms. We have a suspicion that the same attempts are being made now as was done during the League period of British regime when the helpless jute cultivator was placed completely at the mercy of the ruthless greed of the Indian Jute Mills Association, so much so that sometimes it did not even pay the grower to cut the jute.

The entire matter of jute require a thorough reorientation. Mr. Walker is the representative of the Jute Mills but he has been made the Jute Controller. His interests must conflict with those of the jute-grower, the jute dealer (as revealed by the Jute Dealers' Association of Calcutta) and the indigenous manufacturers of jute mill accessories. We think that time is now ripe for the establishment of a Jute Board in India in which the Mills, the Accessories Manufacturers, the dealer and the grower should be evenly represented. The President of the Board should be an Indian Economist of unchallenged integrity who is not identified with any of the above interests.

The following is the text of the Agreement; it differs very little from the Indo-Pak Trade Agreement of 1948 which had been systematically violated by Pakistan:

"1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan being desirous of reviving trade on a balanced basis between their two countries, have through their respective representatives, who met in Karachi on April 19-21, 1950, agreed as a first step as under:

2. The Government of Pakistan, through their Jute Board, shall arrange to supply to the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association on the specified dates 4m maunds of raw jute in accordance with the terms and conditions given in the annexe to this Agreement.

3. The Government of India undertake to arrange the supply of 20,000 tons of jute manufactures of Indian origin to the Jute Board of the Pakistani Government in accordance with the terms and conditions stated in the annexure and grant licences for this purpose where necessary with maximum despatch.

4. In addition, the two Governments shall facilitate the purchase by Pakistan from India through normal trade channels of the following goods and commodities: Cotton textiles, fine and superfine, 45,000 bales; cotton yarn of counts 40 and above 5,000 bales; mustard oil 7,000 tons; tobacco 500,000 lb.; steel sheets, corrugated and plain, 5,000 tons; wheels, tyres and axles 1,000 tons; timber from Assam, Malabar and Punjab (I) 12,000 tons; cement for East Bengal 50,000 tons; woollen manufactures (value) Rs. (Indian) 50,00,000.

5. The two Governments agree to use their good offices to ensure prompt deliveries of the goods mentioned in clauses 2, 3 and 4 above.

6. Transactions under Clauses 2, 3 and 4 of the Agreement shall take place in Indian rupees, for which a separate account shall be maintained by the State Bank of Pakistan with the Reserve Bank of India. The value of goods and commodities purchased by Pakistan under Clauses 3 and 4 of the Agreement shall, as near as possible, be equal to the value of jute purchased by India.

7. In addition to the commodities mentioned above, the two Governments agree that trade in the following commodities shall be permitted to take place without import, export and exchange restrictions on either side in respect of transactions in these commodities, to the extent that traders in either country are able to finance exchange of goods without any assistance from either Government in the shape of releases of foreign exchange :

(a) To and from India and Pakistan : Vegetables; fruits (fresh and dry); fish (fresh and dry); poultry; eggs; milk and milk products; betel leaf.

(b) From Pakistan to India : Cotton-seed, soda ash, hides and skins, handloom cloth and betelnuts.

(c) From India to Pakistan : Leather, spices, myrobalan, soaps other than washing soaps, paints and varnishes, drugs, chemicals and acids, cigarettes, bidis and matches, sewing machines, electric fans, silk and artificial silk fabrics, glassware, bauxite, umbrellas, silica sand, washing soap, lanterns, handloom cloths of various descriptions.

8. The goods imported under this agreement shall not be re-exported by either country.

9. (a) The two Governments undertake to give every reasonable facility for the import and export of commodities, and in particular to facilitate the use of the routes and methods of transportation that are most economical and convenient.

(b) In order to facilitate resumption of normal rail movement and to ensure that transportation difficulties are promptly attended to, a meeting of representatives of the Railway authorities of the two Governments shall be arranged as soon as possible.

10. Both parties shall arrange to meet as frequently as possible, and in any case once in a month, in order to (a) Examine the progress in the movement of goods on either side, (b) Ensure that a balance of trade is maintained in the transactions covered by the Agreement, (c) Settle any issues that may arise in connexion with this Agreement, (d) Explore possibilities of extending the scope of this Agreement.

11. The Government of Pakistan agree to supply 150,000 tons of wheat to the Government of India at a price to be settled between the two Governments for which purpose negotiations will be opened as soon as possible.

12. This Agreement shall come into force with immediate effect and shall remain in force up to July 31, 1950, but shall continue to apply beyond that date in respect of such goods and commodities specified in Clauses 2, 3 and 4 above as are not supplied before the expiry of that date for good and valid reasons it shall be deemed to have been ratified by both Governments unless either Government notifies to the contrary before April 30, 1950."

JUTE DEAL

Annexure : "It is agreed between the Chairman of the Pakistan Jute Board (the seller) and the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association (the buyer), Amount (a) that the seller shall deliver to the buyer, 4m maunds of jute.

"Types : (b) that the types of jute to be delivered shall be cuttings 1.9m maunds, Hubbi jubbi and ropes 100,000 maunds, rejections 2m maunds.

"Price : (c) that the price shall be for delivery at the mills and in Indian rupees : Cuttings Rs. 28 per maund, Hubbi jubbi and ropes Rs. 30 per maund, rejections Rs. 34 per maund.

"Delivery : (d) that delivery shall be as follows :

By May 15—1m maunds cuttings; 100,000 maunds Hubbi jubbi and ropes, 500,000 maunds rejections. By May 31—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections. By June 30—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections. By July 31—300,000 maunds cuttings, 500,000 maunds rejections.

"The Jute Board of Pakistan as the seller will make every endeavour to complete deliveries within the specified time, but will have the option of the period.

Then follow the clauses *re Insurance (e), Inspection (f), Moisture (g).*

Payment : (h) That the seller shall draw on the buyer in Indian currency for the full invoice value of the jute and the bill of lading and original policy of insurance will be given up by the seller to the buyer through their respective bankers, who shall be authorized to make immediate settlement.

After (h) come the clauses *re (ii) Final settlement, (iii) Short-weight claims and (iv) the clause excluding the jute certified by the Narayanganj or Chittagong Chamber of Commerce.*

Then follow the usual clauses for check and survey and of arbitration. There is also the specification of the Gunnies to be delivered to the jute sellers.

Nehru-Liaquat Agreement and Kashmir

The main topic of discussion in India during the past month has been the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement and the main question asked everywhere has been—Will it succeed? The influence this Agreement will have on Kashmir, although Kashmir is not included in it,

has also been one of wide discussion. An article on this subject, which appeared in Pandit Nehru's paper, the *National Herald* of Lucknow, on April 17 last, must receive serious attention. The Article is one of the very ably written series appearing under the pen-name of *Sanjay*. The significant portions are :

The agreement imposes an obligation on India and on every Indian to accept Pakistan as an established fact. By "established fact" it is not meant that we should regard Pakistan as a bitter pill which has to be swallowed, or as a curse of God which has to be endured for the atonement of our sins. We should regard Pakistan as an established fact in the same way as England regards France today.

Friendship is possible and desirable in spite of bitter memories. The memories of what the League said and did before the partition is certainly the biggest psychological wall not only between Pakistan and India, but also between the Hindus and Muslims within each country. But a few facts will help us in plucking out this rooted bitterness from our memory.

What are these facts? First, the two-nation theory was not the root cause of the demand for Pakistan. The basic causes were economic. The two-nation theory was used by Mr. Jinnah as a weapon of propaganda. The more the Congress opposed Pakistan, the more blatant became Mr. Jinnah's propaganda. Secondly, Hindus were to some extent responsible for the creation of Pakistan. It was the considered opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Sapru and many others that an agreement between Hindus and Muslims would have been reached at the Round Table Conference but for the attitude of representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha. Thirdly, it may be true that horrible atrocities were committed by Pakistanis, but Indians gave as much as they got.

The unity of India is a concept far more difficult to give up. But here too several facts may help us. First, Pakistan was created as much by Hindu small-mindedness as by Muslim fanaticism or British intrigue. Secondly, Indians must not forget that history has not always treated India's political unity as sacrosanct. Many of us confuse the unity of Indian civilisation with political unity. The former remained intact even when India was divided into many States. It can remain intact even today though the sub-continent is divided into India and Pakistan. But it will remain intact only if there is a friendship between India and Pakistan. Thirdly, this is not the first occasion when Indians have compromised their ideal of the political unity of India. If we can tolerate the existence of Afghanistan and Ceylon, which were always part of India, why cannot we accept Pakistan? Fourthly, even political unity may return to this continent one day, just as it is slowly returning to Western Europe. But such political unity only come after a long period of friendship between India and Pakistan.

The obligations imposed on India by the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement may be summarised as follows : (i) India should accept Pakistan as a permanent fact, and (ii) it should accept friendship of Pakistan.

If India fulfils these two obligations, several results will follow. First, Pakistan shall not need the two-nation theory as a cementing force. Secondly, Pakistan will drop her insecurity complex. Thirdly, Pakistan will cease to regard the Hindus in East Bengal as a potential fifth column of India.

So much for obligations imposed on India. What about the obligations in Pakistan?

The greatest obligation on Pakistan imposed by the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement is to discard the two-nation theory. Unless this accursed theory is officially buried by Pakistan and her people, the agreement has very little chance of success. Pakistan has no excuse whatever to retain it after signing the Delhi Agreement.

But what is meant by "discarding" the two-nation theory? An official declaration on a scrap of paper which would be as easy to violate as to make is not meant. The Government of Pakistan must give concrete proof of their resolve to abolish the two-nation theory from their territories.

For example, they can do two things :

(1) They must renounce the use of the two-nation theory as a weapon of propaganda in Kashmir. If Pakistan continues to incite the Muslims of Kashmir in the name of Islam, she cannot claim to have discarded the two-nation theory. Her willingness not to "talk" two-nation theory in Kashmir is the acid test of her sincerity in this matter.

Secondly, to show their sincerity in the matter, the Pakistan Government should allow Hindus to return to West Pakistan wherever practicable. I am not suggesting a wholesale reversal of the exchange of populations which took place in the Punjab in 1947, such a wholesale reversal would hardly be possible today.

So much for the respective obligations of the two Governments. To put them in a nutshell, India must accept Pakistan as a permanent fact and Pakistan must discard the two-nation theory. These two respective obligations are fundamental. If they are fulfilled, many problems and disputes between the two countries will cease to exist. But if they are not fulfilled, the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement will fail.

There are some obligations which are common to India and Pakistan. The Agreement implies that both countries have resolved that no dispute between them shall be settled by war. The Agreement presupposes a resolve by each country that none of the existing issues between them is worth a war. Now, what are the main existing issues between India and Pakistan? They are : (1) Kashmir, (2) Canal water dispute, and (3) Evacuee property. The Nehru-Liaquat Agreement implies a decision by India and Pakistan

that neither Kashmir, nor Canal water, nor evacuee property is worth a war. If such an understanding exists, the agreement will succeed. If it does not exist, the agreement will not yield any result.

India is under a moral obligation after this agreement to use her waters in such a manner that Western Punjab is not converted into a desert for lack of it.

Pakistan's record in the matter of evacuee property has not been happy. The Pakistan Government must do justice to the refugees who have left Pakistan and who are not allowed to remove or sell their properties. In fact, much of the present bitterness in India against Pakistan will vanish if Pakistan restores evacuee property to its rightful owners. India should follow suit.

Lastly, there must be an agreement on Kashmir. Without it, the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement itself will appear unreal.

An agreement on Kashmir is essential for the success of the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement for more than one reason. First, as long as Kashmir dispute remains unsolved, Pakistan will not bury the two-nation theory. She hopes to win the plebiscite with the weapon of the two-nation theory. She hopes, even without a plebiscite, to undermine Sheikh Abdullah's position in Kashmir with the help of the two-nation theory. Secondly, as long as the prospect of war over Kashmir remains on the horizon, each country will regard her minority as the fifth column of the other. Thirdly, retaliation and counter-retaliation, which are inseparable from an atmosphere of war and fifth columns, will wreck the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement.

In a nut-shell, Kashmir is not worth a war.

But then, what is to be done about it?

There are only three alternatives: (1) Plebiscite, (2) Partition, and (3) Independence of Kashmir with an international guarantee.

Erma facie, a plebiscite appears to be the most reasonable solution. It is democratic. It has been accepted in principle by both India and Pakistan.

I shall give the people of Kashmir an opportunity to exercise self-determination. But after a careful and anxious consideration of the problem, I have come to the conclusion that the benefits of a plebiscite in the present situation are illusory.

The biggest complication is the nature of propaganda permissible to either party before the plebiscite. What shall the Muslim League say to the people of Kashmir? Shall it say, "You are Muslims, Hindus and Muslims are two nations, Pakistan is a Muslim State, and, therefore, you must vote for Pakistan." How would this be consistent with the recent declaration by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that Pakistan is a secular democracy like India?

We observed the two-nation theory in action during the 1946 elections in India. But what has been the effect of its propaganda on Hindu-Muslim relations both in India and Pakistan? Calcutta, Noakhali,

Bihar, Rawalpindi, East Punjab and Bengal paid the price. For these reasons I have come to the conclusion that a plebiscite in Kashmir will be the worst possible move after the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement.

The second alternative is that both India and Pakistan should accept Kashmir as an independent sovereign State whose neutrality should be guaranteed by both, and by the United Nations. I need not discuss this alternative, as neither India nor Pakistan, nor even the National Government of Kashmir nor the Azad Kashmir Government are prepared to accept it.

The third alternative is the partition of Kashmir. In my view this is the wisest alternative. I need not discuss the actual details of partition. Perhaps the present truce line between the Indian and Pakistani forces may become the permanent boundary between India and Pakistan. Minor adjustments may be made in favour of one or the other party, but these are questions of detail. The fundamental question is: "Shall there be a partition of Kashmir, or shall the question be settled by plebiscite or war?" War is ruled out. Plebiscite will be extremely undesirable in view of the past record of the two-nation theory. The only alternative, therefore, is partition.

Some people may object to partition on the ground that it violates the principle of self-determination. This is not quite true. Kashmir is not a homogeneous State. It is composed of many communities. Economically, too, Kashmir is not a single homogeneous unit. For all these reasons, I am of the opinion that partition without a plebiscite will in no way amount to a vivisection of a homogeneous people.

The Kashmir Problem

On December 23, 1947, the Indian Government took the Kashmir problem created by Pakistan's aggression on this State to the forum of the United Nations Organization. Through tortuous diplomacy the Anglo-Saxon Powers—the United States and Britain—have been able to screen the offender and put him and the complainant in the same position. The Anglo-American Powers have shown their hands rather crudely, the Soviet Union has been rather strangely reticent, a contrast which has gone in her favour. The latest news from Lake Success, is dated April 12; it announces the appointment of a Mediator:

The United Nations Security Council today appointed 61-year-old Australian jurist, Sir Owen Dixon, as Mediator in the Kashmir dispute. Both India and Pakistan had earlier accepted him.

Voting on the appointment was eight in favour and two abstentions, the latter being India and Yugoslavia. None voted against. The Soviet member was absent owing to the Chinese boycott.

The duties laid out for Sir Owen in a Council resolution of March 14 include the following functions:

To help the preparation and supervision of a programme of demilitarisation in the disputed zone.

Be at the disposal of the two Governments and of the Security Council in making any suggestions which

they may think will contribute to a solution of the dispute.

To take over the responsibilities and powers formerly held by the United Nations Kashmir Commission.

To prepare for the time when Admiral Chester Nimitz can take over as Administrator of the Kashmir plebiscite.

In appointing Sir Owen, the Council also reaffirmed its earlier request to the two Governments to take all necessary precautions to ensure that the present cease-fire shall be faithfully observed.

They are also expected to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

After the vote on Sir Owen's appointment, Fawzi Bey, Security Council's Chairman, said that with the appointment "yet another step has been taken by the Security Council towards the solution of the unfortunate dispute between India and Pakistan.

"I am confident that those steps will eventually lead to harmony and understanding between the two countries."

He also paid tribute to the spirit of co-operation shown by the two parties themselves. He added that the Council would note with gratification the "noble far-sighted course" which inspired the recent meeting between Pandit Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, and Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

"The agreement they reached in Delhi merits the highest commendation from the Security Council."

Mr. Arne Sunde of Norway then called today's decision a "satisfactory conclusion of a difficult stage in the process of bringing about peace and the settlement of the unfortunate dispute between India and Pakistan."

Mr. Warren Austin, United States representative said that his country wished to encourage everyone in the United Nations to continue to make substantial gains for the settlement of an extremely complicated situation.

"This is a story of a notable achievement by two great countries which were suddenly confronted with a difficult problem at a time when they were emerging from a colonial status into freedom."

The United States wished to strengthen the arm of Sir Owen "as far as it is proper for a United Nations and Security Council member to do so."

Mr. Gopala Menon on behalf of the Republic of India announced acceptance of Sir Owen Dixon.

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, followed with the announcement of Pakistan's acceptance.

The Pakistan Minister said: "It bears emphasising that over this difficult problem, the measure of agreement so far reached by the parties is embodied in the two resolutions of the United Nations Commission of August 13, 1948, and of January, 1949."

"Sir Owen's duty and function will be to assist in the implementation of a programme of demilitarisation on the basis of the McNaughton proposals. Once this is done, the Plebiscite Administrator can assume the functions assigned to him.

"The United Nations representative will receive the fullest support, assistance, and co-operation of my Government. It is unnecessary to add anything more at this stage. I hope that the agreement reached between the Governments on connected problems may mean that the United Nations Mediator will find his

task rendered easier than it was feared it might otherwise have been."

After India and Pakistan both promised to support Sir Owen, Sir Alexander Cadogan of Britain said his appointment "marks an important advance towards a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of this extremely difficult situation."

Sir Owen Dixon, Australian High Court Judge, is a man who has played many parts in a career of public service to the British Commonwealth.

Law had been his career, but outside the bar and off the bench, he had been diplomat and wartime administrator of vast enterprises.

Close friends and associates regard his outstanding characteristic of clear, level-headed thinking and his ability to dig down to the roots of stubborn problems as ideal for perhaps the thorniest job he has yet had to tackle.

His appointment as a High Court Judge by a Conservative Government in 1921, was welcomed by all political parties. This followed a three years' term as Acting Chief Justice of the Victorian State Supreme Court. Many of his judgments have stood the test both of time and higher tribunals. His fearlessness in legal interpretations and in wedding commonsense to the Statutes gained him a great reputation.

He succeeded Mr. Richard Casoffas, Australian Ambassador in Washington. For two years, he played a vital part in co-ordinating the United States and Australian efforts to make his country a great military and supply base, an arsenal, and a training ground for the war against Japan.

Those two years, under constant pressure from his own Government and treating with a Government harassed by calls from all its allies, he displayed qualities of tact and strength that won him the highest commendations.

He returned to the Australian High Court three years ago.

Nehru-Liaquat Ali Agreement

Following is the full text of the Indo-Pak Agreement jointly signed on April 8 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan :

(a) "The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality.

"Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

"Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exist in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction.

"Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances."

(E) "In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments :

(i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit ;

(ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his movable personal effects and household goods as a migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75 ;

(iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. As proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required, for their transfer to him, subject, as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned ;

(iv) That there shall be no harassment by the customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice ;

(v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immovable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him, provided that he comes back by the 31st December, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him, provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immovable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate minority commission for advice.

Where restoration of immovable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.

(vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides

not to return, ownership of all his immovable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A Committee consisting of three representatives of the minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immovable property according to law.

The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees.

The Provincial or State Government as the case may be, will instruct the district or other appropriate authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions.

The provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof."

(c) "As regards the province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively, the two Governments further agree that they shall :

1. Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.

2. Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences. In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed, where necessary. Special courts will, where necessary, be appointed to ensure that wrongdoers are promptly punished.

3. Make every possible effort to recover looted property.

4. Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

5. Not recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be a forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.

6. Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to enquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.

7. Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or

radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

8. Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda."

(d) Sub-paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 of "c" of the Agreement are of general scope and applicable, according to exigency, to any part of India or Pakistan.

(e) In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided (1) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary; (2) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam, the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.

(f) In order to assist in the implementation of this agreement the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below:

(i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Governments concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State legislatures, as the case may be.

(ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this agreement.

(iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.

(iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in districts and shall have administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.

(vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.

(vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be:

(a) To observe and to report on the implementation of this agreement and for this purpose to take cognizance of breaches or neglect.

(b) To advise on action to be taken on their recommendations.

(viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.

(ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan, and the State and Provincial Governments, will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

(x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in "E," the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.

Except where modified by this agreement the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December 1948, shall remain in force.

Nehru's Speech

Following is the significant portion of Pandit Nehru's statement on April 10, in the Indian Parliament on the Indo-Pakistan Agreement:

"I beg to place on the table of the House an Agreement signed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and by me on behalf of our respective Governments.

"We have had many agreements in the past and we have had many breaches of agreement also. I think I may say with justice that this particular Agreement, both in regard to its contents and its timing, has a peculiar significance and importance. Our future depends upon the measure of compliance in Pakistan and India.

"During the past weeks and months, the whole country, and more particularly Bengal, have faced tragedy and disaster and it is not surprising that people's minds should have been excited and passion let loose. Yet the disaster that came and the tragedy that overwhelmed vast numbers of people appeared to be a prelude to an even greater catastrophe.

"As I sat, hour after hour, discussing these matters

of grave importance with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I saw an unending stream of unhappy, fear-stricken refugees, uprooted from their homes, facing a dark and unknown future. I experienced their sorrow and misery and I prayed for guidance as to how this could be stopped.

"All the ideals I had stood for since fate and circumstance pushed me into public affairs, appeared to fade away and a sense of utter nakedness came to me. Was it for this that we had laboured through the years, was it for this that we had had the high privilege of discipleship of the Father of the Nation?"

"We have to grapple with material facts, but even more so we have to grapple with immaterial things in people's minds and hearts. We have to deal with fear and passion and prejudice. As the House knows, scenes of horror have been enacted in many places. News of this had unnerved and angered many people. The time had come when we had to make a final effort to stop this rot or to drift inevitably towards catastrophe. Formal State communications were too slow and too barren of results. It became essential that there should be some personal touch and a frank discussion of the situation and the problems and an earnest attempt to solve them.

"I invited the Prime Minister of Pakistan to come to Delhi and he was good enough to accept this invitation. For seven days we discussed the Bengal situation as well as many other matters which have poisoned the relations of India and Pakistan. Both of us were burdened with a heavy sense of responsibility for the fate of our countries and of many millions therein was involved in these discussions. The matter was not merely a political one or an economic one, but essentially a human problem in which human lives and human suffering were involved in a measure that was almost unthinkable. The problem was not a mere Bengal one but essentially all-India. Indeed its repercussions went far beyond the borders of India and Pakistan. Because of this, the world took deep interest in this meeting and its result.

"The first part of the Agreement deals with certain fundamental democratic rights of all citizens and nationals and it is declared therein that minorities must have complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country, freedom of occupation, speech and worship, equal opportunity to participate in the public life of the country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in the country's civil and Armed forces.

"All this has been laid down, as the House knows, in our Constitution and it was not necessary for us to repeat it. It became necessary, however, to say so, because doubts had arisen in people's minds, and these doubts had been frequently expressed, that the Pakistan State was based on a

certain communal idea and therefore could not give equality of citizenship to its minorities.

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan repudiated this with force and said that in the Constitution they were framing, it was their intention to lay down these democratic rights, as we had done in our Constitution. Indeed this had been stated already in the objectives resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He assured me that his Government believed in the modern conception of a democratic State and that indeed there could be no other form of State under modern conditions. This assurance is embodied in part 'A' of the Agreement.

SECULAR STATE

"We have called our State a Secular State and there has been some misunderstanding on this, as if it was something opposed to religion or morality. Some misguided people in our country have even demanded something in the nature of a communal State here. But so far as this House is concerned and the vast majority of the people in our country, we have definitely adopted the idea of a secular State and we intend to adhere to it in full measure. This does not mean that religion ceases to be an important factor in the private life of the individual. It means that the State and religion are not tied up together. It simply means the repetition of the cardinal doctrine of modern democratic practice, that is the separation of the State from religion and the full protection of every religion. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has made it clear in the Agreement that his State is based on these modern democratic ideas.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY

"This last provision, that is the retention of the ownership of immovable property and the right to sell or exchange it, will apply to all the migrants who have left East Bengal or West Bengal or Assam since the 15th August, 1947. Thus this provision will include those 15 lakhs of persons who have come away from East Bengal in the course of the last two years and a half. This provision will also include the migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances.

MINORITY COMMISSIONS

"In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, it has been further decided to set up Minority Commissions in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. The Central Ministers will have the right to attend and participate in any of the meetings of any Commission. Either of them may call for a joint meeting of any two Minority Commissions. These Commissions will be charged with the implementation of this Agreement and to report from time to time thereon.

"In the event of the Central Ministers supporting any recommendation, they will be normally given

effect to. If there is disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.

"The problem before us has many aspects, but perhaps the most important is the psychological and human aspect. Conditions have been created which make it difficult, if not impossible, for people to live in their homelands and so vast numbers of them have preferred to leave everything they possessed and go to distant places rather than live always with insecurity and fear as their companions.

"Unless this fear and insecurity are removed completely and normal civilised conditions of life prevail, this problem will not be solved in spite of all agreements. An agreement is a step, and a step only, in a certain direction. It has to be followed up by many other steps and more particularly by a change in the very conditions of life. By this Agreement the Governments of Pakistan and India have pledged themselves to take those other steps also and I feel sure that this House will give its full support to this great enterprise, which means so much to millions of our countrymen. To the people of East and West Bengal and Assam, I would make a special appeal, for they have suffered most from this tragic upheavals and they are concerned most with the implementation of this Agreement. The whole of India has not only sympathised with them but has shown that sympathy in many ways.

"Their cause has become the cause of the whole country. So far as the refugees are concerned, the Government of India has undertaken unlimited responsibilities for their welfare. But while we shall undoubtedly look after, to the best of our ability, those unhappy persons who come as refugees and try to rehabilitate them, it is clear that this is no satisfactory solution of this great problem. The only solution is to produce proper conditions to live in their homelands, wherever these may be. The only solution is to put an end to the barbarism and inhuman behaviour that we have witnessed during these past weeks.

"If one thing is certain, it is this : That we shall not serve our people or our country or the cause of humanity by encouraging private violence and inhuman behaviour. That is the way of degradation and weakening the nation.

"The brief course of our history as an independent nation has been bedevilled by our strained relations with Pakistan and the conflicts that have resulted from them. Those conflicts led to this disaster in Bengal and we came on the verge of something far greater even than that. We have stopped ourselves at that edge of a precipice and turned our back to it. That by itself is, I submit, a definite gain. It is now up to us, as it is up to the Government and people of

Pakistan, to live up to our professions and to face all our problems with sanity and goodwill and the fixed determination to put an end to that vicious atmosphere that has surrounded us for these two and a half years.

Liaquat Ali's Statement in Pak Parliament

The following is the main text of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement to the Pakistan Parliament on the Indo-Pak Minorities Agreement :

"Hon'ble members are aware that the Prime Minister of India and I met in Delhi on April 2 to discuss measures to deal with the minority problems in India and Pakistan with special reference to the situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal. The conversations between us, which were conducted in an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality, concluded on April 8 when, I am happy to say, we reached an Agreement which I am presenting to the House.

"The Agreement, it will be seen, has two aspects; a general one and a special one. In its general aspect it deals with fundamental rights of the minorities and with measures for preventing communal disorder and for dealing with it effectively, should such disorder occur at any time in any part of India or Pakistan. In its special aspect, the Agreement deals with the present situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal with particular reference to the question of suppression of disorder wherever it is still occurring, the stoppage of present exodus of minorities by creating conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence, the return of the refugees to their homes and the machinery for the implementation of these purposes.

"The fundamental rights reiterated in the Agreement are in accordance with the principles of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949. These rights include complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, protection of life, property, personal honour and culture, and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and public morality. Both Governments have reaffirmed that the enjoyment of these rights is guaranteed to all minorities and have also stated that members of the minority communities have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in public life, hold political and other office and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces.

"At the same time a most important principle has been re-emphasised, that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances. The reiteration of this concept has been

found to be necessary because much political and communal mischief in both countries is the result of a failure to recognise this basic principle.

"Among measures of general application approved by the two Governments to prevent or deal with communal disturbances are the punishment of those found guilty of offences and the imposition of collective fines where necessary; the prevention of dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organization and the punishment of those responsible for such dissemination; the prevention of propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or purporting to incite war between them, and prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such propaganda. Other important features of the general aspect of the Agreement are non-recognition of forced conversions and the setting up of an agency to assist in the recovery of abducted women.

"In the part of the Agreement relating to conditions in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal a number of special provisions have been made in addition to the general provisions referred to above.

"These special provisions are necessary in view of the unsettled conditions, which are responsible for the present exodus. The most important of these measures is the decision of the Governments of Pakistan and India to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary in order to help restore confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes and generally to assist in implementation of the provisions of the Agreement. These two Ministers will work together in close co-operation, and I earnestly hope that with the authority of the two Governments behind them, they will soon succeed in the accomplishment of their noble mission.

"Another important measure that has been accepted by both Governments is that a Minister of the minority community will be included in the Governments of West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal. The Commission will consist of a Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned and a representative each of the majority and minority communities, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislature. These Commissions will observe and report on the implementation of the Agreement and advise on action to be taken on their recommendations. These two Central Ministers will remain in touch with the Commissions and may attend and participate in their meetings. The agreed recommendations will be normally given effect to. If there is disagreement between the Central Ministers, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan shall consider and decide on ways and means to resolve the disagreement. The services of the Central Ministers

will no longer be required when the present emergency has passed.

"While the two Governments are opposed to large-scale migrations, they do not want to place any impediments in the way of those who wish to go.

"Provisions, have, therefore, been made for freedom of movement and protection in transit for the migrants and for increased customs facilities of a specified nature. The rights of a migrant to ownership of his immovable property and occupancy in land will not be disturbed.

"These are the main features of the agreement. I shall now proceed to make some general observations.

"The restatement of fundamental rights, the re-affirmation of their applicability to the minorities in both countries and the solemn guarantee given by both Governments for the reinforcement of these rights should provide cause for particular satisfaction to all concerned. Some fears have been expressed from time to time by those who have an imperfect understanding of the concept of an Islamic State that such a State will be theocratic and that it may not be guided in its policy by principles of equal status rights and citizenship in respect of the minorities, who reside in it. Such fears are entirely baseless. Their frequent repetition cannot but do immeasurable harm to the peace of mind of the minority community.

To anybody who has made a study of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, it must be clear that concept of an Islamic State rests essentially on the acceptance of the principles of freedom, equality and social justice applying to all citizens without distinction of religion, at the same time safeguarding the culture and way of life of the majority and minority communities. I hope that all talk of Pakistan being a theocratic State, where discrimination is made, will now cease.

"Hon'ble Members will recollect that when I spoke in this House on the situation in East Bengal on March 28, I stated that there were two major reasons why Hindu exodus from East Bengal was still continuing even though completely peaceful conditions prevailed in that province. These reasons were the continuance of communal violence in India and persisting propaganda in the Indian Press and by several Indian leaders, that India should invade Pakistan. The present Agreement recognises the importance of these factors. The restoration of normal conditions and the adoption of suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder have been accepted as the foremost responsibility of each Government. I regard to propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or constituting incitement to war, the two Governments have agreed, as I have stated before, to prevent such propaganda and to take immediate and effective action against individuals or

organisations responsible for such propaganda. Strict observance of this provision is, I consider, of the utmost importance.

"In the end I should like to say that the present Agreement has been arrived at between me and the Prime Minister of India after a great deal of careful thought and in a spirit of helpful understanding of each other's approach to the problem that confronts us. I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India, that this agreement, if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this sub-continent today.

"As a result of my conversations with him I am satisfied that he will do everything possible to see that the life, property, culture, citizenship and other rights of the minority in all parts of India are fully safeguarded. I hope that he too was satisfied that I will do everything possible in this direction in Pakistan. It is my firm intention to implement this agreement to the full. In this task I ask for the co-operation of leaders of public opinion and men of goodwill in both countries, and also in particular, the co-operation of the Press on both sides of the border. Let none of us do anything that may jeopardise the completion of the delicate and difficult work that lies ahead of us. A false word or action today may upset the balance, which may be impossible to redress for generations to come.

Nehru's Broadcast to Nation

The following is the full text of the broadcast by the Prime Minister :

"We have passed through trying times which test men's souls. Hundreds of thousands of people have been uprooted from their homes in Bengal and suffered intolerable agony. Millions have lived under the dark shadow of fear and insecurity. But apart from those people in East Bengal, in West Bengal or Assam, apart from the vast armies of refugees who have gone through these ordeals, all of us, wherever we might be, have shared in this suffering and torment of soul and out of this torment has come passion and the insensate action that passion brings forth. We seemed to have lost our moorings and struggled blindly for a blind future.

Fortunately we have pulled ourselves up before greater disaster overwhelmed us. As you know, for a full week the Prime Minister of Pakistan and I discussed with the earnestness of spirit these terrible problems that faced us. I had the advantage of conferring with my colleagues from day to day, for they carried the burden equally with me. As a result of these long talks, an agreement was signed on behalf of the two Governments on Saturday afternoon and I placed this before our Parliament this morning.

What is the value of this Agreement? How far will it be implemented? To what extent will it suc-

ceed in producing hope and security in these affected areas of Bengal and Assam and elsewhere? Will it solve the problems that confront us? These questions are asked, and rightly asked, for an agreement may remain on paper only, as we have seen other agreements remain.

My answer to these questions is firstly, that the mere fact of an agreement is good and to be welcomed, because it turns people's minds to the ways of construction and away from the ways of destruction; secondly, I can tell you with all confidence and in all honesty that both of us, who had these long talks, were animated by an earnest and urgent desire to find a peaceful and satisfactory solution. We were impelled to do so by the very gravity of the situation and by the compulsion of events. I have no doubt that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, will exercise his great influence in the fullest degree to help in implementing this Agreement and in producing those conditions of peace and security and good living for the minorities in Pakistan. Need I assure you that my Government will do their utmost to fulfil the letter and the spirit of this Agreement.

We have crossed a very big hurdle, but other hurdles remain. I do not wish to minimise the difficulties confronting us. For they are many. But whatever difficulties remain, if you and I and all of us are determined to surmount them, we shall inevitably succeed. I venture, therefore, to speak to you with faith and confidence. During these thirty years and more that lie behind us it has been my high privilege to come in personal contact with millions of my people and they have honoured me with their love and confidence beyond measure. I can never repay that debt. Because of that intimate companionship, both on occasions of triumph and failure, or joy and sorrow, we have grown to know each other. Even when our great master, the Father of the Nation, was with us, we slipped occasionally and failed him, but we pulled ourselves up again because of his teaching.

So I speak with some confidence of the future, though that confidence is tempered with realism. This is no time for an easy optimism, as it certainly is no time for pessimism, we shall go ahead with strength of mind and purpose and with faith in the task we have undertaken.

You may examine this Agreement closely and you may perhaps criticise some part of it here and there. But the real thing that counts is the spirit underlying it. If that spirit is absent, then the Agreement is a mere scrap of paper. If the spirit gives it life, then it may well be the beginning of a new and vital approach to our problems, and approach that is bound to succeed.

What will Pakistan do? Will they implement the agreement? That is often asked. I am sure that the leaders of Pakistan will strive to their utmost capacity

to implement it. But why ask what others will do? It is for us to determine what we do, and duty rightly done inevitably produces right results. That is the lesson not only of Gandhiji but of all the sages who have gone before him and left their imperishable imprint on the minds of our ancient race.

I do not expect some magical change suddenly because of this agreement. I do not expect the great exodus to stop because large numbers of people have been uprooted and are on the move. I do not expect petty incidents to stop suddenly. Let us not be frightened because there is no sudden change of this kind. Let us not lose our balance of mind. But I do expect a new and purer atmosphere to prevail which will gradually affect people's minds and hearts and remove those poisonous tendencies that have betrayed them. I do expect this process to go on slowly at first and then with greater force, till it produces a sea-change of great magnitude.

But changes do not happen of themselves and ever fate, if there is such a thing, takes effect through men's minds and activities. This change will come and must come if you and I are determined to bring it about. We have played about too long with these problems and conflicts. It is time that we face them in the way we used to face our problems of old, firm in our anchor and in our ideals and refusing to admit that any power could stop us from our onward march.

This agreement has already been welcomed by large sections of our people and by the world abroad. A few friends are critical and are doubtful about the results that may come from it. I can understand that criticism and that doubt. But I would ask them to look at it in the context of events and to think of what the alternatives might have been. I am convinced that the agreement is good as far as it goes and will bring immediate relief in some measure to the suffering millions of Bengal. I am convinced also that it can be made the starting point of further advance in the right direction.

To my friends and colleagues of Bengal, I would make special appeal for, while all are concerned with these problems, their concern is obviously far greater, as their burden has been far greater also. Bengal has shown on so many occasions in the past that she can rise at a moment of crisis and face it with strength and calm vigour. The young men and young women of Bengal are the most promising materials in India to build up our nation. Unhappily, circumstances have denied them opportunities and there is a spirit of frustration among them and the unhappiness that comes from it. We have to rid ourselves of this frustration and lack of purpose and divert the bright intelligence and vitality of Bengal in the direction of constructive effort. The first effort is to face this problem of today with faith and confidence and not to allow oneself to succumb to the doubt that enervates and weakens.

I have spoken of Bengal because East and West Bengal are the crux of the problem. I would like to speak of Assam also in the same way and I would also like to refer to my own province now called Uttar Pradesh. All my younger days were spent in the towns and villages of this Province and I have been grieved that trouble should occur where so many valiant fights for freedom were fought. I earnestly trust that we have seen the end of this dirty business there and elsewhere.

A great responsibility rests on the Press. Governments may act rightly or firmly, but ultimately a great deal depends on how the Press functions and what lead it gives to our people. I trust that that lead will be in favour of the complete success of this great enterprise on which we have launched.

The test of a people and of a nation comes when they are up against difficult and intricate problems. Any person can live an easy life. It is only in times of trial that a people proves itself worthy or unworthy. On past occasions our people have shown their worthiness and have not failed to do great deeds. Let us again get back something of that old spirit, that old idealism, that old courage and faith and acquit ourselves like men—*Jai Hind*.

Dr. Mookerjee's Statement

The following is the text, in main, of the statement made by Dr. Mookerjee on April 19 :

After expressing his regrets at his inability to reconsider his resignation despite requests from persons for whom he had the highest regard and after expressing his gratitude to Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and all friends for the opportunity he had been given to serve the country in the first National Cabinet of free India, he said :

"My differences are fundamental, and it is not fair or honourable for me to continue as a member of a Government whose policy I cannot approve of. In all fairness to the Prime Minister I should state that when I communicated my decision to him on April 1, even before the Prime Minister of Pakistan had arrived in India, he readily appreciated my standpoint, acknowledged our differences and agreed to release me from the burden of my office. A withdrawal at a subsequent stage would not have been fair to him or to me.

"I have never felt happy about our attitude towards Pakistan. It has been weak, halting and inconsistent. Our goodness or inaction has been interpreted as weakness by Pakistan. It has made it more and more intransigent, and has led us to suffer all the greater and even lowered us in the estimation of our people. On every important occasion we have remained on the defensive and failed to expose or counteract the designs of Pakistan aimed at us.

"I am not, however, dealing today with general Indo-Pakistan relations, for the circumstances that have led to my resignation are primarily concerned with the treatment of minorities in Pakistan, especially in East Bengal. Let

me say at once that the Bengal problem is not a provincial one. It raises issues of an all-India character, and on its proper solution will depend the peace and prosperity, both economic and political, of the entire nation.

"There is an important difference in the approach to the problem of minorities in India and Pakistan. The majority of Muslims in India wanted partition on a communal basis, although I gladly recognize there has been a small section of patriotic Muslims who consistently have identified themselves with the nation's interest and suffered for it. The Hindus, on the other hand, were almost to a man opposed to Partition.

"When Partition became inevitable, I played a very large part in creating public opinion in favour of the partition of Bengal, for I felt that if that was not done, the whole of Bengal and also, perhaps, Assam would fall to Pakistan. At that time, little knowing that I would join the first Central Cabinet, I along with others, gave assurances to the Hindus of East Bengal, that if they suffered at the hands of the future Pakistan Government, if they were denied elementary rights of citizenship, if their lives and honour were jeopardized or attacked, free India would not remain an idle spectator and their just cause would be taken up by the Government and people of India.

"During the last two and a half years, their sufferings have been of a sufficiently tragic character. Today I have no hesitation in acknowledging that, in spite of all efforts on my part, I have not been able to redeem my pledge, and on this ground alone—if on no other—I have no moral right to be associated with the Government any longer.

"Recent happenings in East Bengal have, however, overshadowed all their past woes and humiliations. Let us not forget that the Hindus of East Bengal are entitled to protection from India not on humanitarian considerations alone but by virtue of their sufferings and sacrifices, made for generations, not for advancing their own parochial interests, but for laying the foundations of India's political freedom and intellectual progress. It is the united voice of leaders that are dead and of the youth that smilingly walked up to the gallows for India's cause that calls for justice and fair play at the hands of Free India of today.

"The recent agreement, to my mind, offers no solution to the basic problem. The evil is far deeper, and no patchwork can lead to peace. The establishment of a homogeneous Islamic State is Pakistan's creed and a planned extermination of Hindus and Sikhs and expropriation of their properties constitute its settled policy.

"As a result of this, life for the minorities in Pakistan has become nasty, brutish and short. Let us not be forgetful of the lessons of history. We will do so at our own peril.

"If any one analyses the course of events in Pakistan since its creation, it will be manifest that there is no honourable place for Hindus within that State. The problem is not communal; it is essentially political.

The agreement unfortunately tries to ignore the implications of an Islamic State. But anyone who refers

carefully to the Objectives Resolution passed by the Pakistani Constituent Assembly and to the speech of its Prime Minister will find that, while talking in one place of protection of minority rights, the resolution in another place declares 'that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed.' The Prime Minister of Pakistan, while moving the resolution, said :

"You will also notice that the State is not to play the part of a neutral observer wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan, and it is these ideals which should be the cornerstone of the State which we want to build. The State will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort. You will remember that the Quaid-e-Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that the Muslims had their own way of life and code of conduct. Indeed, Islam lays down specific directions for social behaviour and seeks to guide society in its attitude towards the problems which confront it from day to day. 'Islam is not just a matter of private beliefs and conduct'."

"In such a society, let me ask in all seriousness, can any Hindu expect to live with any sense of security in respect of his cultural, religious, economic and political rights? Indeed our Prime Minister analysed the basic difference between India and Pakistan only a few weeks ago on the floor of the House and his words will bear repetition. He said : 'The people of Pakistan are of the same stock as we are and have the same virtues and failings. But the basic difficulty is that the policy of a religious and communal State followed by the Pakistan Government inevitably produces a sense of lack of full citizenship and a continuous insecurity among those who do not belong to the majority community.'

"It is not the ideology preached by Pakistan that is the only disturbing factor. Its performances have been in full accord with its ideology, and the minorities have had bitter experiences times without number of the true character and functioning of an Islamic State.

"The agreement has totally failed to deal with this basic problem.

"There is an impression in many quarters that the agreement recently made is the first great attempt of its kind to solve the problem of minorities. I am leaving aside for the time being the disaster that took place in the Punjab; in spite of all assurances and undertakings the problem was solved in a most brutal fashion. Afterwards we saw the gradual extermination of Hindus from the N.-W.F.P. and Baluchistan and later from Sind.

"In East Bengal about 13 million Hindus were still living and their future had been a matter of the gravest concern to all of us in India. Between August, 1947, and March, 1948, as many as 500,000 Hindus were squeezed out of East Bengal. There were no major incidents as such; but

circumstances so shaped themselves that they got no protection from the Government of Pakistan and were forced to come away to West Bengal for shelter. *During that period there was no question of any provocation given by India, where normal conditions had settled down; there was no question of Muslims being coerced to go away from India to Pakistan.*

"In April, 1948, the first Inter-Dominion Agreement was reached in Calcutta, dealing specially with the problems of Bengal. If anyone analyses the provisions of that agreement with the recent one, it will appear that in all essential matters they are similar to each other.

"This agreement, however, did not produce any effective result. India generally observed its terms but the exodus from East Bengal continued unabated. It was a one-way traffic, just as Pakistan wished for. There were exchanges of correspondence; there were meetings of officials and Chief Ministers; there were consultations between Dominion Ministers. But, judged by actual results, Pakistan's attitude continued unchanged.

"There was a second Inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi in December 1948, and another agreement was signed, sealed and delivered. It dealt with the same problem—the rights of minorities specially in Bengal. This also was a virtual repetition of the first agreement.

"In the course of 1949 we witnessed a further deterioration of conditions in East Bengal and an exodus of a far larger number of helpless people, who were uprooted from their homes and thrown into India in most miserable conditions. The fact thus remains that in spite of two Inter-Dominion Agreements, as many as 1,600,000 to 2 million Hindus were sent away to India from East Bengal.

"About a million uprooted Hindus had also to come away from Sind.

"During this period a large number of Muslims also came away from Pakistan, mainly influenced by economic considerations. The economy of West Bengal received a rude shock and we continued as helpless spectators of a grim tragedy.

"*Today there is a general impression that there has been failure both on the part of India and Pakistan to protect their minorities. The fact, however, is just the reverse. Hostile propaganda has been also carried on in some sections of the foreign Press. This is a libel on India and the truth must be made known to all who desire to know it. The Indian Government—both at the Centre and in the provinces and States—generally maintained peace and security throughout the land after the Punjab and Delhi disturbances had quietened down, in spite of grave and persistent provocations from Pakistan, by reason of its failure to create conditions in Sind and East Bengal whereby the minorities could live there peacefully and honourably. It should not be forgotten here that the people who came away from East Bengal or Sind were not those who had decided to migrate to India out of imaginary fear at the time of partition. These were people who were bent on staying in Pakistan, if only they were given a chance to live decent and peaceful lives.*

"Towards the end of 1949, fresh events of a violent

character started happening in East Bengal. On account of the iron curtain in that area, news did not at first arrive in India. When about 15,000 refugees came to West Bengal in January, 1950 stories of brutal atrocities and persecutions came to light. This time the attack was directed both against middle class urban people and selected sections of rural people who were strong, virile and united; to strike terror into their hearts was a part of Pakistan's policy.

"These startling reports led to some repercussions of a comparatively minor character in certain parts of West Bengal. Although these were checked quickly and effectively, false and highly exaggerated reports of so-called occurrences in West Bengal were circulated in many parts of East Bengal. This was clearly done with official backing and with a sinister motive.

"In the course of two to three weeks, events of a most tragic character, which no civilized Government would ever tolerate, almost simultaneously broke out in numerous parts of East Bengal, causing not only wanton loss of lives and property, but resulting also in forcible conversion of a large number of helpless people and shocking outrages on women.

"*Reports which have now reached our hands clearly indicate that all this could not have happened as stray sporadic incidents. They formed part of deliberate and cold planning to exterminate the minorities from East Bengal; to ignore this is to forget hard realities. During that period our publicity both here and abroad became hopelessly weak and ineffective.*

"*This was partly done in order to prevent repercussions within India. Pakistan, however, followed exactly the opposite course of action. The result was that we were dubbed as aggressors while the truth was reverse of it.*

"During these critical weeks—although there were people who were swayed by passion and prejudices—vast sections of India's population were prepared to leave matters in the hands of the Government and expected it to take stubborn measures to check the brutalities perpetrated in Pakistan.

"At that hour of crisis we failed to rise equal to the occasion. Where days—if not hours—counted, we allowed weeks to go by and we could not decide what was the right course of action. The whole nation was in agony and expected promptness and firmness, but we followed a policy of drift and indecision. The result was that, in some areas of West Bengal and other parts of India, people became restive and exasperated and took the law into their own hands. Let me say without hesitation that private retaliation on innocent people in India for brutalities committed in Pakistan offers us no remedy whatsoever. It creates a vicious circle which may be worse than the disease; it brutalizes the race and lets loose forces which may become difficult to control at a later stage.

"We must function as a civilized State and all citizens who are loyal to the State must have equal rights and protection, irrespective of their religion or faith. The only effective remedy in a moment of such national crisis

can and must be taken by the Government of the country and if it moves quickly, consistent with the legitimate wishes of the people and with a full sense of national honour and prestige, there is not the least doubt that the people will stand behind the Government.

"In any case, the Government acted promptly to re-establish peace and order throughout India. Meanwhile, Muslims, though in much lesser numbers, had also started leaving India. A good number of them belonged to East Bengal and had come to West Bengal for service or occupation. Pakistan realized the gravity of the situation only when it found that on this occasion, unlike previous ones, there was no question of one-way traffic. Since January last at least one million people have come out of East Bengal to West Bengal. Several hundreds of thousands have gone to Tripura and Assam. Reports indicate that thousands are on their march to India today and they represent all classes and conditions of people.

"The supreme question of the hour is, can the minorities continue to live with any sense of security in Pakistan? The test of any agreement is not its reaction within India or in foreign lands but on the minds of the unfortunate minorities living in Pakistan or those who have been forced to come away already. It is not how a few top-ranking individuals in Pakistan think or desire to act. It is the entire set-up of that State, the mentality of the official circles—high and low—the attitude of the people at large and the activities of organizations, such as Ansars which all operate together and make it impossible for Hindus to live.

"It may be that for some months no major occurrences may take place. Meanwhile, we may in our generosity supply them with essential commodities which will give them added strength. That has been Pakistan's technique. Perhaps the next attack may come during the rainy season when communications are virtually cut off.

"I have found myself unable to be a party to the agreement for the following main reasons:

"First, we had two such agreements since partition for solving the Bengal problem and they were violated by Pakistan without any remedy open to us. Any agreement which has no sanction will not offer any solution.

"Secondly, the crux of the problem is Pakistan's concept of an Islamic State and the ultra-communal administration based on it. The agreement sidetracks this cardinal issue and we are today exactly where we were previous to the agreement.

"Thirdly, India and Pakistan are made to appear equally guilty, while Pakistan was clearly the aggressor. The agreement provides that no propaganda will be permitted against the territorial integrity of the two countries and there will be no incitement to war between them. This almost sounds farcical so long as Pakistan troops occupy a portion of our territory of Kashmir and warlike preparations on its part are in active operation.

"Fourthly, events have proved that Hindus cannot live in East Bengal on the assurances of security given by Pakistan. We should accept this as a basic proposition. The present agreement, on the other hand, calls upon

minorities to look to the Pakistan Government for their safety and honour, which is adding insult to injury and is contrary to assurances given by us previously.

"Fifthly, there is no proposal to compensate those who have suffered, nor will the guilty be ever punished, because no one will dare give evidence before a Pakistan court. This is in accordance with bitter experiences in the past.

"Sixthly, Hindus will continue to come away in large numbers and those who have come will not be prepared to go back. On the other hand, Muslims who had gone away will now return and, in our determination to implement the agreement, Muslims will not leave India. Our economy will thus be shattered and possible conflict within our country will be greater.

"Seventhly, in the garb of protecting minorities in India, the agreement has reopened the problem of the Muslim minority in India, thus seeking to revive those disruptive forces that created Pakistan itself. This principle carried to its logical conclusions will create fresh problems for us which, strictly speaking, are against our very Constitution.

"This is not the time, nor the occasion for me to discuss alternative lines of action. This must obviously wait until the results of the policy now adopted by the Government are known. I do not question the motives of those who have accepted the agreement. I only hope the agreement will not be unilaterally observed. If the agreement succeeds, nothing will make me happier. If the agreement fails, it will indeed be a very costly and tragic experiment.

"While I have differed from the line of approach adopted by our Government to solve a malady which perhaps has no parallel in history, let me assure the House that I fully agree that the supreme need of the hour is the maintenance of peace and security in India. While the utmost pressure can and must be put upon the Government of the day to act rightly, firmly and in time to prevent the baneful effects of appeasement and guard against the adoption of a policy of repression, no encouragement should be given to create chaos and confusion within our land.

"If the Government is anxious to have another chance—and let us understand it clearly that this is the last chance that it is asking for—by all means, let the Government have it. But let not the critics of Government policy be silenced or muzzled.

"To our misfortune, one of the parties to the agreement has systematically broken its pledges and promises and we have no faith in its capacity to fulfil its future pledges, unless it shows by actual action that it is capable of so doing.

"While dealing with the problem of refugees, we will have to consider also the stupendous task of rehabilitation. The present truncated province of West Bengal cannot simply bear this colossal burden.

Sardar Patel's Broadcast

The following are the salient parts of Sardar Patel's broadcast at Calcutta on April 21 :

I have now spent almost a week in Calcutta studying the feelings and problems of Bengal, at first hand, and helping the Chief Minister and his colleagues with my advice on the many difficulties which confront them and the people of Bengal in their most delicate and onerous task of implementing the agreement.

Never before have I felt the handicap of my health so bitterly and poignantly as during these busy days, for that has deprived me of the opportunity of personally extending to our unfortunate brothers and sisters, who have suffered and borne so much, a few words of sympathy and solace.

But for the vain, though sincere and earnest, attempts which I made to persuade my two Honourable colleagues from Bengal to withdraw their resignations from the Cabinet, I would have come to Calcutta earlier. I had hoped that, as always, on this occasion also I could rely on their help and co-operation from within, but they have chosen a different path. I regret this greatly, but conceptions of duty can vary and, if they feel that they can serve their conscience best by keeping out of Government, they are fully entitled to their decision.

I for myself still feel that they could have looked after the interests of West Bengal and alleviated the sufferings of its people much more effectively and satisfactorily from inside Government than outside, and that they would have served their State and country better by continuing to voice the innermost feelings and urge of their kinsmen during the decision—and policy-making deliberations of the Cabinet. The choice between conscience and country is sometimes difficult to make; I for one believe that occasions do arise when one has to subordinate one's own fundamental conceptions to the larger interests and more absorbing call of the country.

During my stay in Calcutta, I have interviewed men of divergent views and interests.

I found, along with an understandable undercurrent of doubt and suspicion, resentment or anger, a willingness to give credit for another person's honesty of convictions and sincerity of purpose. This has enabled me to place before my listeners, in its true perspective, the merits of the agreement, of which some of them were bitter critics, or even hostile opponents. I have also been sustained in this task by the love and devotion which all of them uniformly showed to me and the trust and confidence they reposed in me. For all this, I am deeply grateful.

The question before West Bengal is not so much whether the agreement is good or bad, beneficial or harmful but whether, in the face of the stark reality of a partitioned Bengal under two independent Governments, and placed in the present set of circumstances any other peaceful means is open to it to bring hope and faith and succour and relief to the unfortunate victims of the recent disturbances on both sides of the border. I have asked, and looked, in vain for an alternative. The Press editorials, representatives of public opinion in West Bengal and even my distinguished friend and

colleague, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee have failed to provide me with an answer. In a situation of this kind, which involves the life, property, honour and fates of millions I think in the interests of these unfortunate sufferers Government are entitled from their critics to a more helpful approach to such momentous problems.

In a democratic Government there can be no question of muzzling or silencing critics, except of course those who have the responsibility of sharing the burden of Government; nevertheless, an international agreement, pledging the honour and solemn word of a country, does impose a certain amount of restraint and responsibility and a certain code of international propriety which the critics would do well constantly to bear in mind. I think we are entitled to ask that, if the critics have no practical alternative to suggest, the pledged word of the country demands their co-operation and support.

I know that people, in the light of the past history of agreements which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, approach the latest one with sceptical cynicism and even convinced disbelief. The researches in such past made by critics have yielded no new discoveries or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change; even deathbed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore, on the basis of past remissness, to accept future bad faith as an unalterable fact, denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature which constitutes the very elements of our philosophy. After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and future fears of the successful implementation of such agreements, but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped to make up my mind to give the agreement a fair trial.

I also know that my West Bengal friends are genuinely worried about the concept of an Islamic State and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail. *In the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and to put it to the test.* The one thing that made a profound impression on me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurances at their face-value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our life-time. We have at least the background of previous associations and of past friendships and goodwill; the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separatism.

I would, therefore, ask you to approach the Pakistani Prime Minister's assurance on this matter in the spirit and desire of coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance for mino-

rities on either side living a life of peace and security to which they are entitled under any civilized Government.

I regard it profitless at this stage to enter into any disputation of respective responsibility for the tragedies that have occurred on both sides of the border. *I can tell my West Bengal friends quite candidly that it is the ugly and deplorable incidents which happened on our side of the border that made a world of difference to our capacity and freedom to deal with the problem more effectively and expeditiously.* To counsel firmness and consistency in such circumstances or to charge Government with weakness, hesitancy or inconsistency is to ignore the elementary rule of prudence that one can act correctly only when one's conscience is clear and not clouded by one's own guilt. Those who demand more heroic remedies will do well to ponder over this simple fact.

Similarly, you cannot talk of peace and in the same breath raise clouds of suspicion and distrust. If the talk of peace within the country has any meaning, it is the bounden duty of all who profess to guide public opinion to think, say and act in such a manner as not to rouse the latent or active forces of discontent, hostility and bitterness. In such a contingency the power of the pen has to be wielded with a grave sense of responsibility which the custody of destinies of millions involves, and the instrument of speech is to be used to soothe rather than to hurt, to assuage rather than to alienate, to heal rather than to wound.

Some of my friends have charged Government with having descended from the lofty principles of the new Constitution to the acceptance of a communal principle in the composition of Ministries. It is rather difficult for me to appreciate the force of their argument. Is it their contention that the Constitution lays down no responsibility for ensuring that the minorities are suitably represented in Government? Does the Constitution, in any manner, bar temporary expedients of restoring confidence among the minorities? Do they wish that we should have left the Hindus of East Bengal without any means of approach to the highest executive of the State?

When we removed reservation for minorities from the Constitution, I made it quite clear that this imposed a great obligation on the majority community to give the minorities their due. Is it seriously contended that the giving of a Ministership to a minority is the gift of something to which the minority is not entitled, at least at a time when its confidence in the majority is shaken? To question that part of the agreement is to betray a mentality which is entirely opposed to the secular basis of our own Constitution and a complete ignorance of the basic conception of a national State.

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistani agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time, we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a re-

presentative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit.

Similarly, any refusal to avail ourselves of the facilities and machinery available for safeguarding the interests of minorities in East Pakistan could only be construed as a point against us.

Similarly, the agreement, while providing for full facilities to those who wish to come away, makes fair arrangements for those who wish to remain in Pakistan. I can quite realize the reluctance and hesitation of those who have recently come to India after undergoing or witnessing, or out of a sense of fear at the horrors that have been perpetrated, to return to their homes. But I would ask them as well as those who have come earlier to consider the fate and spirit of resignation or helplessness of those who are remaining behind. After all, they have also undergone the same excruciating experiences. Self-preservation may be the law of nature, but sharing sorrows and sufferings or standing by their fellow creatures in the hour of need is equally a dictate of the better side of human nature.

It is in this spirit and for these reasons that I would like to appeal to my brothers and sisters who have come away to India or are thinking of making their departure from East Pakistan to reflect on what I have said above. In the heat of the moment, they should not make up their mind once and for all against any possibility of hope of return to the paternal acres.

In giving the right lead at this critical juncture, in creating the proper psychology and in encouraging the correct approach to this difficult dilemma, a special responsibility devolves on leaders of public opinion in India, in particular on those leaders and workers who have come away from Pakistan. *It is my settled conviction that had those whose moral duty it was to stand by their countrymen after partition done their part they would have provided a beacon of light to a distracted people and an inspiration to a demoralized community.* When I say this I am thinking in particular of that saintly figure whose life is a poem of self-effacement in the service of his fellow-men. I mean my old and valued friend, Satish Babu, who has never left his post of duty and whose steadfastness and devotion to his cause is a shining example to others who are hesitating, or who are still wondering whether the risk is worth taking.

I would appeal to these friends and colleagues of mine to follow the Mahatma.

In the meantime, the policy of Government is clear and unequivocal. They will strain their utmost to implement this agreement and, at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the sacred task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognize any State boundaries nor stint any resources that we can command. In that task, the Central Government will help the West Bengal Government to the utmost of its strength and capacity.

We shall also undertake the task of rehabilitating those who might eventually decide to make India their

permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in these twofold tasks by complying with such directions and arrangements which the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal.

It has pained me considerably that interested persons should exploit this opportunity for dissuading refugees from leaving their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself. I hope leaders and workers in West Bengal will place their services unreservedly at the disposal of Government in this great humanitarian problem and will co-operate wholeheartedly in tackling the difficult task with which that Government is faced.

I should also like to make an appeal to my friends in West Bengal fully to comprehend the delicate and difficult situation in which they are placed. The agreement has been concluded and its implementation is a point of honour both for the Government and the people of India. Public opinion throughout India outside West Bengal and the State Governments have almost unanimously and wholeheartedly accepted the concluded arrangements, and are determined to work the agreement to the best of their ability and competence. *Would it then pay the people of West Bengal to have a different or contrary line even partially? Let not West Bengal isolate itself and alienate the rest of India.* West Bengal today needs all the sympathy and help that it can get from the rest of India, and I can assure my friends here that they have that sympathy and help in full measure. The heart of West Bengal is sound. I have faith in West Bengal and its people, I have belief in its destiny, and it is in this spirit that I make an earnest appeal to my friends to rise up to the occasion and play their part in this critical hour of the nation.

Finally friends, as one who can conscientiously say that he has not allowed to let slip one single opportunity of promoting the cause of minorities in Pakistan and of safeguarding their interests by all such means as were open to us in this country, it is my earnest appeal to you to make up your minds quickly to give the Indo-Pakistan agreement a fair trial.

Let us not indulge in impotent rage or mere supercharged emotional outburst. Instead, let us make a constructive, helpful and wholehearted contribution to the relief of suffering humanity on both sides of the border and help to make their lot a more tolerable one.

Pakistan's Home Front

The *Bombay Chronicle* has a regular feature entitled "Gleanings from Urdu Press" which others of the Indian press, daily and weekly, may emulate so that their readers may be enabled to bring informed minds to the discussion of Indian affairs—India's and Pakistan's.

The world has been fed on the thesis that Islam recognizes no distinctions of race or sect under its

dispensation. We have known how thin and unsubstantial this claim has been. And the following, summarized from the Pakistan press in the *Bombay Chronicle*, will help prick the bubble. It throws light on the home front of the new State that has been carved out of India.

"On the sectarian front a wave of opposition has been sweeping over the Qadiani sect. Recently some 65 adherents of the Qadiani faith headed by Sheikh Bashir Ahmed went over to Qadian in East Punjab. They visited their 'spiritual homeland' as pilgrims. While departing from Qadian the leader of the Pakistani Qadiani group received a message from the Imam, Mirza Bashruddin, urging that the Qadianis were very anxious to return to Qadian as early as possible and that they should remain loyal to their Government in conformity with their article of faith. This has caused a flutter in non-Qadiani circles.

Suspecting the *bonafides* of the Qadiani sect the bi-weekly *Kansar* of Lahore reads in the message the implication that the Qadiani people would prefer to go over to Qadian in India. It goes even so far as to suspect that the Qadianis, mostly holding high positions in Pakistan Foreign Embassies and Army, are in an advantageous position to be in possession of secrets of the State. As enjoined by their flexible faith the Qadianis are likely to transfer their loyalty to India when they have set foot on Indian soil. If this happens, as it seems very likely, the Qadianis would exploit the secret information regarding Pakistan in favour of India.

The growing bitterness against the Qadiani minority can well be illustrated by the fact that the Ahrars had recently organised a conference to rake up the old dissensions and disputes. In order to eradicate the Qadiani evil they have started the publication of a bi-weekly *Azad* from Lahore. Commenting on the appearance of the *Azad*, the weekly *Kansar* writes that the Qadiani community is so badly cornered that the Qadiani press has been gagged. The paper is determined to expose the Qadianis that they were on principle opposed to the creation of Pakistan. Being the supporters of unity of India on religious basis they have no love for Pakistani nationality.

As a sequel to the Ahrar Conference the Qadianis of Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat called a counter-conference at Sialkot. Choudhary Asudullah, brother of Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan, presided over the meeting. One of the speakers, Allah Ditta, a Qadiani missionary, spoke of Prophet Mohamed in derogatory language. The non-Qadiani section of the audience took exception to the utterance. As a further development, the Qadiani refugees have formed a Pakistani Muhajir League, quite apart from the Refugees' Association of Western Pakistan.

Criticising the statement of Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan which he gave on the statements of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel regarding the Hindu Maha-

sabha's threat of reuniting India and Pakistan, the daily *Anjam* of Karachi writes that Sir Zafrullah seems to be too naive and credulous to trust the window-dressing statements of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel who have condemned Dr. Khare's speech for the time being only because India could not bear further encumbrances. Dr. Khare is quoted to have said that there was no conflict between the ideology of the Sabha and the views expressed by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel.

Commenting on the Qadiani issue the weekly *Afaq* of Lahore writes that the present sectarian antagonism against the Qadiani people might develop into an economic problem. The missionary spirit has now pervaded the commerce and industry on which the Qadianis have concentrated their efforts, following Partition. It has become very difficult for the non-Qadianis to enter into the sphere dominated by the Qadianis. In the Government machinery particularly, the Qadianis have been exercising great influence with the result that their co-religionists get greater facilities."

Pakthunistan

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, the present Premier of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, in his more innocent days as a member of the Congress had a book published in March, 1945, entitled *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, exposing the British policy of bribery of the Pathan Malikis. In this book he wrote :

"The Pathans and Afghans are interchangeable words. They call themselves Pakthun or Pushtoon in their own language. The Pathans numbering about 15 millions are spread out and occupy the part of Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, the entire tribal belt, the Frontier Province, and part of Beluchistan between Quetta on the south, Gomal Pass on the north, including the Zhob Valley. They speak a common language which is called Pushtu."

The wheel of fortune has made this Kashmir Muslim an upholder of Pakistani conceits and ambitions which run counter to the wishes and sentiments of the 7 million Pakthuns east of the Durand Line. Afghanistan is naturally interested in their blood brothers; and her support of their cause as against Pakistan's has become a sore point with the rulers of this State and their supporters in the Anglo-American world who have become more solicitous of the Pathan's fate as a pawn in their game of power-politics. One of these latter, Sulzberger by name, a widely known correspondent, has delivered certain opinions in favour of Pakistani pretensions.

Writing to the *New York Times* from Jalalabad a despatch which appeared on the 23rd April last, this sapient observer has grown anxious about a "move" said to be under the contemplation of the Afghan Government which would effect the "partition" of the new State carved out of India. This Sir Oracle opines that the historical basis of the Pakthun Movement is "unrealistic" and "insufficient." The quotation from the book refutes this charge, as the attributes of a Pakthun State are there—a

common and easily demarcated territory, a culture expressed in a common language, Pushtu, are links that are stronger than those that hold together Pakistan. The Punjabee Muslim, the Sindhi Muslim, the Pathan and the Bengalee Muslim speak different languages; East and West Pakistan are separated by 1200 miles of Indian territory.

Mr. Sulzberger could not be unaware of these facts. He slurs over these marks and notes of differentiation and has begun to beat the big gun of Communist threat. He thinks that by supporting the Pakthun Movement, Afghanistan has been "putting ideas" into the head of the Soviet Union. It is a laughable plea; the Soviet Union has no reason to borrow "ideas" from Afghanistan.

India's Food Front

We will be glad to be assured that the fight against food scarcity in India, for her food sufficiency, has been moving towards victory to be attained within 18 months hence. We know that a note of urgency has been introduced into the campaign by the worsening of our economic conditions, by the fear that our people cannot any longer afford the luxury of importing food from outside whether in the dollar-dominated area of the United States or the rouble-dominated area of the Soviet Union or the sterling-dominated area of the "British" Commonwealth. We have heard how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's plea for a million-ton wheat deal with the United States on a barter basis in exchange for lac and manganese ore has failed to materialize ; so also is the experience with the Soviet Union between which and India trade appears to have come almost to a stand-still owing to differences of opinion in the matter of exchange rate, as a reply of Shree N. V. Gadgil to a question on the 19th April last informs us.

This demonstrates that neither "free enterprise" nor Communism have been able to free themselves from the profit motive. And it forces us to depend more on our own labour power and natural resources. In this matter the Indian Government appears to have a long-range plan. They appointed an Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee in April, 1949. Conditions in 1,000 villages are being sampled and studied, as the labourers in our fields may make or mar the chances of success in our food front. We have seen summary of a report on a Madras village, Vandalur, in the Chinglepet district. A "ryotwari" village, free from the so-called zemindari handicap, Vandalur's agricultural labourer earns about Rs. 323 per year in kind or cash, the latter being about Rs. 177. The other occupations in which they were engaged were mud-working, cutting palmyra leaves, wood splitting and carting. Only a third of the families derived incomes of more than Rs. 360 and this has been partly due to the larger earning strength.

The report of this particular village may be accepted as representative of the whole of our village

economy. The preliminary findings of the Committee support the view that the "Indian farmer has not raised his standard of living," nor is there "any appreciable improvement in his economic conditions," though, in the case of Vandallur, "indebtedness appeared on the decline"; only about 15 of the 362 families of 5 members each were in debt—the average debt being Rs. 42 per family.

This improvement may be marked, but owing to changed circumstances it only heightens our all-round poverty. The remedy is more intensive cultivation, the provision of greater irrigation facilities.

Cultivators of the Nermmuda Valley Division of Bhopal entered an era of great agricultural development when tractors were used for the first time by the Chief Commissioner at Bari 60 miles south-east of Bhopal before a large assembly.

The tractor machines were set in motion. The gathering witnessed the ploughing operations initiated on a one-mile furrow. *Kans*, the terrible weed, was seen being uprooted in no time, the seed which had thrown generations of peasantry out of their occupation. There are six lakhs of acres of land in the Province which have to be tractor-ploughed. It will take from six to seven years to clear the whole area, and every available machine will be brought into use. The Government of India has, at present, sent thirty tractors and another thirty will come later.

It is hoped that before the next rainy season 25,000 acres will be ploughed.

From the Nermmuda Valley to the deserts of Rajputana is no great distance. There is activity there. The Governments of India and Rajasthan have both fully realised that regular famine conditions in Marwar and some parts of Rajasthan should not be tolerated. In their efforts to end such conditions, multipurpose schemes are envisaged, and have already been put into practice by launching irrigation projects with a view to reclaim barani and uncultivated lands.

The Chambal project in Kotah and Udaipur divisions which is expected to generate one lakh kilowatts and to irrigate 350,000 acres of land is now going ahead. Rupees one crore for the completion of this project have already been sanctioned, and Marwar is expected to be self-sufficient in food by 1951.

In Bikaner division also the Ganga Canal claims irrigation of immense acreage, and as Mr. Bhure Lal Bawa, Transport Minister, said recently, the Bhakra project, when completed would irrigate about four lakh acres of land in Rajasthan.

Steps are also being taken to improve irrigation in Shekhawati in Jaipur division and Jaiselmer in Jodhpur division. The Rajasthan Government in a recent Press communique stated that the steps were being taken to repair and improve the existing tanks and storage works on scientific basis.

Further north-east in the Kangra Valley, the

waters of five seasonal rivulets (Kuhls) in Palampur and Rampur *tehsils* in Kangra district are being harnessed to irrigate 8,000 acres of land in Kangra district. The Irrigation Department has estimated that additional 55,000 maunds of foodgrains will be yielded by the lands to be irrigated by these Kuhls.

Civil Liberty in Bharat

The High Courts and the Federal Court have been engaged in hearing cases where the use of detention by law or ordinances has been challenged before them. The second session of the All-India Civil Liberties Council, held at Patna on 15th April last has tried to focus anew public opinion on this subject. The President, Sree Atul Chandra Gupta, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, instanced the Detention Act lately passed in the Central Legislature of India:

"... what is the effect of the Act on the lives of ordinary men and women? Any one who takes any part in the public life of the country cannot be sure what acts or conduct may not imperil the security of the State in the eyes of the executive. The concept is so broad, without any particularisation or delimitation, that it is quite easy to bring almost anything not to the executive's liking, under it. Is this Conference imperilling the security of the State by pleading for Civil liberty, if the executive be of opinion that what is required just now is not liberty but curbing of liberty? In the name of security of the State, the Act has made every citizen's security insecure.

"But the Preventive Detention Act is only a symptom. What malady ails our rulers and legislators that they find or think necessary such a legislation, putting uncontrolled and arbitrary powers in the hands of the police, for that is what it comes into practice. It cannot be a pleasure to them remembering their past and remembering their over-touchiness of international opinion. The Act is a confession that free India cannot govern itself except by the barbarous methods of star-chamber and *lettres-de-cachet*."

These questionings are expression of a widespread anxiety that the liberties of the people should not be made dependent on the whims and caprices of a bureaucracy that has not undergone any change for the better and a Police force equally feared and hated. The arguments in defence of the Detention Bill which Sardar Patel brought out had a ring made familiar to our ears by British bureaucrats, and it is an irony of fate as Sree Atul Gupta appears to suggest that civil liberties and the safety of the State should have become points of argument and heated controversy.

But the gulf that appears to separate the new rulers and the citizens of India must be bridged; the safety of the State reconciled with the liberties of the people. Perhaps, it will require time to build up traditions in this difficult matter of collective conduct. A wide awake public opinion prepared to take risks in defence of its rights is the only way out, as we survey the scene.

Congress Leadership on Trial

The Indian National Congress which has contributed so greatly to the success of India's fight for

freedom has been breaking up before our very eyes. Gandhiji during his last days had anticipated this phenomenon and advised the conversion of this organization into a social service agency freed from political entanglements. His advice was rejected by the prominent leaders who controlled the machinery of this organization.

The latest expression of this worry is the revolt of Congress members of the Madras and Uttar Pradesh Legislatures against what they call the connivance of Ministerial aberrations by the Congress High Command. Fourteen members of the former under the leadership of Sree T. Prakasam, one-time Premier of Madras and the unchallenged leader of the Andhras, have made their demonstration by taking their seats in a bloc separate from the main Congress Party defying the whip of the leader, Sree Kumaraswami Raja, the present Premier. We cannot say that we appreciate all the moves that have been going behind in which the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya, is involved in an indirect manner, however distant. All that we can see is the Prakasam revolt—an ominous sign for the Congress.

In the Uttar Pradesh, the area where the writ of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, should have carried everything before it, 24 members have revolted with Sree Triloki Singh as titular leader. They have not quailed before the Congress ban on their leader. Wherefrom do they derive inspiration, and courage for this act of defiance?

Bose Institute

The report of the Bose Institute for the year 1948-49 is to hand. It gives in a nut-shell the history of its various activities in higher scientific researches and in the realm of practical agriculture that have gained a new importance in India free from alien control.

A perusal of the report leaves the impression in the mind that the Institute has been working under financial handicaps that neither the Government of India nor the State Government of West Bengal, have been able to remove. We know the financial stringency that is being brought out as a plea on every conceivable occasion. But as we view the matter and watch the Governments' spend-thrift activities on non-essentials, we own to a feeling of impatience with an over-ridden plea.

The general public cannot appreciate the valuable work done in and by the Institute. But if they can be educated to do so, they may through their informed opinion influence the Government.

Prof. Bernal's Advice

The Government of India has set up a Planning Commission with the present Prime Minister as Chairman and Sree Gulzarilal Nanda as Vice-Chairman and *de facto* executive of the organization. In view of the chaotic condition in which our various schemes have fallen, it will do us good to know how a leader of Western science sees all this. He is Prof.

J. D. Bernal who had attended the Science Congress at Poona in December last; he is one of Britain's leading scientists. He appears to have lost caste with his own fellow workers for a statement made at a Peace Conference held at Moscow in course of which he had said that science was being misused for "war purposes."

While in India Prof. Bernal made an extensive tour of our country and addressed gatherings at Universities and other learned societies. From experiences gathered here, he has formed certain ideas which he broadcasted through a Press Conference held at London on the 23rd March last. Its summary, as it was wired by the *Press Trust of India*, is instructive.

Prof. Bernal said that in recent times India was making big efforts both at the Centre and in the Provinces to develop scientific and industrial research through a number of National Laboratories.

But lack of equipment, too much leaning on European methods without proper appreciation of local conditions and resources and lack of encouragement from private industries, who were either not rich enough or farsighted enough to embark on long-term research programmes, were handicapping progress in scientific advancement.

The biggest tragedy of British administration of India was that no effort was made to exploit the resources of the country to build up any large-scale national industries. An exception was the case of the Tata industries, a unique example in India of national industrial development and scientific advancement. But of the many industrialists and capitalists of India, Prof. Bernal said that they did not either care or did not have enough resources to think in terms of national development or long-range researches. They concentrated on getting rich immediately and were content to take over European patents and processes by paying heavy royalties.

Prof. Bernal said that for any large-scale development of India in the present economic and social conditions plans should be based on self-help and proper use of local man-power and full exploitation of indigenous resources, thereby cutting down to the minimum the dependence on foreign exchange. The methods adopted by Soviet Russia, for the development of their backward regions were worth studying by Indian planners and administrators.

Penal Settlements

It was as penal settlements that Australia and New Zealand started life in modern times. They have today become centres of Western civilization in the Pacific. In our own country's experience, the Andaman Islands appear to be developing towards the same destiny. The Central Government of India propagandized a scheme under which they had proposed to settle "displaced" persons from East Bengal in these islands. But they appear to have thought anew

and have been flirting with the idea of starting "nationalized" industries exploiting the Islands' vast forest resources. This appears to have damped the enthusiasm of individuals who had been hoping to begin a new life there. Of the 400 Bengali agricultural families who have settled there not much is heard of now-a-days and as for East Bengal middle class young "hopefuls" they do not seem to have the stomach for such a hard life!

As a contrast to this story of failure we propose to summarize from the *World Over Press* the adventure of a number of French families who have been leaving their fatherland for the Devil's Island which has attained notoriety under pen of Emile Zola exposing the Dreyfus scandal. The French Government has abolished the penal settlement there and is now trying to lure its citizens to French Guiana and build up a productive outpost. Anyone of French nationality who has completed his military service and can prove he has received agricultural training may obtain a grant of land.

One of the most spectacular migrations is that of M. Raymond Vaude, who once tasted the benefits of life on Devil's Island as a convict but who escaped, got a new trial, and won acquittal, later he served in the wartime Resistance and was decorated by General Charles de Gaulle.

Ramana Maharishi

The passing away on the 14th April last of this South Indian *Sadhu* removes from the field of spiritual strivings a man of keen intuitions who was accepted by many seekers of Ultimate Truth as a guide and philosopher. 71 years ago he was born in a prosperous lawyer's family; he was chosen by his Maker for a life that rejected the transient; at the age of 17 he left home and family, and from Madura walked about 300 miles to Tiruvannamalai Hills in the Andhra Desa and staked his life to finding a reply to the great riddle. For 55 years he has been there, and men and women sought him, sat near him and from his silences found answers to their questionings.

Ramana Maharishi had no social message to deliver. But he did good by being good and purifying the atmosphere round about him. This was in accord with certain Indian traditions, and the distempers of the world passed him by without creating any change in his habits of thought and life. He was thus a mystery to the modern problem-infested humanity.

Sundari Mohun Das

On the 4th of April last departed a great physician in his 94th year. Born in 1857, the year of the "Sepoy Mutiny" of British historians, his life had been a witness to the revolutionary urge hailing from the farthest Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet, Sundari Mohun carved out a place for himself in the metropolitan city of Calcutta. And from 1872 with about a decade's absence, the people of this cosmopolitan city have known him as their own,

helping to build up the medical institutions that have made this city a great centre of activities pioneering modern amenities.

True to the vows of his youth taken under the inspiration of Shiv Nath Sastri, a founder of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Sundari Mohun laboured mightily in extending the bounds of democratic freedom in India. A fellow-worker of Bipin Chandra Pal, Upadhyaya Brahmo-bandhav, of Syam Sundar Chakravarty, the "New" Party in Bengal had in him a great and generous supporter; the "terrorist" cause a silent benefactor.

But his life's mission was the spread of medical education amongst the widest commonalty of the land. Co-founder with Nil Ratan Sarkar and Radha Gobinda Kar of the institution now known as the R. G. Kar College; first Principal and organizer of the National Medical Institution in the Park Circus area made possible by the generous help of the Calcutta Corporation then under the dynamic leadership of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das—these two institutions will stand as mementoes to Sundari Mohun Das's service to his country and to his people extending over a period of 60 years.

Upendra Nath Banerji

The death on the 5th April last of this patriot-revolutionary at his 71st year removes another land-mark from the age of the "Swadeshi" Movement days when Bengal was making a new history for India. Upendra Nath was one of the few earliest recruits to the terrorist cult which Aurobindo Ghosh had introduced into Bengal. The spirit of "dare and do" that they demonstrated was the product of the age which Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Vivekananda had created, of which Rabindranath Tagore had been the minstrel.

The insult implicit in foreign subjection had entered into the soul of many an Indian; that insult had to be removed. And to this challenge to India's manhood, men and women responded.

From 1905 onwards his life became a part of Upendra Nath's country's history. Member of the terrorist party whose exploits have been related in the Maniktolla Bomb Conspiracy case, transportation to the Andamans was the price exacted from him for daring to strive for his country's freedom. Returning from there in about 1920, he and his fellow-workers found themselves in a new country where a new leader had appeared with his programme of non-violence and non-co-operation with the evil that the British regime represented. Though he joined this campaign, Upendra Nath could not accept with sincerity this new technique of political fight.

He broke away from politics in a general way, became a journalist of uncommon power, an incisive critic of men and matters Indian, and to the last day of his life preferred to play this role. The times were out of joint, and Upendra Nath could not organise any constructive way out of this mess. But his memory will live as long as freedom's battles are honoured in the world. To the memory of that phase of his life we pay our homage.

DEMOCRACY IN UNCLE SAM'S OWN HOME

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

IN 'Occupied' Japan, General MacArthur was professing to teach 'Democracy' to the 'feudal and fascist' nationals. In Germany too, the Americans are planning to build up Hitler's land on the sound foundations of democratic living. But those who have been to the United States recently know very well the kind of democracy that is being practised in Uncle Sam's own home. Anything that appears to be progressive and not in line with the prevailing capitalistic order is at once dubbed as 'red' and 'un-American,' and the person or persons concerned are chased by the police relentlessly. The American Press and the radio both of which are entirely dominated by the financiers and industrialists, pour out from day to day and even from hour to hour the worst type of poison against the Soviet regime and give to the American public an impression that Russia is their enemy number one. The military officers, who have virtually usurped political power in America, are always eager to tighten their hold on the masses by circulating from time to time frightening stories regarding the preparations of the U.S.S.R. for the next war. Military programmes and training have been extended to schools and colleges, and even the girls' high schools have not been left out. Professors in State Colleges and Universities are being asked to sign pledges that they would dissociate from all 'subversive' and 'un-American' activities. The slightest suspicion in this regard inevitably means dismissal and even imprisonment. With the exception of Dr. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, all other heads of Universities have succumbed to this constant pressure from the Military administration. Dr. Hutchins in the course of his memorable Note to the Federal Government made it abundantly clear that Communism in America could be checked not by the police and the military but by setting their own house in order. If the kind of soil that is most fertile for Communists is not allowed to develop in the country, all will be well with America. Otherwise, no amount of violent coercion would be ever successful in stemming the tide of Communism in the United States. This warning of Chancellor Hutchins will, I hope, not go unheeded by Uncle Sam; in fact, other countries including India, should ponder seriously over this sound advice. In a country like the United States of America where students and professors dare not discuss problems like Capitalism and Communism freely even in the class-rooms, there must, certainly, be something essentially wrong with the socio-economic organisation of the State.

In the social sphere, America's treatment towards the Negroes is, to say the least, barbaric. Although there is absolutely no scope for racial discrimination in the Constitution of the United States, the coloured people in Uncle Sam's land are 'lynched' to this day without any fear or shame. During our seven-week stay in America, we could read with profound indignation about several cases of such murders in the *New York Times*. The State laws appear to be helpless in the face of this mob fury

specially in the Southern States. President Truman's efforts to get rid of this uncivilized racial inequality have evoked the anger of a number of Congressmen of the Southern States although they belong to the Democratic Party. Thus the President has been experiencing considerable difficulties in seeing his programme through the Congress because several of his own party-men have turned against him owing to his sympathy for the Negroes. The 'Jim-Crow' laws in America do not allow the coloured people to occupy front seats in the trams, buses or trains. Negroes cannot enter the general hotels, restaurants or shops; they cannot use the public halls for their meetings. Although officially the Universities and colleges are open to all citizens of the United States, Negro students are compelled to join only those educational institutions which are reserved for them. Coloured professors, however learned they may be, can teach only in the Negro Universities; the 'white' students have no use for their talents and knowledge. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the distinguished President of the Howard University which is a Negro Institution, was in India recently in connection with the World Pacifist Conference. Even a highly cultured man like him cannot get entry into State Universities of America simply because he is born of Negro parents. Paul Robeson, one of the most celebrated composers in the world, was hooted out during a musical performance in America a few months ago. These disgraceful incidents in Uncle Sam's own home sadly belie the professions of democracy that America is never tired of making to the outside world. In all the big cities of the United States like Chicago and New York, there are Negro Colonies which are reserved for the coloured people. Negroes are not permitted to reside in houses in other parts of these cities. These Colonies are full of dirt and filth partly because of the habits of the Negroes and partly because the Municipal authorities do not pay much attention to the sanitation of these neglected parts. I had a chance of visiting some of these Colonies in America; they reminded me of the 'Harijan colonies' in India against which Gandhiji fought so hard throughout his life. Untouchability in India is surely a great curse; it is a dark blot on our culture and civilisation. Although it has been made illegal under the new Constitution, the work of the social reformers in India has not ended and cannot end unless the sense of untouchability is rooted out from the very hearts of the people. In America also, colour discrimination is illegal; nonetheless, it continues to remain a shameful commentary on the democratic living of the Americans.

In the economic field, the United States has yet to learn that there can be no real political democracy without reasonable economic equality. It is true that in America every third man has a car. But it is also true that the disparity in the incomes of the labour class and the rich is staggering. While an unskilled wage-earner gets about \$250 per month, the income of a business

magnate runs into billions of dollars. There are, consequently, "slums" even in New York. Moreover, we have also to bear in mind that despite all the wealth that Uncle Sam is proud to possess, there are about five million people unemployed in the United States. Of course, they do not starve because the State is legally and morally responsible for their maintenance. But the immoral and pathetic life that these 'dole-eaters' are compelled to lead by society is inconsistent with the basic principles of democracy.

Thus the state of democracy in Uncle Sam's own home is far from satisfactory. In fact, it is so unsatisfactory that a distinguished educationist like the late Prof. Harold Laski who was invited by an American University had to go back without delivering his address simply because the Government did not relish his socialist views. When I heard about this incident I did not believe it in the beginning. But on making the necessary enquiries I found it to be absolutely true. I know that President Truman is aware of the imperfections of American democracy. In the course of his message to one of the annual functions of the Liberal Party in New York, Truman made the following significant observation :

"The world today is an arena in which the principles of democracy are being challenged, and the people of the world are measuring the performance of the democracies against the promises of totalitarianism. To meet this challenge requires the free peoples of the earth to perfect the working of their own democracies."

Speaking on the occasion, Louis Fischer, the well-known American author, remarked with special emphasis :

"Sometimes the things that are happening in the U.S.A. frighten me as much as anything in the world. I travel a good deal in this country ; our people are not as attached to tolerance and free speech as they used to be. We have curtailed the freedom to dissent. The loyalty tests, which are being applied not only in Washington but to street-cleaners in some cities, mean that we suspect guilt before any guilt could exist. There is the beginning of a terror in this country, and though it is only a beginning, it is grave and sad. The most sacred heritage of America is freedom and it is a better weapon against communism than bombs."

These words of wisdom from one of the distinguished sons of Uncle Sam deserve the careful attention of all lovers of freedom and democracy.

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THE DECAYING MIDDLE CLASS

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

PRIOR to World War II, society in India could be divided into three classes—the rich, the middle and the poor. Among the first were businessmen, industrialists, big zemindars, high officials, top-ranking legal and medical practitioners—people whose income largely exceeded their expenditure. The second included the large number of clerical workers, school teachers and even college professors—people who could somehow balance their family budgets and sometimes had a small surplus to draw upon in emergencies. The third comprised mainly the manual labourers, both industrial and agricultural, who could not always make both ends meet and very often ran into debts. It is the middle-class who were educationally the most numerous group and were responsible for the cultural progress of society, for keeping up its intellectual tempo. Their sons and daughters responded in large numbers to the call of patriotism and participated in the national movements. Most of the forceful and well-known litterateurs, scientists and journalists sprang up from this class.

IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II

THE last Great War, with its attendant ills of hyperinflation, high cost of living and retrenchment, has brought the middle class to the verge of ruin. Though a small percentage among them has enriched themselves through windfall profits, the great majority have been reduced to poverty by the impact of the war. Their impoverishment started roughly from 1943. According to Government

sources, the general index-number of wholesale prices stood at 171 in 1942-43 but rose to 236.5 in 1943-44 and became 275.4 in 1946-47 and 307 in 1947-48. The cost of living index in Bombay rose from an average of 118 in 1942 to 219 in 1944, 279 in 1947, and 303 in 1948; in Madras it rose from 114 in 1942 to 180 in 1944, 272 in 1947, and 309 in 1948; in Kanpur from 123 in 1942 to 306 in 1944, 378 in 1947, and 471 in 1948; in Calcutta from 115 in 1942 to 291 in 1944, 309 in 1947 and 339 in 1948.

The Eastern Economist, after research into the distribution of the National Income, has found that, while the share of agriculture and other primary occupations in it rose from 49.2 per cent in 1939-40 to 54 per cent in 1947-48 and of industry from 19.6 to 24.9 per cent, the share of services and similar tertiary sources fell from 31.2 per cent in 1939-40 to 21.1 per cent in 1947-48. This shows that those employed in offices and in the learned professions have been generally impoverished by the war.

RESULT OF INQUIRIES

An inquiry into middle-class family budgets in 1944 under the auspices of Bombay University revealed that, for incomes ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 per month, the amount of deficit had increased much, for income-groups Rs. 150-200 the nominal surplus of pre-war days had been reduced to a regular deficit and for Rs. 200-300 the previous surplus had diminished into an insignificant amount. The situation has worsened much since then.

An inquiry by the Central Government into the living conditions of their employees, drawing less than Rs. 500 per month and sub-divided according to residence in four major cities and seven regional groupings, revealed that average family incomes ranged from Rs. 159 in rural Madras to Rs. 286 in Delhi. Only one in five of Madras and two in five of Delhi residents had surplus budgets. The percentage of families in debt, the main causes of which were sickness and marriage, varied from 37 in the Punjab to over 75 in Calcutta. Income was nowhere in reasonable correspondence with necessary expenditure. About half the income went on food, milk and fats, 10 per cent to cost of residence, 12 to 15 per cent on fuel and clothing. The residue of 25 to 30 per cent was miserably insufficient for the remaining essential items, nearly a dozen in number, such as conveyance to office, children's education, toilet and soap, postage, medical bills, taxes, servants, sweepers, laundry, tobacco and *pansupari*.

This inquiry covers conditions up to August, 1946, and is, therefore, backdated. For the impact of inflation is more severe now. Further, Central Government servants are undoubtedly better off than those of the provinces and of the mercantile firms. The real picture, therefore, would be much more depressing than what these figures suggest.

AGGRAVATING FACTORS

The middle-class people suffer from certain special disabilities, two of which are very important. On the expenditure side, they have certain standards of respectability to maintain. They have to wear clean dress, keep servants, furnish their houses, educate their children, entertain guests and friends, and join clubs and associations. On the income side, in a middle-class family normally there is just one bread-earner, the male, his wife seldom works. But in the working class, almost invariably both husband and wife are employed, sometimes even the children earn. Further, there is less of organisation among the middle than the working class. The reason is that, while for a few clerical posts there will be some thousands of applications, for a factory labourer substitutes are rare.

DEMOCRACY IN DANGER

The economic deterioration of the middle class is widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots, and if the process continues, a time will soon come when there will only be two classes, the rich and the poor in India, with their modes of living widely divergent and their outlook antagonistic. This constitutes a great danger to the development of democracy in this nascent State. The basis of a democratic State is a large measure of agreement on fundamentals. Such agreement cannot come between the rich and the poor. The mainstay and backbone of a democracy is the middle class. It is they who bring about a sort of conciliation and compromise between the other two classes. In England and America democracy is so well established because of a large and contented middle-class population. Whenever class differences have been acute, democracy has met its end.

Czarist Russia and post-war China are glaring examples. In the present world set-up a true democracy cannot be established by a mere democratic constitution or an elaborate Bill of Rights. It is now more clear than ever that the foundation of democracy is economic and that Communism has to be fought on the economic front. The middle class in India must be saved not only in their own interests, but in the interests of democracy and freedom. If Communism comes, no one will lose more than the capitalists themselves who have built so much and who own so much.

THE REMEDY

The real remedy for this state of affairs is the provision of *full employment*. This term also covers proper employment. In other words, not only those factors which are unemployed but those which are under-employed should be provided with suitable employment. This will increase production as a whole, cheapen goods, increase money incomes and provide economic relief generally. But this is not only a long-period affair but in the present state of the nation seems far from practicable. Those who have so long taken the initiative in schemes of production and of employment, *viz.*, the industrialist class, have now, for reasons more psychological than financial, decided to sit tight in the background. They are aware of the leftist trend in politics and of the steadily deteriorating situation in Asia. They can afford to remain idle because the war has brought them money enough. Our nascent State, on the other hand, is not in a position, primarily for want of funds, to execute any vast scheme of production or employment.

PALLIATIVES

A number of palliatives may, however, be suggested :

(1) For the immediate present a drastic increase of salaries and a proper adjustment of dearness and other allowances will ease the situation. Many of the Provincial Governments are backward in this respect. In West Bengal, for instance, one class of civil servants still starts with a basic salary of Rs. 125, a dearness allowance of Rs. 50 and a biennial increment of Rs. 20 per month.

(2) The middle class should be organised into co-operative societies for distribution of controlled commodities. This will supplement their meagre incomes and prevent blackmarketing to a great extent. In provinces like Madras and Bombay such societies are doing successful business.

(3) In recent years the tax-system of the State is shifting from the direct to the indirect type, thus increasing the burden on the middle class. An increase in postal rate or sales-tax produces an adverse effect on their family budget. Tax policy must be revised to minimise its incidence on the lower-income groups.

(4) The income-tax exemption limit before the war was Rs. 1,600; now it has been raised to Rs. 3,000 that is doubled, while the value of money has fallen to one-fourth or one-fifth. The exemption limit should in all fairness be raised to Rs. 4,500 per annum.

(5) In the Western democracies elaborate schemes of social insurance are augmenting the incomes of the

poor and middle classes. In England a comprehensive system of national and social insurance assists the citizen from the cradle to the grave. Under the Family Allowances Act, each family gets a weekly allowance of 5 s. for each child except the first or only child; the income of about three million families with more than seven million children is increased from this source by about £60 million a year, which comes to about £20 per family. Besides a host of sickness and unemployment benefits,

maternity and widows' allowances, old age and infirmity pensions augment private incomes to the extent of about £550 million a year. In India the State insurance scheme inaugurated in 1948 is of very limited scope and application. It applies only to workers in the organised industries and even for them it does not cover all the risks to which they are ordinarily exposed. It should be made more comprehensive and should be extended without delay to other workers, including those in offices.

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VEGETABLE OILSEEDS AND OILS IN WEST BENGAL'S ECONOMY

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

West Bengal's contribution to India's total production of vegetable oilseeds is insignificant. During 1947-48 the province accounted for only .02 per cent of India's total output of linseed, .03 per cent of rape and mustard, and .01 per cent of sesamum (til). These three varieties of seeds constitute the principal vegetable oilseeds crop of West Bengal; production of groundnut and castor seed in the province is negligible. The area under oilseeds in West Bengal during 1947-48 was estimated at 232,600 acres, representing slightly less than 2 per cent of the net cropped area in the province. The following table shows the acreage and yield of different oilseeds in West Bengal, according to the 1947-48 crop forecasts :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
Linseed ..	41,600	7,000
Rape and mustard ..	146,700	26,000
Sesamum ..	21,900	4,010
Others ..	22,400	not available
Total ..	232,600	37,010

Source : *Crop Forecasts*, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

The importance of oilseeds in West Bengal's economy arises out of four primary factors : (i) There is a large concentration of the oil milling industry in Calcutta, which requires heavy quantities of seeds for crushing purposes; (ii) mustard oil is the chief cooking medium of the local people, and as such, it is an essential item of food; (iii) the port of Calcutta handles a substantial portion of India's foreign trade in oilseeds and oils, especially linseed, linseed oil and, to a minor extent, castor oil; (iv) there is a fair demand for all varieties of vegetable oils from the local manufacturers of paints and varnishes, soap, cosmetics and vanaspati (vegetable ghee).

There are at present about 170 oil mills in West Bengal, including the small factories employing less than 20 workers. Of these, only 15 or 20 mills are run on an organised scale. Besides, there are quite a number of oil presses (village ghunnies), which are operated on a cottage scale. It appears somewhat curious that there should have been such a large concentration of the

industry in West Bengal without any domestic sources of supply of raw materials. Proximity of markets and the port facilities at Calcutta evidently influenced the location of the industry.

There is almost a complete lack of reliable statistics on production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal. Proper estimates relating to the productive capacity of the local mills and their requirements of seeds are also unobtainable. Absence of these elementary data is a serious handicap to any scientific study of the subject. The writer has been able to compile the following estimates after a discussion with the Bengal Oil Mills Association, and with Mr. H. L. Goopta of the Indian Oilseeds Committee. It is difficult to vouchsafe for the accuracy of these figures, except as indicative only. Neither the Bengal Oil Mills Association nor the individual mills maintain any systematic statistics. Furthermore, there is always an attempt on the part of manufacturer to manipulate figures according to his convenience. From certain quarters the writer even encountered extreme reluctance to disclose figures. However, in the absence of more dependable figures, the estimates shown in the table below will indicate in general, even with a safe margin of error, the province's economy of vegetable oilseeds and oils :

	Estimated productive capacity per annum.	Actual pro- duction in the year 1948.	Estimated normal consump- tion per annum.
	(tons)	(tons)	(tons)
Linseed oil	18,000 to 20,000	9,000	6,000
Mustard oil	100,000 to 120,000	70,000	138,000
Groundnut oil	16,000 to 18,000	5,000	8,000
Castor oil	10,000 to 12,000	3,000	4,000
Sesamum oil	3,000	1,200	1,000
Cocanut oil*	—	—	3,500

The estimated normal seed requirements of the West Bengal Oil Mills, as based on their annual productive capacity shown in the above table, and total arrivals of seeds by rail in Calcutta during the year 1948 are furnished below :

*There is practically no production of cocoanut oil in West Bengal, which depends entirely on supplies from South India and Ceylon.

VEGETABLE OILSEEDS AND OILS IN W. BENGAL'S ECONOMY

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	Estimated normal* requirements per annum (tons)	Total arrivals by rail** in Calcutta during 1948 (tons)
Linseed	50,000	18,620
Rape and mustard	275,000	69,665
Groundnut	40,000	2,275
Castor	35,000	1,426
Sesamum (til)	8,000	680
Total	408,000	92,666

Because of the inferior qualities of seeds grown in West Bengal and their poor oil content, the local mills are almost entirely dependent on supplies from outside provinces for their requirements of oilseeds. Furthermore, the extent of domestic production in West Bengal has considerably declined since the partitioning of the province in 1947. According to the 1947-48 crop forecasts, East Bengal accounted for about 63 per cent of the undivided Bengal's total production of linseed, over 70 per cent of mustard seeds and nearly 80 per cent of sesamum (til). The yields per acre in West Bengal are also very low, as will be evident from the following table :

Quinquennial periods	Yield per acre (maunds of clean grain)		
	Linseed	Mustard	Sesamum
1922-23 to 1926-27	5.75	6.0	6.0
1927-28 to 1931-32	7.38	7.60	7.40
1932-33 to 1936-37	6.75	7.0	7.05
1937-38 to 1941-42	6.50	6.60	7.0

Source : *Statistical Abstract of West Bengal (1947)*
—Published in 1948 by the Government of West Bengal, page 40, table 4.7.

Shortage of raw materials has been a serious handicap to the oil milling industry in West Bengal, and the position has deteriorated to an alarming extent in recent years due to the prevailing transportation difficulties in the country. It is believed that crushing operations in West Bengal have generally declined to less than 50 per cent of normal capacity. At times, crushing fell below 30 per cent of capacity during 1948. Replacement of worn-out machinery has not been possible in many factories due to lack of capital goods.

In the pre-war years undivided Bengal exported vegetable oilseeds worth about two crores of rupees and oils worth about twenty-five lakhs of rupees. The chief items of export were linseed and linseed oil, castor seed and oil, and mustard oil. Exports have declined appreciably in recent years due to restrictions and high prices prevailing in the country. The following table shows West Bengal's foreign trade in oilseeds and oils by sea-route during the calendar year 1948. With the exception of linseed, linseed oil and castor oil, exports of other

oilseeds and oils from Calcutta consist mostly of coastal shipments and supplies to Eastern Pakistan :

	Tons	Exports from West Bengal during 1948	All-India exports during the fiscal year 1948-49
		Value in lakhs of rupees	Value in lakhs of rupees
Oilseeds			
Linseed	11,823	62.0	139.0
Groundnut	175	1.1	313.0
Rape and mustard	141	1.0	0.74
Sesamum	196	1.2	0.24
Castor	—	—	—
Cocoonut kernel	—	—	0.96
Total	12,335	65.3	453.94
Oils			
Linseed	6,477	102.0	147.0
Groundnut	1,514	25.2	645.0
Rape and mustard	1,268*	23.0	18.0
Sesamum	—	—	—
Cocoonut	553	9.3	10.0
Castor	1,838	32.2	217.0
Total	11,650	191.7	1,037.0

Source : *Accounts Relating to Sea-borne Trade of India*, monthly volume for March, 1949.
Daily List of Exports — Published by the Calcutta Customs House.

Judging from the standpoint of production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal, and Calcutta's foreign trade in this line, the oil milling industry can be considered as occupying an important place in the province's economy. Apart from providing an essential item of food to the local people, the industry supplies essential raw materials to a number of manufacturing lines in the province. I propose to discuss in this article the present supply position of oilseeds and oils in West Bengal and the various problems facing the local oil milling industry.

Oilseeds and oils figure prominently in India's foreign trade, but high prices, uncertain export policies of the Government of India, destination export quotas, and speculative activities of the traders have all combined to cause severe damage to the country's export trade in recent years. This has resulted in depriving India of a considerable amount of foreign exchange needed most at this critical time. The volume of exports in oilseeds has declined due to the Government of India's policy of encouraging more exports of oils than oilseeds. Undivided India exported vegetable oilseeds worth Rs. 11.6 crores and oils worth Rs. 1.1 crores in 1939-40, while divided India's value of exports during 1948-49 amounted to Rs. 4.5 crores and Rs. 10 crores, respectively.

LINSEED AND LINSEED OIL

The production of linseed in West Bengal has declined from 15,000 tons in 1939-40 to 7,000 tons in 1947-48. There has also been a corresponding decline in the area under linseed from 79,000 acres in 1939-40 to 41,600 acres in 1947-48. The total area under linseed in the Indian Union (including Hyderabad State) was estimated at 3,338,000 acres in 1947-48, as against 3,259,000 acres

*The average ratio of seed requirement is 2.5 tons for every ton of oil produced.

**These totals exclude arrivals direct at mill sidings, for which no figures are available; it is believed that almost similar quantities are imported direct at mill sidings.

*The figure excludes the quantity of 12,000 tons supplied to Eastern Pakistan on a quota basis.

in 1946-47. The total yield was placed at 364,000 tons, as compared with 328,000 tons in 1946-47. The average annual production of linseed in Pakistan is about 10,000 to 15,000 tons, of which over 90 per cent is grown in East Bengal. Pakistan's total output during 1947-48 amounted to 13,000 tons.

The United Provinces produces the largest quantity of linseed, contributing about 38 to 40 per cent of India's total. The Central Provinces and Berar account for about 19 to 20 per cent, Bihar 18 to 19 per cent and the Hyderabad State about 12 per cent. There is practically no production of linseed in Madras.

The following table shows total estimated yield and acreage under linseed in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	79,000	15,000
1944-45	74,000	11,000
1945-46	64,000	10,000
1946-47	48,000	8,000
1947-48	41,600	7,000
1948-49	29,300	not available

Source : *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India* (1936-46), published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

Crop Forecasts, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

It is understood that West Bengal accounts for the largest production of linseed oil in India; the United Provinces is the second most important. Fair quantities of this oil are also produced in the Central Provinces and Berar, and Bombay. The mills in West Bengal are almost entirely dependent on supplies of seeds from the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bihar. This factor has proved a great handicap to the local mills during the last few years. Shortage of freight wagons and the lower priority* accorded to movements of oilseeds than that accorded to oils have resulted in extremely poor arrivals of linseed from up-country to Calcutta. Furthermore, the mills in other provinces are being encouraged to undertake more crushing of oils and to send less oilseeds to West Bengal. Arrivals in Calcutta by rail amounted to about 18,620 tons of linseed in 1948, as against 26,767 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 50,000 tons. These figures do not, however, indicate the total arrivals, as the quantities that arrived direct at mill sidings and those that came by motor transport were not included. The mills in West Bengal were believed to be running at 40 to 45 per cent of their normal capacity during 1948, and production of linseed oil in the province did not exceed 9,000 tons. It may be mentioned that the average annual production of linseed oil in India during the pre-war period amounted to over 60,000 tons, which required crushing of about 200,000 tons of linseed.

Manufacturers of paints and varnishes are the prin-

cipal consumers of linseed oil in India. There are at present about 31 factories in India, of which 16 are situated in and around Calcutta, 9 in Bombay, and the remaining 6 are distributed in other areas. The average consumption of linseed oil by the West Bengal's paint factories is estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 tons, but actual consumption during 1948 was believed to be much lower due to reduced production of paints and varnishes. Acute shortage of building materials in the country, and the consequent limited structural development led to reduced general demand for paints and varnishes; production declined in consequence.

Exports of linseed and linseed oil from India have recorded a sharp decline in 1948 due to the existence of destination quotas, heavy export duties,† and abnormally high prices. It is reported that large supplies of linseed are available in Canada and Argentina for export at cheaper rates. Indian exporters faced strong competition in all foreign markets from these sources. Exports from India during 1948 totalled 43,200 tons of linseed and 11,300 tons of linseed oil, as against 49,600 tons and 10,400 tons, respectively, in 1947. Shipments from Calcutta during 1948 amounted to 11,823 tons of linseed (28 per cent of India's total) valued at Rs. 62 lakhs and 6,477 tons of linseed oil (57 per cent of India's total) valued at Rs. 1.02 crore. India supplied about 15,600 tons of linseed to Australia during 1948 in exchange for wheat. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, a quantity of about 6,000 tons of linseed oil will be supplied to Pakistan during the current year.

RAPE AND MUSTARD AND MUSTARD OIL

The production of rape and mustard seed in West Bengal has remained more or less unchanged since the pre-war period; the average annual production is about 25,000 tons. In 1947-48 India produced about 782,000 tons of rape and mustard, as against 792,000 tons in 1946-47. Pakistan's average annual production is estimated at 240,000 tons to 245,000 tons, of which about 32 per cent comes from East Bengal, 30 per cent from West Punjab, and the balance from Sind and North-West Frontier Province. In 1947-48 Pakistan produced 247,000 tons, as against 245,000 tons in 1946-47.

As in the case of linseed, the United Provinces is the largest producer of rape and mustard, accounting for over 60 per cent of India's total. The other principal areas of production in order of importance are Bihar, East Punjab, Assam and West Bengal.

The following table shows estimated yield and acreage under rape and mustard in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

† The Government of India imposed an export duty of Rs. 80 per ton on all vegetable oilseeds and Rs. 200 per ton on vegetable oils, effective March, 1948. The duty on oils was subsequently reduced to Rs. 160 per ton. However, the duties on castor oil and castor seed were removed in October, 1948, but in the case of other oilseeds and oils the duties were not withdrawn until March, 1949.

* Oilseeds were accorded class II priority, while oils moved under class I priority.

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	137,000	25,000
1944-45	138,000	23,000
1945-46	131,000	23,000
1946-47	153,000	28,000
1947-48	146,700	26,000
1948-49	133,700	not available

Source : *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India (1936-46)*.
Crop Forecasts, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

Production of mustard oil is mostly confined to West Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar. It is believed that West Bengal accounts for over 50 per cent of India's total production of this oil, while the United Provinces about 40 to 45 per cent. The oil mills in West Bengal are entirely dependent on supplies of mustard seed from outside, particularly from the United Provinces and Bihar. Locally grown seeds in West Bengal, which are poor in oil content, are mostly consumed as spices. Nearly 60 per cent of West Bengal's crop is used as spices and the remaining 40 per cent is crushed in the village ghunnies; some quantities are also mixed with imported seeds for crushing in the mills.

Arrivals of rape and mustard from up-country have been very unsatisfactory due to the transportation difficulties, and the mills are operating at much below normal capacity. The relative freights charged over the railways for oilseeds and oils have rendered it uneconomic for the West Bengal mills to import seeds from the United Provinces. A quantity of about 69,665 tons of rape and mustard arrived in Calcutta by rail during 1948, as against 73,282 tons in the previous year and the normal requirements of about 275,000 tons. These totals, however, exclude arrivals by motor transport and those that arrived direct at mill sidings. Total production of mustard oil in West Bengal during 1948 amounted to about 70,000 tons, against the estimated requirements of about 138,000 tons.

Mustard oil is the chief cooking medium in Bengal (East and West) and Assam where the largest quantities of this oil are consumed. It is estimated that 65 per cent of West Bengal's production is now retained in the province for domestic consumption, while the remaining 35 per cent is sent to Eastern Pakistan. Before the partition over 70 per cent of the oil crushed in West Bengal was consumed in the areas now falling under Eastern Pakistan. Much of the oils that come from the United Provinces and Bihar is consumed in West Bengal, and some quantities are sent to Assam and East Bengal.

Exports of rape and mustard seed and mustard oil are prohibited, and only token shipments are permitted under special licences. Shipments from Calcutta are confined to coastal areas and Eastern Pakistan. A quota of 12,500 tons of mustard oil was allowed to be exported to Eastern Pakistan during 1948, and the quantity fixed for the current year under the new Indo-Pakistan Agreement is 30,000 tons. From March, 1949, the Government of India temporarily withdrew all restrictions on the

movement of mustard oil to Eastern Pakistan, and free exports were allowed up to May 31, 1949. Total exports of mustard oil from Calcutta by sea-route during 1948 amounted to 1,268 tons, of which Eastern Pakistan took 1,216 tons; exports of mustard seed totalled 141 tons, of which Madras took 97 tons, Cochin 16 tons and Eastern Pakistan 28 tons. India exported 222,479 gallons of mustard oil in 1948-49, as against 26,651 gallons in 1947-48; much of these shipments went to Pakistan. Exports of mustard seed from India amounted to 137 tons in 1948-49, as compared with 3 tons in 1946-47.

CASTOR SEED AND OIL

Separate crop forecasts for castor seed and groundnut are not published by the West Bengal Government because of negligible local production. India's total output of castor seed during 1947-48 amounted to 128,000 tons, as against 117,000 tons in 1946-47. The principal producers are the Hyderabad State, Madras, Bihar, Bombay, (including the Bombay States), Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, Baroda and Mysore. The Hyderabad State accounts for over 50 per cent of India's total production and Madras about 18 to 19 per cent. Pakistan's average annual production of castor seed is about 2,000 to 2,500 tons, of which nearly 1,000 tons are grown in Sind.

There are about five or six mills in Calcutta which have hydraulic presses and expellers to produce castor oil; most other mills produce by hand presses. The unsettled political conditions in the Hyderabad State restricted normal flow of castor seed from that area during 1948. Due to poor arrivals of seeds in Calcutta, the local mills were operating at 30 to 35 per cent of their normal capacity, and at times, crushing fell below 25 per cent of capacity last year. Total arrivals of castor seed in Calcutta by rail during 1948, excluding direct arrivals at mill sidings, amounted to 1,426 tons, as against 2,853 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 35,000 tons. It is believed that average monthly production of castor oil in West Bengal during 1948 was only 200 to 250 tons, as against 500 to 600 tons in 1947.

It is estimated that nearly 50 per cent of the local production of castor oil in West Bengal is utilised for industrial lubricating purposes, while 35 to 40 per cent is exported abroad, and the balance is used for manufacture of hair oil, soap and medicine. Lower grade castor oil is consumed as an illuminant in the rural areas.

High prices of Indian castor oil and the probable use of substitutes have curtailed demand from importers abroad. The existence of destination export quotas has also limited shipments to foreign countries, particularly to the hard currency areas. However, exports to dollar and hard currency areas have, of late, been liberalised to a considerable extent. A quantity of about 1,838 tons of castor oil was exported from Calcutta during the calendar year 1948, as compared with 2,093 tons exported during the last six months (July-December) of 1947. India's total exports of castor oil amounted to 3,009,106 gallons valued at Rs. 2.1 crores in 1948-49, as compared with 5,640,035 gallons valued at Rs. 3.9 crores in 1947-48.

Exports of castor seed from India during 1947-48 amounted to 4,951 tons valued at Rs. 27.7 lakhs, as against 5,791 tons valued at Rs. 26.4 lakhs in 1946-47. There were practically no exports of castor seed during 1948-49 due to the Government of India's policy of encouraging more exports of oils than oilseeds; the prevailing high prices also contributed to the lack of exports.

GROUNDNUT AND GROUNDNUT OIL

As already stated, domestic production of groundnut in West Bengal is almost negligible. The principal growers of groundnut are Madras, Bombay and the Bombay States. The province of Madras accounts for about 44 per cent of India's total production, while Bombay's share (including that of the States) is about 23 to 24 per cent, and that of Hyderabad about 20 to 22 per cent. India's total output of groundnut during 1948-49 amounted to 3,073,000 tons, as against 3,411,000 tons in 1947-48 and about 3,539,000 tons in 1946-47. It may be mentioned that India is probably the largest producer of groundnut in the world.

Production of groundnut oil in West Bengal has been seriously affected by poor arrivals of seed from up-country. Crushing operations have declined to about 30 to 35 per cent of normal. The policy of Madras to encourage more exports of groundnut oil instead of groundnut has further reduced supplies in the Calcutta market. Total arrivals of groundnut by rail in Calcutta, excluding direct imports at mill sidings, amounted to about 2,275 tons in 1948, as against 16,174 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 35,000 tons. It is believed that average monthly production of groundnut oil in West Bengal during 1948 was only 350 to 400 tons, as compared with 1,400 tons in 1947.

Local consumption of groundnut oil is confined to manufacture of vanaspati (vegetable ghee), soap and hair oil. The oil is also used to a limited extent as cooking medium. There are at present three vanaspati factories in West Bengal with a total production capacity of about 1,500 tons per month or 18,000 tons per year. These mills were operating at 25 to 30 per cent of their capacity during 1948 because of shortage of groundnut oil. It is estimated that total production of vanaspati in West Bengal during 1948 did not exceed 6,000 tons, for which about 4,500 tons of groundnut oil were consumed.

Exports of groundnut and groundnut oil from Calcutta consist mostly of coastal shipments and supplies to Eastern Pakistan. Because of increased shipments from Madras to Chittagong direct, exports from Calcutta during 1948 were low. A quantity of about 1,514 tons of oil and 175 tons of groundnut was exported from Calcutta during the year. It should be borne in mind that large quantities of groundnut oil are imported into Calcutta from South India every year, average imports being estimated at 14,000 tons to 15,000 tons. India's total exports of groundnut oil during 1948-49 amounted to 8,900,804 gallons valued at Rs. 6.4 crores, as against 7,252,330 gallons valued at Rs. 4.6 crores in 1947-48. Exports of groundnut from India totalled 38,272 tons valued at Rs. 3.1

crores in 1948-49, as compared with 55,363 tons valued at Rs. 3.7 crores in 1947-48. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, the Government of India has agreed to supply 15,000 tons each of vanaspati and groundnut oil to Pakistan during the current year.

SESAMUM (TIL) AND SESAMUM OIL

West Bengal produces about 4,000 to 5,000 tons of sesamum per annum. There are two varieties of sesamum grown in the province, namely, summer til and winter til. In 1948-49 the total sesamum crop of the province amounted to 4,770 tons, of which summer til accounted for about 3,035 tons and winter til about 1,735 tons. India's total output of sesamum during 1948-49 amounted to 278,000 tons, as against 338,000 tons in 1947-48 and 323,000 tons in 1946-47. Pakistan's average annual production of sesamum is about 34,000 tons; almost the entire quantity is grown in East Bengal.

The following table shows total estimated yield and acreage under sesamum in West Bengal since 1944-45, as compared with 1939-40 :

	Area (acres)	Yield (tons)
1939-40	17,000	3,000
1944-45	21,000	4,000
1945-46	21,000	4,000
1946-47	24,000	4,900
1947-48	21,900	4,010
1948-49	25,200	4,770

Source : *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India (1936-46)*.
Crop Forecasts, issued by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal.

There is no continuous manufacture of sesamum oil in West Bengal, for occasional crushing is sufficient to meet the local demand which is mainly confined to preparation of hair oil. Crushing of sesamum oil in West Bengal during 1948 was very limited because of poor export demand and negligible local consumption. Total rail arrivals of sesamum in Calcutta, excluding direct imports at mill sidings, amounted to 680 tons in 1948, as against 2,761 tons in 1947 and the normal requirements of about 8,000 tons. It is estimated that average monthly production of sesamum oil in West Bengal during 1948 was 70 to 100 tons, as against 150 to 200 tons in 1947.

Exports from Calcutta consist mainly of coastal shipments. A quantity of about 196 tons of sesamum (til) was exported during the year 1948; only 4 cwts. of sesamum oil were exported from Calcutta during the year. India exported about 51,571 gallons of sesamum oil valued at Rs. 3.5 lakhs in 1946-47, as against 876 gallons valued at Rs. 6,125/- in 1947-48; only 3 gallons of oil valued at Rs. 25/- were shipped from India during 1948-49. Total exports of sesamum (til) during 1948-49 amounted to 33 tons valued at Rs. 24,749/-, as against 886 tons valued at Rs. 8.7 lakhs in 1947-48 and 2,404 tons valued at Rs. 16.9 lakhs in 1946-47. High prices and heavy export duties have adversely affected India's foreign trade in this line.

COCOANUT AND COCOANUT OIL

No estimate relating to the total planted area under coconut in West Bengal is available. In 1938-39 the total area in undivided Bengal was estimated at 31,300 acres, of which nearly 60 per cent was believed to be in East Bengal. No appreciable increase in acreage is reported to have occurred since 1939. It may be mentioned that Madras (chiefly the Malabar Coast), Travancore, Cochin and Mysore account for bulk of the coconut areas in India.

Undivided Bengal accounted for only 1.4 per cent of India's total production of coconut. India's present output is estimated at 3,361,000,000 nuts, of which undivided Bengal's share should not exceed 47,000,000 nuts. Considering the fact that nearly 60 per cent of Bengal's production is confined to Eastern Pakistan, West Bengal probably does not produce more than 22,000,000 nuts per annum. Due to the absence of an organised market no serious attention has been directed to regular plantation of coconut trees in West Bengal.

There has been no attempt by the mills in West Bengal to press oil from copra on a large scale. None of the power-driven mills in Calcutta is reported producing any coconut oil at present, although there is some production by the village ghunnies operated on a cottage scale. This is probably due to the scarcity of copra or to the fact that the crushers have not sufficiently investigated the possibilities in this line of the industry. The limited use of coconut oil in West Bengal did not induce the local mills to undertake its manufacture on a commercial scale. West Bengal is entirely dependent on supplies from South India and Ceylon for her requirements of coconut oil. It may be mentioned that India's total annual production of this oil is about 105,000 tons, and the average annual consumption about 150,000 tons.

The two chief purposes for which coconut oil is used in West Bengal are : (a) soap manufacture, and (b) preparation of hair oil. Accurate consumption statistics is not available, but it is estimated that the average annual off-take by the soap manufacturers amounts to about 2,000 tons. The demand from hair oil manufacturers probably accounts for about 1,000 tons, making the total annual consumption 3,000 to 3,500 tons. There are at present about 72 organised soap-making factories in West Bengal, besides the number of small concerns carrying on manufacture on a cottage scale. The average production of soap in West Bengal is about 30,000 to 35,000 tons, of which nearly 80 per cent consists of washing soap and the rest toilet soap.

As already stated, West Bengal is mainly dependent on South India and Ceylon for supplies of coconut oil. Before the second world war large supplies came from Java, Sumatra and the Straits Settlements, but imports from these areas have practically ceased since 1942. A quantity of about 18,839 tons of coconut oil valued at Rs. 2.8 crores was imported into Calcutta during 1948, of which Cochin supplied 13,177 tons and Ceylon about 3,846 tons. Exports from Calcutta consist mostly of sup-

plies to Eastern Pakistan; a quantity of about 546 tons of oil valued at Rs. 9.2 lakhs went to Chittagong during the year 1948 out of Calcutta's total exports of 553 tons valued at Rs. 9.3 lakhs.

India exported about 161,717 gallons of coconut oil in 1948-49, as against 1,340 gallons in 1947-48 and 110,363 gallons in 1946-47. Exports of coconut kernel from India totalled 101 tons in 1948-49, as compared with 85 tons in 1947-48. Under the recently concluded Indo-Pakistan Agreement, India will supply 6,000 tons of coconut oil to Pakistan during the current year.

CONCLUSION

The following deductions appear quite evident from the foregoing analysis :

- (a) Complete dependence on outside supplies for requirements of oilseeds is a serious handicap to the West Bengal's oil milling industry. Production has often to be adjusted to the availability of seeds and not to demand for oils or productive capacity. This dependence has also reduced the industry's bargaining power in the matter of obtaining raw materials at reasonable prices. Finally, shortage of mustard seed has rendered the province highly deficient in respect of supply of mustard oil, an essential item of food to the local people;
- (b) Absence of reliable statistics on production and consumption of vegetable oils in West Bengal is a barrier to scientific study of the industry's problems. It also prevents formulation of development projects. Both the Provincial Government and the Bengal Oil Mills Association have much to do in the field of compilation of necessary statistics;
- (c) The prevailing transportation difficulties in the country and the consequent restricted movements of oilseeds have been most responsible for lowered production of oils in West Bengal. Crushing operations have declined much below normal, thereby affecting the industry's prosperity. The competitive policy of other provinces to supply lesser quantities of oilseeds to West Bengal has also adversely affected production in the local mills. The question of relative priorities of movements accorded to oils and oilseeds and the relative freights charged over the railways are of special significance in the matter of obtaining raw materials for the industry;
- (d) Irregular and restricted movements of oilseeds have kept prices very high in all markets. This has reflected on the prices of oils throughout India. The speculative activities of the traders have also contributed to the rise in prices, which has resulted in reduced exports and lowered domestic consumption;
- (e) High prices of oilseeds and oils, existence of destination export quotas, uncertain export policies of the Government of India, existence of customs barriers between India and Pakistan — have all combined to cause grave injury to India's foreign trade in vegetable oilseeds and oils. It is probably true to say

that high prices have done the worst injury to the country's export trade. The outlook largely depends on the extent to which prices can be brought in line with those prevailing in the world market;

- (f) Very little researches have been done in India, and for that matter in West Bengal, to improve the cultivation of oilseeds and to standardize the qualities of oils produced. Lack of proper standardization acts as a brake on increased export. The oil milling industry in West Bengal has not received the desired patronage from the Government, although it contributes substantially to the country's earnings of foreign exchange and provides an essential item of food to the local people and basic raw materials to certain manufacturing lines.

The above summary of deductions gives a general indication of the problems facing the oil milling industry in West Bengal, and suggests the lines along which action should be directed to bring about an improvement. Both the Provincial and Central Governments have a direct responsibility in the matter of extending necessary aids to the industry and in initiating measures of improvement in oilseeds cultivation. Better facilities of transport, commercial exploitation of new export markets, scientific researches into new uses of edible oils and oilseeds, and standardization of the qualities of oils produced—all these should engage the immediate attention of the Central Government. Although extension of oilseeds cultivation to new areas in West Bengal may not appear feasible under the existing food shortage, the Provincial Government can certainly introduce better methods of cultivation to raise the yields per acre and to improve the quality of seeds grown.

It is, however, assuring to find the Government of India fully conscious of the need to revive India's foreign and domestic trade in vegetable oilseeds and oils. The Central Government is sponsoring a number of research schemes in connection with improvement in the cultivation of oilseeds and in the quality of oils produced by Indian mills. The Indian Oilseeds Committee has recommended

the establishment of an oilseeds research station in West Bengal to work on linseed, mustard, castor and sesamum. A scheme for production of improved strains of linseed and groundnut in East Punjab and for multiplication of improved strains of groundnut in Madras has been sanctioned by the Indian Oilseeds Committee. A decision to allow free movements of oilseeds, oils and oilcakes between the various provinces of India was reached at a meeting of the Marketing Sub-committee of the Indian Oilseeds Committee held in New Delhi some time in October, 1948. The Marketing Sub-committee's recommendation to liberalise export of linseed oil has been accepted by the Government of India. The Sub-committee further recommended that the Government of India should request the oilseeds-producing provinces to offer increased supplies of seeds to West Bengal, Bombay and Bihar. India's Trade Commissioners in the United Kingdom, the United States and in other countries have been asked to report on the quality of shipments of vegetable oilseeds and oils from India in order to enable the Committee to control the quality of those exports. Let us hope that these proposals and schemes will not share the usual fate of numerous blue-prints shelved in the Government archives.

In order to develop and regulate trade in oilseeds in the Calcutta market, an association is proposed to be formed in the city along the lines of the Bombay Oilseeds and Grain Merchants' Association. It is understood that the proposed association will standardize the qualities of oilseeds allowed to be sold in the local market, and may act as the central purchasing authority for the members of the Bengal Oil Mills Association. This is undoubtedly a welcome move in the right direction. Apart from checking the speculative activities of the traders in oilseeds, this proposed association will ensure regular supplies of better quality seeds to the West Bengal mills. Every effort should, therefore, be made to expedite formation of the new association.*

*The views expressed in this article are those of the author, and do not reflect the opinion of the organisation with which he is connected.



THE PROGRESS OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

By PROF. HIMANSU ROY

THE giant social evils of the day are want, disease, ignorance and squalor. Of late Britain has bid a determined attack on them. But prior to Beveridge Report the arrangement of social security represented only the legislative effort of 50 years to meet the need of the mass of the people in times of distress. In fact, no serious attempt was made to make this security complete, consistent or symmetric. Yet, it disclosed the existence of marked tendencies of social security which were the outcome of strong social forces.

DEVELOPMENT IN PAST YEARS

A workman who met with accident might claim compensation either under Common Law, or under Employers' Liability Act, 1880, or under Workmen's Compensation Acts 1906-25. The workers were also secured against industrial diseases if attributable to work. But the achievement of the object was conspicuously arrested owing to the absence of satisfactory medical benefits and social rehabilitation. The National Health Insurance Scheme offered to insured persons cash, medical and maternity benefits. The unemployment insurance scheme was a contributory one. And, generally speaking, all except those who were in regular service were compulsorily insured against unemployment. The claimant for benefit was required to be genuinely unemployed, capable of and available for work and prepared for training. The scale of benefits varied according to sex, age, general scheme and agricultural scheme. Provisions were made also for benefits for dependents. The Unemployment Assistance Board was formed in 1934 to assist the long-term-unemployed. In subsequent years the scope of the Board was much widened. The duties of the Board towards the unemployed were cash assistance and welfare. The Old Age Pension system was featured by its triple system: Non-contributory Old Age Pensions for persons over 70, subject to various qualifications; Contributory Old Age Pension for women over 60 and men over 65 (together with their uninsured wives over 60); and Supplementary Pensions which could be paid to any old age pensioners after an investigation of means and needs by the Assistance Board. Widows' Pensions were normally payable from the date of the husband's death, provided he was insured at the time of death and had observed certain conditions. The Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions (Voluntary Contribution) Act was applicable to persons not in insurable employment or had not the opportunity to enter insurance for higher salaries. The Supplementary Pensions Act attempted to equate pensions with needs. The Blind Persons Acts for the relief of the blind were both comprehensive and specific. The welfare works were designed to compensate the actual hardship of the

blind in every walk of life. The Superannuation Scheme provided pensions determined by the recipients' length of service and rate of salary. The Scheme was both contributory and non-contributory. Industrial Assurance arranged policies for small amount to wage-earning classes. The premiums were to be paid weekly. Policies might also have been taken on the lives of one's children, parents, grand-parents, brothers and sisters. Wide provision had been made for persons affected by war.

BEVERIDGE PLAN

The World War II and the proper visualisation of its consequential vicissitudes called for massive reconstruction and unification of the social insurance services. Sir W. H. Beveridge was appointed by the Government to report on Social Insurance and Allied Services. He reported in November 1942. The Plan embodies six principles: comprehensiveness, unification of administrative responsibility, classification, adequate benefit, flat rate of contribution, flat rate of benefit. And for its success the Plan carries three assumptions: children's allowances, national health and rehabilitation services, and reasonably full employment. The plan assures national minimum to all covering all the main contingencies by means of definite provisions for the maintenance of income without any test of means, leaving the residue to be covered by a system of National Assistance: subject to means test. To make the plan universal Sir Beveridge divides the population into six groups, viz., (i) employees working under contracts of service; (ii) other gainfully occupied persons; (iii) housewives of working age; (iv) other persons not gainfully occupied of working age; (v) persons below working age; (vi) retired persons above working age. The table below shows the scheme of cash benefits for each of the classes:

CASH BENEFITS UNDER THE BEVERIDGE PLAN*

Funeral Benefit (all classes).	£20 for adult; £15 between 10 and 21; £10 between 3 and 10, £6 under 3.
Disability Benefit per week (Classes I and II)	24/- for single adult, plus 16/- for wife or adult dependent; 40/- for married couple; 16/- for gainfully occupied woman; 20/- for single person between 18 and 21; 15/- for boys and girls between 16 and 18. Waiting period of five days, unless disability lasts for at least four weeks, in which case the benefit for the three provisionally considered waiting days is to be paid retrospectively.
Industrial Disability Pension (Class I).	Varying rates, subject to maximum of 60/- a week.

* G.D.H. Cole: *Beveridge Explained*.

Unemployment Benefit (Class I).	Same as Disability Benefit.
Training Benefit (Classes II, III, & IV).	Same as Disability Benefit, but limited to 26 weeks.
Maternity Benefit (Classes I & II).	33/- a week for 13 weeks.
Maternity Grant (Classes I to IV).	£4.
Marriage Grant (Classes I & II).	£1 for each for contributions paid up to £10.
Widows' Benefit (for those under 60).	36/- a week for 13 weeks (subject to and safeguarding existing rights).
Guardian Benefit (for widows, etc., under 63 with dependent children).	24/- subject to deduction for earnings.
Children's Allowance.	8/- after first dependent child. For first child also when parent is unable to earn.

Retirement Pensions (after 20 years). (For men at 65 or women at 60). Single persons 24/-, married couple 40/- (irrespective of age of wife) but dependent on her, not being gainfully occupied. Rates to be increased by 1/- and 2/- respectively for every year for which retirement is postponed beyond the statutory age.

(transitional).	(a) Persons already insured for pension. Rates rising from 11/- (single) and 23/- (joint) in first year to full rates over 20 years by 2 yearly increments of 1/- and 16d.
Retired Pensions	(b) Persons not at present insured. No Pensions till 1951. Then at 14/- and 25/- as above, but rising to full rate only after payment of 20 years' contribution.
National Assistance.	As required to fill gaps, subject to test of needs.

Sir Beveridge held that Children's Allowance should be financed wholly out of general taxation. But he had to make definite proposal regarding the scale of children's allowance, for, it will necessarily affect the cash payment to be made to adults in unemployment. The medical treatment is segregated from cash benefits. The Plan proposes an all-round medical service for the entire nation including rehabilitation. In regard to blind persons Sir Beveridge recommends that the entire responsibility of their maintenance, subject to means test, should be transferred to the proposed Ministry of Social Security. But he has not made any definite scheme in the matter. The contributions that have to be paid may be stated as follows :

	CONTRIBUTION UNDER THE BEVERIDGE PLAN					
	Male			Female		
	Insured person.	Employer.	Joint.	Insured person.	Employer.	Joint.
Class I.	S. d.	S. d.	S. d.	S. d.	S. d.	S. d.
Aged 21 and upwards	4 3	3 3	7 6	3 6	2 6	6 0
Between 18 and 20	3 6	2 9	6 3	3 0	2 0	5 0
Between 16 and 17	2 6	2 6	5 0	2 0	2 0	4 0
Class II.						
21 and upwards	4 3	..	4 3	3 9	..	3 9
18-20	3 6	..	3 6	3 0	..	3 0
16-17	2 0	..	2 0	2 0	..	2 0
Class IV.						
21 and upwards	3 9	..	3 9	3 0	..	3 0
18-20	3 0	..	3 0	2 6	..	2 6
16-17	1 6	..	1 6	1 6	..	1 6

Persons belong to classes III, V and VI are exempted from contribution for obvious reasons. The exemption is also allowed to other classes under certain conditions. The claimants of benefits, in most cases, must satisfy the provision of minimum contribution. The whole Scheme will be administered by a Ministry of Social Security.

WHITE PAPERS

In September 1944 the Coalition Government issued two White Papers on Social Insurance and Workmen's Compensation which were approved by the House of Commons in principle. The Government Plan is in agreement with the main outline of the Beveridge Plan but differs with it mainly in the rate of benefits and in the length of period when the benefits will take full effect. The Government Plan accepts the national minimum of income for all in want but disagrees with the Beveridge Plan in the meaning of "Subsistence." It proposes to cut 1/6 of the real value of the benefits. It is much more impressed by the immediate needs of pressure of old people than by the requirements of future citizens. The Children's Allowance has been reduced to 5/- and it is not to be varied with the age of the child, but it contemplates extension of provision in kind. Further, it provides that all people will receive the same rate of pension from the very start of the scheme and the rates will remain fixed to 23/- for a single person, and 35/- for a couple. In regard to sickness benefit the Government Plan proposes benefit at the full rate for as long as 3 years at a stretch and invalidity benefit at the lower retirement pension rate for those still ill after 3 years unless otherwise unqualified. The Government, again, is not happy with the non-industrially disabled, e.g., the blind, for, there is no provision of special allowance on grant basis for the additional expenses which are sure to be incurred. The National Health Service does not go far for positive community's health. The Workmen's Compensation retains its feature of separation from other Security

Services. The whole scheme will be financed by Government, employers and employees. The Government Plan has attached little importance to the unification and reorientation of social security administration.

SOCIAL SECURITY UNDER LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Labour Government has adopted the Beveridge Plan in principle which is now represented by the Family Allowances Act, 1945, the National Insurance Act, 1946, the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act 1946, and National Health Service Act 1946. The Family Allowances Act, 1945, provides weekly allowance for every child, other than the first child. The National Insurance Act, 1946, provides benefits for unemployment, sickness, maternity, 'widows' and guardians' allowances, retirement pension and death grant. The Act creates National Insurance Fund based on contributions of employers, Government and insured persons. All insured persons, if not otherwise disqualified, are claimants of benefit under unemployment and sickness benefit provision. The normal rate over the age of 18 is 26s. a week with 7s. 6d. increase for first dependent child and 16s. for adult dependent. Under the age 18 the rate is 15s. a week and in the case of married women the rate varies according to circumstances. The maternity benefit allowed is £4 for each child and attendance allowance is 20s. a week for four weeks. But the claimant if gainfully occupied may receive maternity allowance of £6s. a week, instead of attendance allowance, for thirteen weeks commencing approximately six weeks before confinement provided she does no work during this period. The widows' allowance is 36s. per week for 13 weeks and 7s. 6d. for first child. The widowed mothers' allowance is 26s. plus 7s. 6d. The weekly rate of widows' pension is 26s. The rate of guardian's allowance is normally 12s. per week. A person who retires from regular employment and is over 65 in case of a man and 60 in case a woman, is entitled to the basic rate of 26s. a week with a possible 7s. 6d. for a child and 16s. for adult dependent. But if after retirement he has any earning then for every shilling that he earns over 20s., 1s. is to be deducted from his pension. A married woman is entitled to a retirement pension of 16s. by virtue of husband's insurance. The death grant for adult is £20 for child aged 6-18, £15, aged 3-6, £10 and under 3, £6.

The N.I.A. divides contributors into three classes. Employed : Self-employed : Non-employed. The rates of weekly contribution are as follows :

WEEKLY CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER N.I.A.

	Employed Employer.		Self- Employee.		Non- employed.		
	S.	d.	S.	d.	S.	d.	
Men	4	11	4	2	6	2	4 6
Women	3	10	3	3	5	1	3 8
Boys (under 18)	2	10½	2	5½	3	7	2 9
Girls (under 18)	2	4	1	11	3	1	2 3

In the case of employed, if the adult workers' wages are at the rate of 30s. a week or less employer must pay 1s. 11d. of the employee's contribution (may in addition to his own) making his (employer's) total contribution 6s. 1d. or for women 1s. 5d., making the total 4s. 8d. It is, however, not applicable where employees get board and lodging in addition to wages. The above rates include contribution for Industrial Injuries Insurance. These are 4s. for man and 3d. for woman and equal amount from the employer in the case of Self-employed and Non-employed, the contributions include contribution for National Health Service. The amount of these contributions is 10d. for man, 8d. for woman and 6d. for boys or girls. Contributions for men are payable up to the age of 65 and for women 60; if he/she retires at that age, he/she is not required to contribute further. If he/she continues work, the contribution is payable in the case of men up to the age of 70 and in the case of women up to 65.

The National Insurance (Injuries) Act, 1943, is a substitute for Workmen's Compensation Act, 1925 to 1945. The Industrial Insurance Fund is composed of equal contributions of employer and insured. It provides three classes of benefits : injury benefit; disablement benefit; and, death benefit. The injury benefit is allowed at the rate of 45s. per week with increase of 16s. for adult dependent and 7s. 6d. for child; those who are between the age of 17 and 18 are entitled to 33s. 9d. per week and those under 17 to 22s. 6d. The benefit is allowed for 23 weeks. Disablement benefit arises where the injury is permanent or substantial. The assessment is made in percentages. Those who are less than 20 per cent disablement are entitled to lump sum gratuity not more than £150. Those who are more than 20 per cent disablement are entitled to pension ranging from 45s. to 9s. per week. Provisions have also been made for the increase of the benefit under certain conditions. Death benefit is granted ordinarily for deceased's widow and children. The normal pension is 20s. a week. In the case of a widower a person who being himself permanently incapacitated was dependent on his wife is entitled to a weekly pension of 30s. The children of the deceased have been separately provided. The parents and relatives of the deceased and the woman taking care of the children left behind, under specified circumstances, are paid.

The National Health Service Act, 1946, provides comprehensive and ordinarily free-of-charge health service to all.

The Acts have been in operation since 5th July, 1948.

The National Assistance Act enacted in 1948 has instituted a National Assistance Board which is responsible for grant of financial assistance to all above 16 years and who are without resources or with resources but that require supplementation.

EMBASSIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By RATNA CHANDRA AGRAWALA

THE history of India and the ancient world presents a brilliant record of free exchange of embassies. In the absence of sufficient means of communication and facilities of travelling abroad, ambassadors from India traversed untracked thorny highways and fully maintained a full-fledged tradition of intimate international relations. The discovery of Pre-historic Indus Valley sites at Harappa and Mohenjodaro in India, has brought to light numerous mysteries lying quite hidden so far. Even in the 3rd millennium B.C. Indian goods were seen being sold in the markets and cities of the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris. Such was our penetration abroad. Our commercial contacts were vast indeed. A day may come when the excavations at old sites may bring into picture our associations with the foreign world in political plane too.

A close study of our old Sanskrit literature, specially of the Great Epics, i.e., the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, will clearly indicate that never did we suffer from inferiority complex as regards going out of our country to conduct political and cultural alliances. The word "duta" clearly connotes the sense of an ambassador. It may be that it was also termed for the "messenger" of a king. But Indian Dutas (ambassadors) were in charge of diplomatic affairs. There were some who were endowed with first class powers, i.e., they would make treaties and alliances and did whatever was in the best interest of the country. Others were those who acted according to the instructions from the ruling chief. In short, their powers were limited. Lord Shri Krishna was an ambassador of the first quality. He was authorised by the Pandavas to act according to his free will, extraordinary sagacity and shrewdness of handling intricate problems. There was no check on him from the side of the Pandavas. On the other hand, Angada, the "duta" of Lord Rama Chandra to the court of Ravan of Ceylon, was invested with limited powers, while Hanuman, another "duta" of Rama was just a messenger deputed to bring certain information about Sita's welfare.

INDIANS AND THE GREEKS

Our ancient Sanskrit writers have left a complete list of the qualities that are essentially to be there in an ambassador. As a guide and master of the destiny of the State he represents, he must be fully capable of coping with every sort of situation quite tactfully and carefully, he should never lose his balance of mind but always remain vigilant and well-informed of the intricacies of the affairs. A profound scholar he must be. Gross and very panicky situations could never puzzle him. Moreover, an envoy is not to be killed or disregarded at all. Any encroachment on his rights and privileges meant disaster or an ultimatum for war. No state could ever tolerate dishonour done to its ambassador. Such state of affairs exists in present times too.

The first example of India's political intercourse with the rest of the world goes back to the times of Chandra Gupta Maurya. The great emperor inflicted a crushing defeat on the Greeks with Seleucus Nikator as their head. Seleucus sent his envoy Megasthenes to the court of the Mauryan emperor. Bindusar, the son of Chandra Gupta Maurya, received Deimschos sent as an envoy by the Greek King Antiochus Soter. The Greek King, on the request from the Indian Emperor, sent some figs and raisin wine for which India had great liking.

The Besnagar Iron Pillar Inscription has brought to light how Heliodorus of Taxila was hailed as the ambassador of the Greek King Antialkidas at the court of King Bhagbhadr of Central India. The Greek envoy could not escape the mighty influence of Hindu religion and philosophy. He became an ardent worshipper of Vishnu and got the pillar erected in honour of Lord Vishnu. The Besnagar Pillar Inscription exists near a village two miles off from Bhilsa on G.I.P. Railway.

The name of Asoka the Great shines and shines above all in the galaxy of the emperors of his times. He not only maintained the glorious tradition of despatching embassies to foreign distant lands, but gave a strong impetus to it. His neighbours were pleased to accord hearty welcome to Indian envoys. Most important of the foreign emperors contacting their Indian contemporary were Antigonus of Mecedon, Magas of North Africa, Alexander of Epirus, Ptolemy Philandelaos of Egypt and Antiochus II of Syria. The inscriptions of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka help a lot in gathering the above information which is really of great importance. He did not even spare his beloved son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra. Both of them were deputed to work as missionaries in spreading Buddhism in Ceylon and acquaint the people with the sacred love of the Master. The injunctions of the mighty missionaries shaped the lives of the Ceylonese for centuries.

INDIA AND CHINA

China and India, the two great countries of Asia, had very cordial relations with each other. Indian missionaries and embassies went to China in large numbers and *vice versa*. A stream of "exchange of embassies" flowed unchecked from ancient times down to the 11th century A.D. when the invasion of the Muslims in India gave a rude shock to this old tradition and system of cordial relations. Chinese literature is replete with examples of a magnanimous character. The first Indian agent who landed in China illuminated the court of the Chinese Emperor Ho-Ti (89-105 A.D.). On the request of King "Wei" of China, the Magadhan emperor deputed the famous scholar Paramartha to accompany the Chinese political mission back to his country. Such intercourse was at its pitch of greatness in the palmy days of the Guptas. An Emperor of Wei Dynasty sent Sung Yun in 518 A.D. He carried

with him 170 Buddhist books from India. King Harsha of Kanouj received at his court a goodwill mission from China in the 7th century A.D. and sent one to China in return. Wang-Hieun had the chance of visiting India thrice in the same connection. Besides this, a team of travellers from China came to India to pay homage to the Master and visit the sacred places associated with Buddha's life. Prominent among them were Fahien, I-tsing, and Hiuen Tsang. In 795 A.D., King Shubhakar Dev of Orissa despatched a special mission to the court of the Chinese Emperor, just to carry with him an illustrated manuscript of the book *Gandavyuha* from his royal library.

INDIA AND ROME

In the 3rd decade of the 1st century B.C. Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar received more than one Indian embassy. According to some historians, the number of such envoys ranges to four even. One of them was accompanied by an Indian philosopher who committed suicide by burning himself in the flames at Athens. According to Nicolas of Damascus, the eye-witness, Indian embassies took four years to be at the Roman court. Since then it became a regular feature to go either way, both for commercial and political purposes. The Romans had a great liking for Indian articles of luxury. The Roman Empire had to drain into India 50 million sesterces (£1,000,000) for the purchase of Indian goods. Trajan (98-117 A.D.), Helio-gabbes (218-22 A.D.), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-61 A.D.), Aurelion (270-3 A.D.), Constantine (323-25 A.D.), Julian (361-3 A.D.) were the most prominent emperors to maintain political relations with India.

Roman coins have been found in the country in quite a large number. The recent excavations at Arkamedu (near Pondicherry) have also helped a lot to present before us a picture of close relationship of India and the Roman empire.

The marvellous paintings at Ajanta in the Hyderabad State have preserved a vivid picture of the Persian King Khusru's envoy being received in the court of Pulakesin—the great Chalukya Emperor of India. According to Tabari, the Arabic historian, the Persian Emperor too did not fail to invite and welcome an Indian embassy at his court.

In the above manner, Eastern Hindu colonies in the Pacific Ocean, i.e., Sumatra, Java, etc., could not escape the mighty influence of Indian contacts. King Devapal-Dev of Bengal hailed the ambassador from Balputra Dev, King of Sumatra. The foreign agent in India made a gift of 5 villages to the Nalanda University.

It was with the beginning of Muslim rule in India that India stopped the vast system of sending envoys abroad. India is a free country now. It must develop the time-honoured old traditions of exchanging political embassies with other countries of the world. The world is fast progressing and Free India too must make her way out, only to reach the pinnacle of glory. A glance at her past must give her a stimulus and strong determination to come forth as one of the leading countries of the world. The ancient intricate system of embassies will go a long way to win international name and honour for our motherland.

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DOLLS AND IDOLS

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

In all ages and countries the major forms of sculpture have grown from the earlier, the primitive and the minor forms of the Plastic Art. The colossal statues and the elaborate forms of monumental stones have their first beginnings in the insignificant forms of toys, dolls and miniature figurines of early times. The primitive potter was the teacher of the sculptor and the image-maker. The seed of the Venus de Milo can be traced in the clay figurines of Tanagra. The mediaeval masterpieces of Indian sculpture, such as the Trimurti of Elephanta or the ten colossal reliefs of the Dasavatara Caves at Elura, have developed from the Sunga, Mayurian, and Pre-Mayurian tiny terracottas and clay figurines, the old popular vernacular folk-art of non-Aryan and aboriginal cultures.

Just as the Greek masterpieces of later times developed from the practice of dedicating terracotta figures in temples and shrines, the Indian master sculptures likewise developed from the dolls and cult-figurines worshipped by the primitive and aboriginal tribes of India, going back to pre-historic times. Our boys and babies like to play with and pay their devotions to little toys

and figurines, shaped into the forms of all kinds of animals and human beings. In the baby-days of primitive civilization, the favourite pastime of the grown-up men and women was to play with terracotta figures of gods and spirits, the symbols of super-human forces which answered to the prayers of the primitive man and bestowed boons in the forms of rains to feed the crop or sons to barren women, or charms to chide away illness. Before the Vedic gods filled the temples and shrines of Pauranik times, the primitive non-Vedic gods, the Yakshas and Yakshinis, in the forms of pretty clay-toys and figurines bestowed boons in answer to the prayers of the simple primitive aboriginals of India. And in course of time these clay figurines, still surviving as *grama-devatas* or village deities at the foot of the banyan tree, developed into guardian spirits of every city in Northern India. This is proved by the prophecy of the Buddha when he left Pataliputra after giving the advice that so long as the shrines of the Yakshas will be honoured, the citizens of Pataliputra will prosper and progress.

In an ancient text, we have the names and localities of the Guardian-spirit or Yaksha-protector for each big

city. Thus we are told that Krakucchanda was the protector of Pataliputra and Vajrapani that of Rajagriha or Rajgir (*Krakucchanda Pataliputre . . . Vajrapani Rajagrihe*). And most of these protective divinities grew from earlier and primitive figurines of clay, worshipped by the villagers from remote antiquity. Thus the great colossal stone-image of a Yaksha from Mathura about nine feet in height, the oldest surviving specimen of Indian sculpture, developed from small figurines of the primitive village gods, the tiny toys with which the adult men and women played in the baby days of their early beliefs. And many of these tiny statuettes of early times crept into our orthodox temples of later times, sharing the worship and devotion offered to the major gods of the Pauranic pantheon. Similar things happened in Greece and Italy. Thus a Roman poet sings :

"This little toy was mighty Brutus' pet,
Great its renown, though small the statuette."

Similar is the story of the development of the major forms of Indian sculpture from small statuettes, primitive cult-figurines, dolls and toys. The stories are very well-known of the Thirty-two Dolls decorating the divine throne of Vikramaditya, immortalized in the *Dvatringshat Puttalika* of Kalidasa. The early Jaina and Buddhist temples at Mathura were decorated with large figures carved on pillars, which are descendants of the figures of Yakshinis on the gateways of Sanchi, dating from the first century B.C. They are referred to in our Sanskrit and vernacular literature as *Stambha-puttalikas* or pillar-dolls, still carrying the memory of their origin from primitive dolls and figurines of folk-art of pre-historic antiquity.

Clay was the cheap and easily manipulated material for folk-art, but in India, bronze, ivory and stone have also furnished materials for folk-art. Thus we have references in our early literature to *danta-puttalika* (ivory doll), *loha-puttalika* (metal doll) and *silaputtalika* (stone doll).

Thus one of the earliest ivory Indian statuettes, a beautiful doll, datable in the first century A.D. has come from the ancient Italian city of Pompeii, having been carried from India by Roman traders. Likewise the very earliest representation of a Vedic goddess, an Earth-Spirit (*Prithwi-Devi*), is a miniature figurine, a tiny toy carved on a gold leaf, only one inch long, dug up from a Vedic funeral mound at Lauriya Nandangad in Bihar.

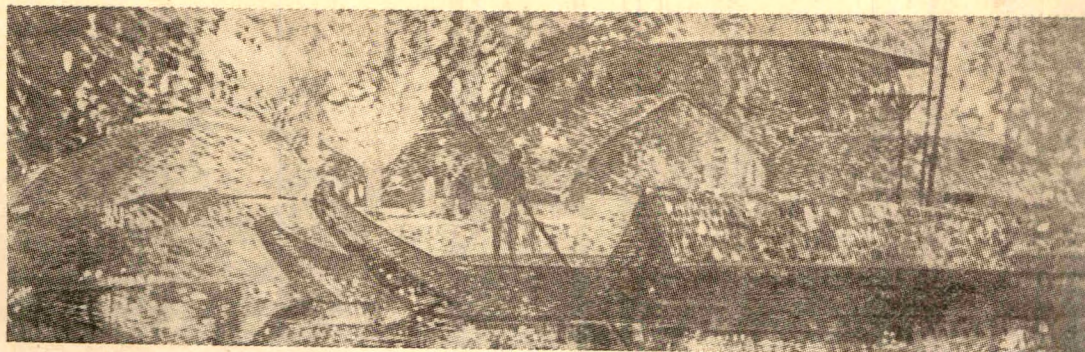
But the story of the terracotta toys or figurines of early primitive Indian sculpture has a continuous history which can be followed from the time of the Indus Valley civilization at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, dating from 2500 years before Christ, right up to modern times, in the clay figurines of Krishnanagar and of Kalighat.

Roughly speaking, the dolls and figurines fall into two broad divisions—religious and secular. The playthings for the grown-up man are his figurines and fetishes for cult-worship, while the playthings for the children, the real dolls, are for secular uses, for the entertainment and education of the junior man. So that

Art in life has functioned in two distinct uses and divergent channels—dolls for worship and dolls for play. In early times both types have been fashioned in tiny sizes and in the same identical material of baked or unbaked clay. In course of time, the dolls for prayers grew up in sizes and have been placed inside big temples while the dolls for play kept to their original tiny sizes until modern times when dolls have also been fashioned in life-sizes to imitate the forms of the living child in a spirit of imitative realism, the earliest life-size dolls having been first made in China. In India, *puttalikas* or *putuliyas* have sometimes been designed in large sizes, nor for uses as playthings for the children, but for the decoration of furniture or the ornamentation of architecture. The best example of the latter are the large dolls of Yakshini figures on the gateways of Sanchi, and the typical example of the former is the divine throne of Vikramaditya with 32 dolls, described by Kalidasa.

Between the two comes another class of dolls, the dolls for dramatic uses, the dolls for puppet-plays. The *putula-natch*—the marionette-show—has flourished in the North as well as in the South from very early times, for the entertainment and education of the grown-up man in the forms of living presentations of the stories of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, still practised in a degenerate form in our village fairs and festivals. But the history of dolls as playthings for children goes back to five thousand years. The earliest surviving doll is a pottery toy of an animal with a movable head and a 'monkey nursing a baby' dug up at Mohenjo-Daro. The history of Indian toys can be traced continuously in the references in our old literature. In Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, we have a picturesque reference to a painted clay-doll of a peacock, and in the drama of the *Clay-Cart* of Sudraka, we have references to a clay-cart toy, which gives the name to the drama. Indeed, Indians have throughout the centuries carried on a brisk trade in making and selling toys and dolls of great beauty of design and execution, still surviving in our village *melas*. Different regions and areas have produced different types of toys of distinctive local charm and character. Benares has been long famous for its painted wooden and shining brass toys. Lucknow, from Moghul times, has been the centre of producing popular clay figurines, sometimes rivalled by the dolls of Krishnanagar. In the South Orissa has been famous for modern soap-stone toys. Bellary still produces painted toys of great beauty while the wooden toys of Madura and the ivory toys of Travancore and Mysore are attractive in their quaint types and primitive charm. There has been a tendency in modern times to take away dolls and toys from their legitimate uses in the nurseries and to store and exhibit them as curious in our glass cabinets, exciting the jealousy of greedy eyes of our children anxious to handle them, but cruelly kept away from their doll-smashing, iconoclastic grasps.*

* By the courtesy of the All-India Radio.



Along the Canal

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

SUSHIL MUKHERJEE has just completed thirty ; you do not need to refer to any record to prove it ; it is written clearly in his face which burns with youth ; in his eyes there is a young twinkle which happens every few seconds, the glint of which is derived from the glow source of a newly-stirring vision, a freshly-awakening dream of life which, in spite of the world's obvious wretchedness and depravity, yet holds out for him a grace and beauty destined at some future date to triumph over it all, a date which he believes he is young enough to grow up to see.

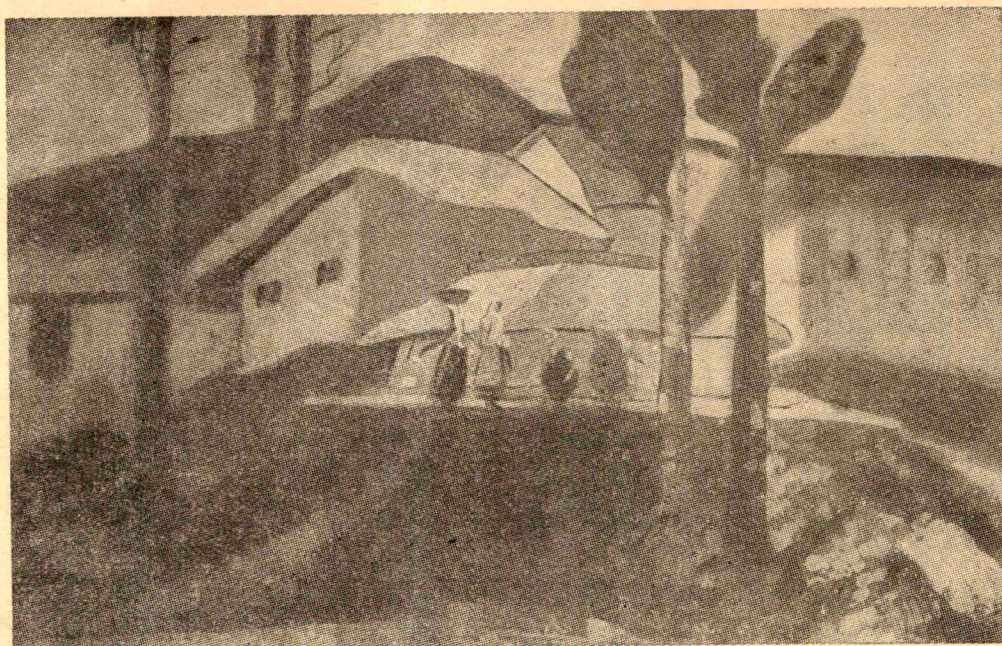
You cannot call Sushil just a Bengali artist, he does not, somehow, seem to fit into such a narrow description ; although he has had contact with purists of the Bengal School and has great admiration for some of them, especially for his Gurus Deviprasad and Nandalal Bose, he has yet escaped their influence and forged for himself a style which flows into many styles and gives one the impression that, despite some remarkable achievements on paper and canvas, he is still straining every nerve to arrive at a point where he may himself become a new and authentic school, a sort of strong tree spreading many-hued flowers of derived spiritual values from the entire world against a single ample luminous heaven of immortality which has served as background for the world's finest artists . . . yet, the tree is deeply rooted in Bengal, in India, one can see that, one knows it instinctively when one sees Sushil's work. I suspect that, in his deepest heart, Sushil must be lapsing in moments into a vision of himself as he might have been in some past birth, the echoes of which personality still resound about his ears and wing his imagination into

realms with which he used to be familiar once, long ago beyond the boundary-line of this birth, Sushil



Mother

definitely believes in past births ; and I am sure if you ask him whether he remembers anything about



A village in Gwalior

the birth previous to this one, he will tell you that he feels at times that he might have been a French artist: at any rate a continental painter. More than anybody's work he loves that of Van Gogh; no, it is not the right word: perhaps, for the first time the word love sounds too poor and unworthy: for Van Gogh he feels a soul-rending madness amounting to pure worship as at the altars of a god among gods. You ought to watch him while he talks about Van Gogh! How his voice cracks like a fruit into juices wildly drunk with their own sweetness! You should notice how his eyes take on a far-away light which seems to bear you yourself for a moment into the dark backward of time—possibly Sushil had known Van Gogh personally—judging from the intimate way in which he mentions that great artist's name and rattles off details relating to his masterpieces.

Sushil's one desire, and more than just mere desire, is to collect a little money won out of his own work and then go out of this country and live for a couple of years in the "Latin Quarter." France calls him; the Continent invites him teasingly, especially whenever he turns the pages over of any volume of paintings reproduced from the mighty European masters. Indeed, on closer scrutiny, Sushil seems to be somewhat of a misfit in our own country; you can see that from the way he moves, talks, walks, dresses; a true Continental. Even the crease of his trousers and the exquisite, perfectly European cut of his coat (which has absolutely nothing to do with British style) obviously betray the Continental in Sushil. He

cannot help it; nor can many of us who are also misfits here. It is nobody's fault if we are not narrowly national: friends, you, who are in love with your own country to the exclusion of other countries, you who believe in driving out "foreign" culture, etc., etc., forgive us for our crime of being international!

Sushil is not at the stage now where he may be said to be finding himself: he has found himself already, yes, at a raw age he has become ripe; that is because he has from a very early age striven with earnestness and devotion to find a meaning of his true self through colour and form and composition; he has suffered and paid for the quest and the discovery of beauty with anguish of heart and even physical suffering. He has not trod the path of roses from the starting of the journey; nor does he tread it now. Indeed, he is not bothered, I believe, even should the path be of thorns all the way through to the end. It makes little difference to him. If his feet bleed Sushil is, I am sure, artist enough to breathe with joy: "Lord, how beautiful is the colour of blood red—red, something like the red used by Van Gogh." Besides, to a true artist a thorn is welcome, if he were to choose between a bare road drab and uninteresting, and a road of thorns: after all, a thorn is at least proof of some secret Rose somewhere.

I want you to see the red tints in Sushil's paintings: they are not just colour, they tremble on the verge of warm inward experience. In "The Haunted House", the arch is red under which broods a strange owl which seems to stain that arch with its own

ominous thinkings veiled behind its staring eyes : it is a picture of the marriage of warm pigments. Indeed, it is not merely a haunted house but a haunted picture. Uncanny silence everywhere; silence deepening into a listening stillness with ears pricked and waiting to hear perhaps a whisper, a footfall, a wail, a sigh, a moan—nay, itself. You are taken back to Poe's "Raven," only while the poet's description is in sombre greys and funeral gloom-blacks, Sushil's is more daring: for he has depicted the heavy and oppressive shades of death and given us a chapter from the underworld in bold tints and harmonies which do not apologise weakly for intellectual understanding; they rush into you with strong appeal before you know it. Then again we have the "Thief," the study of a cat-centring foliage: a fine composition revealing a sure hand and a surer vision of its psychic life; for a cat is supposed to be the most psychical creature in the world, you see that plainly in its eyes which flow from shade to shade of emerald curdling into a mysterious haze. There are hundreds of studies which convince us that Sushil is one of our most significant men, one of the immortals: at any rate, it is my opinion and I stand by it in spite of the contradiction of adverse critics who might delight in tearing him into bits.

Sushil is not only a master in colour schemes but in black and white drawing: a firm hand which knows intuitively how much to draw, for true intuition claims an economy which does not burden itself with useless ornamentation and exuberance which becomes top-heavy: it has a reserve of judgment, a careful selection. In this Sushil has certainly done significant work in style and content to India. If an album of his sketches were to be published, it would, I say without hesitation, take its place among the rarest albums of the world's sketches: modernistic, daring, untrembling; you derive encouragement from them and grow strong yourself. Topolski, the young Polish artist, has enriched his imagination and opened out a new vista before him: a vista of style and manner which Sushil is now busy pursuing. But he will not

be satisfied with mere imitation. It is sure to lead him to a new self-discovery.



Sunshine Bridge

Sushil has other lovable sides to his personality and nature and genius than merely his painting and drawing: he plays the flute, and plays it with feeling. While listening to its sounds you listen to the heart of Bengal, bleeding, hurt, weary. He does not like to play on brass flutes; no Bengali flutist does: he plays on a bamboo-flute which in Bengal is known as *bansher banshi*. It wails, it tears the heart with notes that seem drawn from the romance of Radha and Krishna, it brings Brindaban before your eyes, it takes the mind back across centuries out of a world of mechanical living, motor cars, aeroplanes and radios. A bamboo flute is a magician's wand, for it

touches and transforms the listener's soul into the deeply rich simplicity of the Spirit which widens

India is unfortunate for she seems not to be able to see her great souls; there are hundreds perishing for want of appreciation, literally hundreds in every corner of her various provinces. The Government of the country hardly takes any notice of the artists and writers who, as far as they are concerned, seem to come under the category of mere entertainers who do not mean much to the actual political and moral structure of the country. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue; nay, it cannot continue. The world today is in a melting pot. Crisis upon crisis from every side is threatening every country. Reaction is fighting tooth and nail to oust the progressive elements wherever they wake up, wherever they raise their heads. And the weapons Reaction has are of steel and poisonous gas: the forces of Progress only have a new vision, a large hunger for world liberation, an undaunted truthfulness as theirs. The fight is going on: all over the world artists and writers are inevitably aligning themselves to the forces of progress: naturally, for Reaction is another name for death. Sushil is not lagging behind. He is already busy on pictures depicting



The Artist at work

about one while listening into a horizon of great depth and peace. Sushil's music, when he is in form, stirs one like his painting. It is almost the same effect, for being the painter he is, he cannot help drawing pictures in sound which lends a peculiar content to what he plays.

the problems of human existence, the tragedies of his people, the groans of men and the sobs of women and children. Such an artist is indeed a propagandist, not in the cheap sense of a class-propagandist, but a propagandist for Beauty which he burns to share alike with all, joyously, unselfishly.



The Ferry

OUR NATIONAL LIBRARY

By S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., T.D., DIP. LIB.

THIS summer I travelled from Bombay to Calcutta and utilised the Research Room of our National Library at Esplanade for nearly a month. For the facilities obtained there, my thanks are due to the Chief Librarian, the Special Officer and the Superintendent of the National Library.

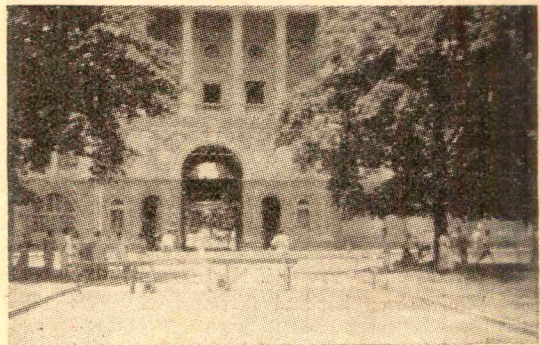
Our National Library is in the making though it is nearly half a century old and contains, at present, round about six lakhs of books or so. Credit goes to free India that she lost no time in getting the change-over of the biggest library of India from its old name of 'The Imperial Library' to that of 'The National Library'. "What's in a name?" was the audacious remark of the greatest English writer. But we Indians, perhaps, believe more in name than others. Who does not know that name (नाम) and person (नामो) are inseparable in Indian Scriptures? Again do we not find much of our national energy being spent over the controversy of the change of names from Benares to Banaras, from Cawnpore to Kanpur, Kathiawad to Saurashtra and so on. Yet, a little delay in the transformation of this name, till the attainment of the new shape that it aspires to achieve, would have been a wise policy for the simple fact that the present condition of our National Library can hardly add any glory to the name of our nation. When we look to the national libraries of the Western countries which we try to emulate in all our worth-speaking efforts, our head hangs in shame observing that in the sub-continent of India there is not a single up-to-date open-access free Public Library from where any Indian can quench the thirst for knowledge. I gathered that even the future arrangement in our National Library will be a closed one and not open-access.

ITS HISTORY

From the small pamphlet printed at the Government Printing, Calcutta, in 1905 under the title *Imperial Library, Hints to Readers*, I gathered the following information :

"The present Imperial Library was founded by the amalgamation in 1902 of the Calcutta Public Library with the then Imperial, which itself had been formed in 1891 by combining a number of Departmental Libraries. Of the latter the most important and interesting was that of the Home Department, which contained many books formerly kept in the Library of the East India College, Fort William, and in the Library of the East India Board in London. The Calcutta Public Library contained a large quantity of books and pamphlets on Indian subjects, many of which, especially those printed in India, are extremely rare. The Library now contains most of the important books in English dealing with India including a few of the rare early editions together with the more recent books in French and German and other European languages. . . . The Library also possesses a collection of works on general subjects specially Economics, History and Travel. It is particularly weak in Science and Law except in so far as these are connected with India."

According to the *List of the More Important Libraries in India*, printed under G.I.C.P.O. — No. 218 H.D. in 1907, the Imperial Library was then situated in the Metcalfe Hall, 12, Strand Road and contained 90,000 volumes—the expenditure on the books only being Rs. 10,000. The *Bengal Library Directory* published by the Bengal Library Association, Calcutta in 1942 shows that the total stock of volumes in the Imperial Library had then reached the figure 3,40,000 of which 950 were MSS. and 3,39,050 printed books. The amount spent annually for books and periodicals was Rs. 9,500. Total issue numbered 52,856. In the *Directory of Indian Libraries* published by the Indian Library Association,



Entrance to the old premises of the National Library

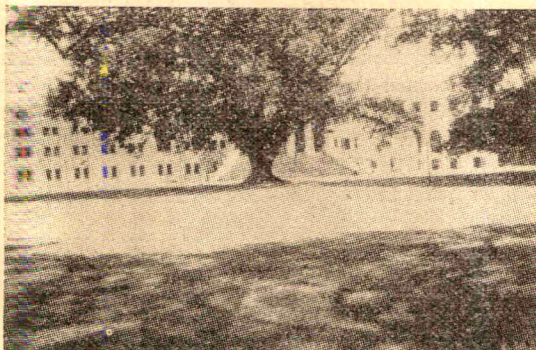
Calcutta in 1944 (and that is the latest issue that one can find in 1949!) one could note that the year under review showed 3,90,449 volumes in the Imperial Library. Of these 1449 were MSS. and 3,89,000 printed books. Total expenditure on books and periodicals was Rs. 10,000. The number of periodicals taken was 349 and that of newspapers 20. Total issue was 56,548 and the number of borrowers 1400. The latest figures available, as against the above, are : Stock total 4,11,906 of which 1449 are MSS and 4,10,457 printed books, total expenditure on books and periodicals Rs. 7,000, number of periodicals and newspapers 411, borrowers 3,232, total issue 34,542, loan 14,291.

This is the story, in short, of the birth and growth of our National Library during a period of 47 years. It will be very easily noticed that with the advancement of years money spent on books has not been increased proportionately though the prices of the books have become double or treble. The inevitable consequences are the paucity of useful and costly modern publications.

ITS REPORTS

Whereas, during the World War II, Libraries of the West continued to expand and planned for future deve-

lopment, the Imperial Library in Calcutta went into hibernation from which it has started waking at a snail's pace under our National Government. This can be very clearly proved from the Annual Reports of the Imperial Library. When I asked for the latest copy of the Annual Report, I could get only of 1939-40 *i.e.*, nearly a decade old. I had very good reasons to doubt about any substantial addition and improvement being done to the biggest Library of India for the whole period of the Second World War.



Palace at Belvedere—the new premises of our National Library

In the *Report on the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta for the Year 1939-40*, published at the Government of India Press, 1941 we read :

"Only seven hundred fifty-one volumes could be shelf-listed during the year under report, for which 224 cards were prepared. As the work of compiling the list is taken up only when time permits or a member of the staff can be spared for it, the progress during this year has been rather slow. The total to-date of the volumes shelf-listed comes to 168,835 volumes and the total cards written to 80,671."

From the above quotation it will be clear that hardly a month's work of any big and important library was done in the whole year of 1939-40. Also remember that the total number of books in 1939-40 was nearly 4 lakhs out of which only 80,671 books were checked and cards written. Can we not ask why were not special hands employed to bring the work up-to-date? Has our National Government noted this sorry state of affairs of our National Library? Have sufficient hands been engaged to complete the checking-up work and writing down of cards up-to-date? I did not happen to see anything like that, for, the printed catalogues of the library are, at present, available only up to 1943 *i.e.*, six years behind and the card catalogues are also incomplete. Such a step-motherly attention will never be able to enhance the name and fame of our National Library.

HOW IT SERVES

The old rules of the Imperial Library and the new ones of the National Library tell us of the following services rendered by this library : (1) There are three Reading Rooms attached to the Imperial Library : (a) the General Reading Room, (b) the Private Reading

Room, and (c) the Ladies' Reading Room. The Private Reading Room is intended for the use of those engaged in systematic Research work, and seats are allotted therein on application to the Librarian, subject to rules made for the purpose. The Ladies' Reading Room is meant for the exclusive use of ladies not desiring to sit in either of the two other Reading Rooms. (2) The Lending Section will be opened on all working days from 10 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. and from 9-30 a.m. to 1-30 p.m. on all gazetted holidays, excepting Sundays, etc. (3) Books will be lent free of any fee or subscription to members of the public residing in any part of India on their depositing as security a sum of money enough to cover the value of books lent or even a higher amount, if the nature of the book lent so demands.....(4) Recognised institutions may at the discretion of the Librarian borrow books on executing a security bond, instead of making a cash deposit. (5) Admission to the Reading Rooms is free to all persons not less than 18 years of age, and holding Reading Room Tickets. (6) Tickets are issued on applying to the Librarian on the prescribed form and on producing suitable references. In the case of students, recommendations of the Principals or Professors of their Colleges will be required. (7) Books lent may be kept for a period of one month, which period may be extended at the Librarian's discretion; ... (8) The cost of the carriage of books from and to Calcutta shall be borne by the borrower.

WHAT IT NEGLECTS

By one, acquainted with the Library Science and the conditions of other big libraries inside and outside India, the following defects will be observed in our National Library as it exists to-day. (1) The present site of the National Library is a building which besides the Library also contains the offices of the Ordnance Department, Civil Supplies Department, etc. This minimises the dignity of the largest library of India. Let it not happen in the new site selected. (2) The library working hours are very short and school-like. It should be kept open up to 7 p.m. instead of 4-30 p.m. (3) Printed and Card Catalogues are not up-to-date lagging hopelessly behind. (4) Title Catalogues do not exist at all. (5) Light arrangement is insufficient and ante-dated. (6) Collection of English Literature is poor—particularly the recent publications being absent. (7) Our National Library is not a copyright library which it should try to be without any more delay. (8) Space provided to the Research workers is very small and not properly secluded. (9) The General Reading Room is also overcrowded. (10) Our National Library is not an open-access library. Only the Reference Section is open. (11) The Urinal and the Lavatory are kept in a very deplorable condition. (12) Indian National Library lacks arrangement for drinking water (specially during the hot season) and a Canteen, the needs of which are very keenly felt by the readers of long hours. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Library has, probably, made history in the annals of Indian Libraries by opening a neat and clean Canteen for the use of its members. Let this point be particularly borne in mind by the administrators of our

National Library in its new site which is situated in an out-of-the-way part of the city of Calcutta—I mean the Belvedere.

WHAT IT ASPIRES

On 29th January, 1949 I read the following report of the U.P.I. in *The Times of India*, Bombay:

"The magnificent palace at Belvedere, hitherto set apart for the use of the Viceroys during their annual visits to Calcutta will from May next be utilised for accommodating the National Library, which is the new name for the Imperial Library. Efforts are now being made to make the institution a copyright library. It is stated that legislation will be enacted entitling the library to receive a copy of every work published in India. Facilities will be assured by the library to post-graduate students from all over India."

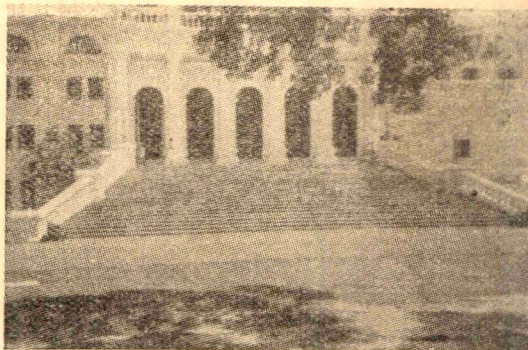
This led me to pay a visit to the Belvedere palace in May 1949 where I was shown round by its Superintendent-in-charge, who deserves my heartiest thanks for the troubles taken by him for me who had been to him without any sort of introduction letter. Here I saw thousands of volumes already transferred from the old premises of Chowringhee waiting to be shelved in the most modern type of Rolling Stacks of steel. The interesting part of the collection heaped in the different rooms is the Personal Library of late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji of nearly 80,000 volumes presented to our National Repository of books. Here I also found the Automatic Vacuum Cleaner being used to dust the books transferred. The long Dancing Hall will be used as the General Reading room and the balcony above it for Research Scholars—each having a Carrel. The interior of the palace is being remodelled and re-fitted to suit the requirements of a modern library. But I doubt the capacity of this building for a growth equal to that of the State Libraries of U.S.S.R., France, or America. I was also told that our National Library aspires to provide boarding and lodging (certainly not free?) facilities to the Research Scholars coming from out-station. The Reading Room will be sound-proof and the whole building is situated in a big compound-cum-garden of a solitary part of South Calcutta. The only defect of the new site is that it is not centrally located and one should not be surprised if the number of daily visitors falls down considerably.

While slowly and patiently, in the characteristic Indian fashion, our National Library finds full strength in its new abode we should not forget what C. Nagappa wrote in his *Library Arrangements and Organizations in India* in 1918 about our Public Libraries:

"These in India, except Baroda, are only in the second stage of their evolution. That is, they are to a large extent subscription libraries which lend out books for home reading only to persons who pay varying rates of fees or who deposit a heavy sum of money against the loan of books while readers on the spot are allowed free."

Even after 31 years there is no reason to change the above statement. Neither should we allow to go

unheeded what the doyen of Indian Librarians, Dr. Ranganathan, says in his *Suggestions for the Organization of Libraries in India*:



Steps leading to the Neorient National Library

"At the top of the hierarchy of the National Library system there must be a National Central Library with its headquarters at the seat of the Federal Government. It will do liaison work between the provincial central libraries and arrange for loans between them. It will buy and supply books too costly and too rarely used for any of the provincial central libraries to own. In exceptional cases it will borrow from foreign countries through their National Central Libraries materials unobtainable at home. It will reciprocally lend to foreign countries. In this way it will incidentally serve the development of an 'international mind'."

Nor should we turn a deaf ear to the following lines that one reads in the *British Sources of Reference and Information*, published for the British Council by Aslib, 1947:

"One of the most important sources of bibliographical information in the British Isles is the National Central Library founded in 1916.....The National Central Library is the national centre for the loan of books to readers in all parts of the British Isles, through their public, University, or other library. It has also an international lending service, through which books are lent to and borrowed from foreign libraries. In addition to the books on its shelves, the library is able to draw on those in nearly all British Libraries."

Lastly, whatever height our National Library may attain in future we should always remember that that will be no new achievement as ancient India had at Nalanda three grand buildings for great libraries one of which was a nine-storied building and that Huen Tsang carried home 650 manuscripts from there. Also, in 1934, Russia had 67,286 libraries with altogether 270,869,660 volumes. When does our country hope to reach even half of these figures?

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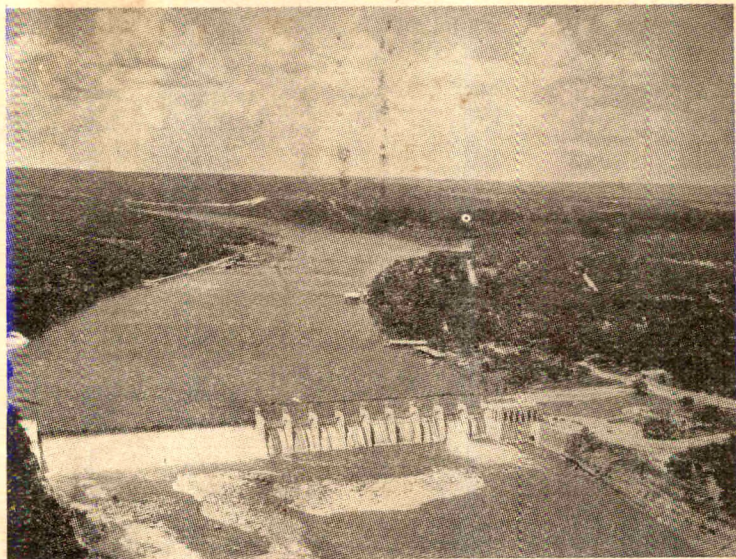
AN AMERICAN CONSERVATION PROJECT

By JOHN McCULLY

The new soil conservation program of the Lower Colorado River Authority is bringing immediate benefits to hundreds of American farmers in that part of the Valley of the Colorado River which is located in

Silting would, in not too many years, fill those lakes. So, in 1948, the LCRA launched a program for getting a conservation job done in the Lower Colorado River Valley. Behind their ability to do so, there still is a background of funds from the Federal Government which helped build the dams, just as there is still the assistance of Federal agencies. But the active agent now is a State agency instead of a Federal one.

In each country it is up to a local council of farmers and ranchers to plan the operations and supervise the work. In one county in the hill country, the council is concerned with the task of routing the motor grader and terracing machinery for building the terraces which will prevent the silt from being carried into the lakes. In a county to the south a dragline dredge is at work cleaning out tanks which have filled with silt through the years. Many farmers cannot own all the equipment they need for conservation, such as a fertilizer distributor. So they use the LCRA's



Austin Dam, one of the four dams of the Lower Colorado River Authority, is primarily a power-producing facility

the south-western State of Texas. In the ten countries of the LCRA district along the Colorado River, heavy power equipment is going from farm to farm, doing the tasks that need to be done to make soil conservation a reality.

The LCRA was created in 1935 by the Texas State Legislature. It was empowered to build dams, sell electric power, and spend its money on soil conservation and flood control. Four big dams have impounded the Colorado River. Power from those dams, distributed through co-operatives financed by the U. S. Rural Electrification Administration, make the surrounding area one of the best electrified sections in the country.

The water below the dams is almost clear now. The silt is caught in the four lakes created by the dams. The LCRA board of directors, nine men from the district appointed by the Governor of the State of Texas, was beginning to realize that its soil conservation powers were not put into the law by accident.



Mansfield Dam, the key structure of Lower Colorado River Authority's chain, is located 18 miles from Austin in the State of Texas

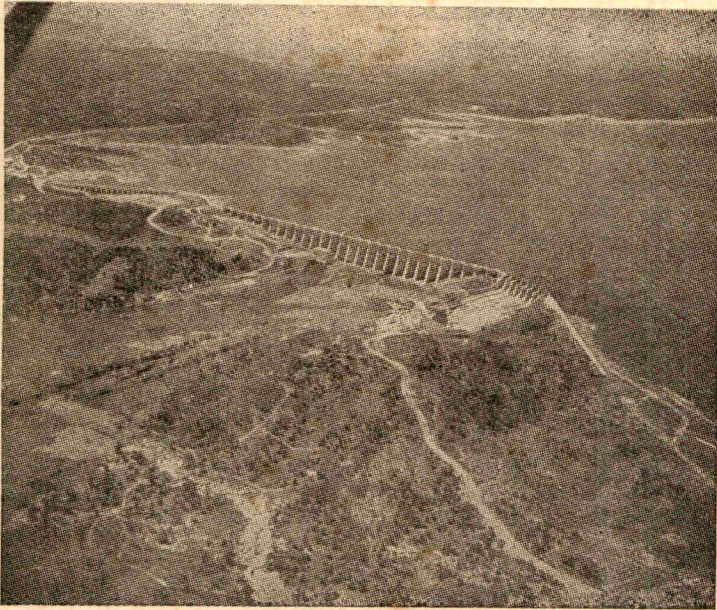
distributor. Each county in the district has three distributors, but that is not nearly enough to go around. And that is the point. The LCRA does not intend to supply all the equipment the 17,639 farmers in the district need for perfect conservation. Officials

hope that demand for such items as the fertilizer distributor, cattle sprayer, cultipacker, and small terracing equipment will become so heavy that the farmers will get together and buy some of their own.

It receives no State or Federal appropriations, nor any taxes, either direct or in remissions. Its profits come from electric power, its power from four dams on the

Colorado River. The first of those dams, Buchanan, was completed in 1937. Then came Roy Inks, Mansfield (the world's fourth largest), and Austin Dams. Altogether they impound 3,000,000 acre-feet of water and generate 116,000 kilowatts of electric power. Four more dams are being planned.

Lower Colorado River Authority power is distributed through private utilities, REA (Rural Electrification Administration) co-operatives and municipalities, all of which buy wholesale from the LCRA. As a result of the huge supply of cheap hydro-electric power, the area served by the Authority today is one of the best lighted in the world. The LCRA's profits are plowed back into a district-wide soil-building program. In each county farmers have organized a County Farm and Ranch Improvement Council, to which the LCRA issued its newly acquired equip-



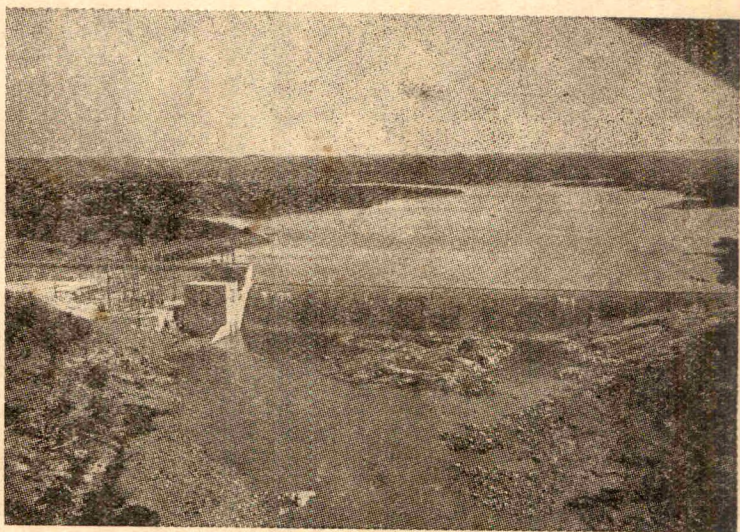
Buchanan Dam, in the State of Texas, 62 miles from the city of Austin, is slightly more than 2 miles long and nearly 150 feet high

Some will make individual purchases; others will make purchases on a co-operative basis. The LCRA does not care, just so long as the work is done.

The other primary aim of the LCRA is to get farmers and ranchers to use the various Government agricultural programs to the fullest.

The U. S. Soil Conservation Service, the Production and Marketing Administration, county agricultural agents, vocational agriculture teachers, Farmers' Home Administration workers, and any other group interested in agricultural improvement are all part of the plan. The LCRA calls on them; they, in turn, work with that organization and seek its help.

Lower Colorado River Authority officials knew they were getting into a crowded field of Government agencies engaged in soil conservation work. But they knew, too, that their organization had one thing which no other agency had—money for buying equipment. That money comes from the profits which the LCRA



Roy Inks Dam, smallest of Lower Colorado River Authority's chain, is 3 miles below Buchanan Dam in the State of Texas

ment to do with as they saw fit. The councils work closely with the various Government agencies. As council members see it, they are not supplanting any existing agency, but are doing something no other agency can do—furnishing equipment.

"We are in this conservation business to get the job done and not to help any single agency," the director of LCRA has declared. "We want to supplement the work of all agricultural agencies and supplant none of them. And we want our services to be available to all farmers and ranchers who want them."

So far the LCRA has purchased five motor graders, one manure spreader with tractor, 10 engine power sprayers, 30 commercial fertilizer spreaders, 24 rotary scrapers, 4 whirlwind terracers, 4 husky terracers, 24 grain drills with grass seeder and fertilizer attachments, and 5 cultipackers. One earth-moving machine is being tried out experimentally on brush-clearing. But its main use is for building spreader dams.

Most of the State of Texas is covered with one

or another of the river districts set up by the State Legislature. The Colorado River alone has three authorities: Lower, Middle, and Upper. Across the State there are others: the San Jacinto, the Brazos, the Neches, the Trinity, the Sabine Rivers. Some already have part of their dams built; most still have dams under consideration. In the years to come, as more dams are built, those other authorities and districts will be able to broaden their programs. When they do, the Lower Colorado River Authority believes it will have established a pattern, a pattern of helping farmers and ranchers to take advantage of the opportunities and assistance offered by Government agencies to individuals of industry and initiative.—From *The Progressive Farmer*.

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A RARE PICTURE OF THE UNIVERSAL FORM OF GOD

According to the Gita

By SUDHA BOSE, M.A.

THE Gita is today the gospel of the Indian Revival, for its eighteen chapters are the expression of an

overwhelming national vitality. The nature of all faiths, the relation of all worshippers to worship and worshipper, the dependence of knowledge on non-attachment under all its forms: it is with problems like these, and not with any particular *credo* that the Gita concerns itself. It is at once therefore the smallest and the most comprehensive of the scriptures of the world.

As thought and perception, life and motion, the sun and the planets are all but different manifestations of a something that we call solar energy, so God itself, and the universe are now known to be only distinctions made by sense in that one Transcendental Being (Brahman), "the immortal and immutable, the eternal substance, and the unfailing Bliss."

An account of such a vision gives us the culminating chapter of the Gita. Krishna suddenly bursts forth on the sight of his astonished worshipper as the Universal Form, in Whom all that exists is one. Characteristically Indian in expression, full of the blaze and terror of the cosmos, this great scene can only perhaps be thoroughly appreciated by a Western mind if it has first understood something of the craving it fulfils, caught some flash maybe of the radiance it describes. Yet if the rest of the Gita had perished, this one chapter might take its place, for it makes all its logic actual. Arjuna's single sight



Visva-rupa or The Universal Form of God

becomes the sacrament of a whole world's hope. Kurukshetra was the place of the great Vision, the field of Divine Illumination of Arjuna.

This Beatific Vision has been skilfully delineated by the brush of an Indian artist—a rare picture of a rare subject, hardly attempted by any artist.

There can be no better annotations on the miniature (12 inches by 8 inches) but the three verses of Chapter XI, very accurately rendered by Sir S. Radhakrishnan :

"Arjuna said : In Thy body, O God, I see all the
—:O:—

gods and the varied hosts of beings as well, Brahma, the lord seated on the lotus throne and all the sages and heavenly nagas. (15)

"I behold Thee, infinite in form on all sides, with numberless arms, bellies, faces and eyes, but I see not Thy end or Thy middle, or Thy beginning, O Lord of the Universe, O Form Universal ! (16)

"I behold Thee with Thy crown, mace and discus, glowing everywhere as a mass of light, hard to discern (dazzling) on all sides with the radiance of the flaming fire and sun, incomparable." (17)

JOHN KEATS

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"

THIS is probably the most famous line John Keats ever wrote, and it might be taken as the key-note of his work. We do not go to Keats for a philosophy of life or a new vision of nature. In his work we do not expect to be swept along by the swift rhythms of narrative verse, or to be enthralled by the poetry of dramatic action. We go to Keats for pure beauty. He has been described as the master goldsmith of the English language among poets since the time of Milton; and his work had a strong influence upon many poets of the later nineteenth century. What we must never forget, in a consideration of his life and poetry, is that John Keats died at the age of 26; and for most of his short working-life his body was torn with sickness.

Like almost all important poets who have died young, his work has been the subject of much controversy. There is always one fascinating but not very profitable topic—the problem of how great Keats might have been if he had lived. Moreover, the most profound experience of his life was his absorbing love for a girl five years younger than himself, and scholars hold very differing views about the influence of this love affair upon his work. Some say that his engulfing passion for Fanny Brawne was the source of so much mental distress that it impeded the flow of his poetry. Others declare that his love for her was his chief fountain of inspiration and added richness to his work. That Miss Brawne had beauty and elegance we know; but Keats himself was aware that she was, in his own words, a "silly fashionable minx," quite unworthy of him—and certainly incapable of appreciating

the poetry he was writing. His passionate and jealous nature did not tend to make the path of his love very smooth, and his letters to her (which have been published) reveal the swift alterations in his moods, from the deepest



John Keats

travail of spirit to high exultation. That his fiery love did influence his work during the final and most important period of his life is undeniable; it was his first and only love affair, and it quickened him to the very core of his being.

Keats published his first volume of verse, called quite simply *Poems*, soon after he was 21. He had been studying medicine, but he gave up all thought of medical practice to write poetry, although his means were scanty. When *Endymion*, his first long poem, was issued, it was ruthlessly criticised; but although this depressed him, it did not deflect him from the path he was determined to follow. He was conscious of his latent gifts. His statement, uttered in no vaunting tone, "I think I shall be among the English poets after my death", was a plain statement of what he believed; and it did indeed turn out to be the truth. During that fateful year of his life, when he fell in love with Miss Brawne, his health was poor; and his constitution was further weakened when he nursed his brother in a long and fatal illness. But he continued to write with a fervid industry, and the next year he published another volume of poems which contains some of his very best work. His *Ode on a Grecian Urn* is remarkable not only for the sheer beauty of its poetry but for the amazing way in which the young author had absorbed the spirit of ancient Greece. Although Keats knew nothing of the Greek language, some of the most profound scholars have described this ode as "probably the most Greek thing in English poetry." But he had also absorbed the romantic spirit of the early English legends and this finds expression in poems like *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* and *The Eve of St. Agnes*. In his *Ode to a Nightingale*, the sensuous quality of his verse is revealed:

"O for a draught of vintage that hath been
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth,

Tasting of Flora and the country green,
Dance, and Provencal song, and sun-burnt mirth".

The late Robert Bridges, sensitive critic and Poet Laureate of England said that he "could not name any English poem of the same length which contains so much beauty as this Ode". Keats approached the world that is seen and heard and touched—the world of the senses—as a lover of life who is eager to enjoy everything, from the taste of a nectarine to the rapture of love itself.

In *Hyperion*, which is unfinished, there are definite signs of a maturing of his talent and a growth of his mental powers. But as the months passed, it was plain that his health was failing. He had never spared himself, living ardently, torn by conflicting moods and passions, giving himself wholeheartedly to his work, afire with the intoxication of love; and it was decided that he should go abroad in the hope of arresting the course of his lung trouble. His intimate friend Severn, the artist, threw up his career at home and went with him to Italy. To part from Fanny Brawne caused him unspeakable agony, and when his health rapidly grew worse he realised that the end was near. He asked that the epitaph on his tomb might be "Here lies one whose name was writ in water," and in his mood of cold desolation he was dreaming of the great poetry that he would not live to write. Today we return again and again to the pages of John Keats for an enrichment of our vision of life and for glimpses of evanescent loveliness set forth in lines of mellow beauty that linger in the memory like the echoes of distant music.

—:O:—

THE SCIENTIFIC ASPECT OF HINDU REINCARNATION THEORY

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

BIOLOGY tells us that life first appeared on our mother Earth in the form of unicellular amoeba, and all other forms have developed by a process of evolution over millions of years. Zoologists tell us that some forms of life have even disappeared in the course of this long evolution. The growing human embryo in the mother's womb exhibits most forms of life, from the amoeba to the fully developed human.

In one sense, therefore, although the form has been undergoing continuous change, life as such may be said to be continuous, leaving out of consideration for the moment the time when life was non-existent in the hoary past, and will cease to be again in the very distant future, according to the scientists' view of a dying Sun and a consequent disintegrating Earth. But the Hindu re-incarnation theory does not confine itself to the continuous (?) evolution of forms only. It claims, according to the belief, more or less, universally held by Hindus, to establish identity of individuals having their life and being now with individuals having their life and being at an earlier period in the sequence of time.

In a popular Bengali song current in the countryside, Shri Krishna is stated to have told his mother that he who is Krishna today was none other than Shri Ramachandra of a former existence. A friend of

the present writer was told by a Bhriugu astrologer to have been Emperor Jehangir on another occasion.

The Hindu re-incarnation theory does not only embrace humanity but other forms of life also. He who is a man today might even be a dog or a horse, say. But the crux of the matter is the stress on the question of identity of an individual here and now with another individual on a former occasion, human or sub-human.

This theory requires for its validity *invariability* in the number of births, deaths, and the population at any given moment, of all forms of life to make it possible for an individual today to have existed before, whatever the form. Taking only one species of life into consideration, for the moment, *viz.*, humanity for purposes of examination, the absurdity of the theory becomes patent in the background of constantly increasing population. The same chain of reasoning may be extended to cover other species also without in any way helping the protagonists of the theory. Also re-incarnation theory presupposes continuity of life, in one form or another, in perpetuity. This is absurd in view of inevitable destruction of life on Earth due to increasing heat of the Sun long before the disintegration of the former, if science is to be believed.

BABA NANAK AS I SEE HIM

By SARDAR U. SHERGIL

A poet of rare originality, destined to sing of God in a medium which, like his motherland, was subject to the vicissitudes of war and who struggled to express things in a novel way of protest against the religious superstitions of his day, Baba Nanak, from his early youth, was given the task of shocking and displeasing and thus awakening the orthodoxies of his time, among the Hindus as well as the Muslims.

Being too original-minded to subscribe to the religious and social formalities of his day, he was well-fitted to discover the Truth which is a name for God, both in Islam and Hinduism. His God-absorption is apparent from the way he carried on his worldly duties and trade speculations, which tended to run into the divine channels of charity and self-forgetfulness. While his father and his employers tried to scold him they could not help catching a glimpse of the Gleam which led his youthful footsteps.

NANAK AN INDIVIDUALIST

When no longer a boy he is called forth to wander in the world, not by a mere restless adventure, but to see the world and to show it what he had seen himself. We find him not only in the South and West India and beyond, but in Central Asia and probably in the far western Asia, where the greater miracle of simple Truth that God dwells not only in temples and mosques convinced a Muslim priest that this seeming *kafir* knew better what the Quran had also taught. So he goes about teaching and converting evil men and criminals and turning them into saints.

One can see that he did not want a large following but was fishing souls for God, and not swaying crowds as other Prophets like Buddha and Muhammad did. Like Jesus he influenced the few who in their turn were to influence a larger number in time to come. Wherever he passed, religious centres, or rather rest-houses sprang up where men and women gathered and engaged in charitable activities in sympathy for others, and thus represented the real religious spirit. No insistence was made on dogmas and creeds, but on devotion to the Creator and love and justice to his creatures. And gradually the followers of other faiths—both Hindus and Muslims—saw that there was nothing in the impassioned hymns of this unlearned unsectarian to oppose their religion, but those who understood the essence of their own creed could see that he was teaching and living that very essence. Seldom has this appreciation of the essence of religions and those who

grasp this essence and live according to it, been expressed better than by the poet Akbar of Allahabad, when he said :

*Hain Rarik mazhab men kuchh kafir bhi kuchh
dindar bhi;*

Yad rakh yih bat tu ik mahrame israr ki.

Every religion has some heretics and some

believers;

Remember this saying of one who knows the secrets.

But Nanak was too ahead of his times. And so were many Sufis and mystics who have tried to teach humanity that all religions are one in their fundamental impulse, and are intended to bind man to the source of his life and to each other in justice and love. This is what Tennyson has hinted at in his "Dream of Akbar", in the heading of which he quotes the Persian Sufi Attar as to the essence of faith, and argues that the mystic statesman Emperor Akbar groped after the essence of universal religion, which the Western people were destined to find some day through the study of comparative religion and which can be found by men of science as well as by the man of intuition to which class the religious genius belongs.

SAINT OF HARMONY

Thus while the few saw what Nanak meant, the crowd took Nanak to be at once a Hindu or Muslim as shown by the claim of both creeds to claim him as one of them, who wanted to burn or bury his body according to their customs. That is all that the ignorant can do, in revering the great of soul. It can bury the great and bury them effectively along with the spirit of that Truth which they came to teach, and at best can divide the winding sheet of the dead.

Those who possess spiritual and religious intuition and thus understand their own religion, can truly claim the great prophets and teachers to belong to their own faith, but the esoteric dogmas and creeds are too narrow to confine these great ones. If Islam means a recognition and assent to the Will of the One Infinite Spirit of the Universe, then Nanak was a true Muslim. If Hinduism and Buddhism mean what the Upanishads and the Gita teach of the same Universal Spirit and Supreme Soul, or the unknowable Life of the world which withal is in each of us, then Nanak was a Hindu or a Buddhist. If Christianity means the realisation of the same Spirit in all, and living so as to radiate that life unity, thus doing unto others as we wish others should do to us, then the Christians can claim him as their own. But if the external formalities of any of these religions are to be mistaken

for these religions, then Nanak is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim nor a Buddhist nor a Christian. Nay, it can be emphatically said that if Sikhism means, not spiritual life, but forms and formalities, then Guru Nanak has nothing to do with Sikhism either.

NANAK—AN ICONOCLAST

For he is essentially an iconoclast also, an idol-breaker, and it matters little if the idols are made of clay or stone or wood, or of forms of thought, or narrow ideas which divide man from man and brother from brother.

It may be asked what have these attitudes to do with the practical matter-of-fact world of today, when religions are found to be a hindrance and, not a help, on the path of human progress. The above would furnish the answer. Religious formalism and ignorance of religion on which it is based is indeed a veritable hindrance to human progress, and that is why these prophets have appeared from time to time to clean up the Augean stables of degenerate creeds which have lost their original impulse. And now this function is, and will be, performed by science or organised human knowledge. Much of that sort of lumber is destined to be disposed of by Physics, Biology, Psychology, and Astronomy, after which man will once more turn to the undying essence of Religion. Even the arch-enemies of religion and God are destined to go down before it. But false dogmatism and formalism is also to vanish, which generates hate among men as much as the selfishness of nations which does the same. The prophets and seers of old have not lived in vain, though their followers have done more to kill their spirit than their enemies. And the great harbinger, Science, is destined to do the same and to establish religion on the foundations of research as the teachers of religions in the past have tried to establish it on faith or intuition. And it may be pointed out for those who are familiar with the secret as Akbar said, that intuition is as much positive in its vision as science, and faith is only a feeling of Truth, and all three are really one in their essence.

Nanak is one of those great pioneers with a necessarily small following. This is not so, it may be

contended; for there are some millions of Sikhs in the Punjab and other parts of India. Yes, indeed millions profess to follow Baba Nanak as many more millions profess to follow Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad and other prophets. But how many among the followers of all these religions really follow the teaching of their prophets? These necessarily are few and far between, in spite of all the bitter fanaticism that curses this planet.

It is unquestionable that Nanak and his successors urged Muslims to understand and truly follow the teachings of Islam as they urged the Hindus to follow theirs. Had Guru Nanak come across Christians in his times, he would have said the same thing to the Christians, but the spirit of his teaching says this to them even today.

For he knew that if people follow their religions truly, they would be treading one and the same path to salvation and human welfare through being just, loving and helpful to one another, instead of injuring one another through being selfish, which really means to be irreligious in the higher sense of the word.

NANAK NOT A CULTIST

This has not happened yet, nor is likely to happen soon, but man is still in the making, and the divine workshop has not ceased to hum. But when on the wings of higher understanding man rises to his full stature, and understands his destiny, then that will have happened which Nanak wanted and taught and prayed for. Then he will have not a few followers, as he had now, for then good Muslims, good Hindus, good Buddhists, good Christians, and good Zoroastrians, in fact all good people of the earth could be called good Sikhs, if there will be any need of calling Religion by any name whatsoever. It will be difficult to give religion any particular name then, for obvious reasons; but the real significance of all names will be understood, and all religions will be known as Divine Religion.

At present, however, there are very few Sikhs—disciples—in this world, and that is how I see Nanak who wanted to make good men and not a cult.



HYMNS OF GURU NANAK

By PROF. KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A.

THE history of the world witnessed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and even earlier) the birth and career of a long chain of saints and seers, comprising Martin Luther (1483-1546) in Germany, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1546) in England, John Knox (1505-1572) in Scotland, Ulrich Zwingli (1483-1551) in Switzerland; and in India Ramanuja (12th century), the first of the great exponents of the Bhakti cult, Ramananda (14th century), fifth in apostolic succession from Ramanuja, Vallabha-charya (b. 1479), Lord Chaitanya of Navadvipa (1485-1533), Kabir (1380-1420), Tulsidas (1532-1623) and Nanak (1469-1538).

Guru Nanak is one of this blessed and glorious band of saints, seers and prophets. Today when the aftermath of the Second World War finds us moral and spiritual derelicts, buffeted by adverse winds and waves, when the menace of newer destructive weapons everyday looms above us, darkening our lives, it will be worth our while to pause for a moment and consider in brief the life and message of a saint like Guru Nanak, the founder of the great religion of the Sikhs.

It was in 1469 in a small village called Talbandi in the district of Lahore that Nanak saw the light of day in a Kshatriya family, in the early portion of the full-moon night of the month of Vaisakh (May), or according to another version, Kartika (November). It should be noted that he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth and so was nursed on the lap of poverty. But chill penury did not freeze the genial current of his soul. Thus the child Nanak grew up amidst poverty, but he was poles asunder from ordinary children. In the case of the child Nanak it can be asserted categorically that heaven did lie about him in his infancy. For from his very boyhood his fancy lay towards *sadhus* and *fakirs* and nothing was sweeter to him than their society. As a boy therefore he neglected his studies. At the very early age of five years he began to talk of scriptures, and when at seven years of age he was sent to a teacher for his first initiation into three R's, the teacher found to his surprise that he had already enough spiritual lore and that he did not stand in need of any further schooling. And later history proved that in the case of Nanak, the child was verily father of the man and that the morning of his life had already sufficiently proclaimed what the day of his life was going to be.

This is not the place, however, to dilate at length on the biography of Nanak, neither is this the place to touch upon the evolution that took place later amongst his followers. We are here concerned only with some of the salient features of Nanak's teachings. The religion that he gave to his followers "aimed", in the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "at spiritual liberation by means

of humility, prayer, self-respect, searching of the heart and fixed gaze on the one God—the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Invisible, the Pure" (*alakh-niranjana*) (Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 244). It should never be forgotten that the mediaeval saints and seers of India were born at a time when India was fast becoming the cock-pit of conflicting religious ideals, and so the main mission of these saints and seers of mediaeval India was to bring about a synthesis of different cultures and religions, to build as it were a spiritual bridge between different sects and creeds—humanity to them was one family, it was not simply classless, but emphatically casteless also—there was no dividing barrier between man and man. Nanak along with others therefore rejected the externals of religion—idolatry, set prayers and dead rituals. God was one and God transcended all castes and creeds, there was one religion, the religion of the one God, though worshipped under various names. The path of salvation lay, according to Nanak, through devotion to this God and through good deeds. Love and purity of life were more important than the mere observance of the externals of religion. And so the message of Guru Nanak and other saints and seers of mediaeval India will pour oil on the troubled waters of modern India.

1

The following hymn was sung at Puri by Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. The story goes that during a ritual ceremony at the temple of Jagannath at Puri, Nanak, who was present there, was found standing aloof, and when accosted broke into the following hymn

Lo, on the plate of the firmament shine the sun and the moon like beaming candles.

Stars in their myriads shimmer like pearls in adoration of Thee.

The sweet-scented vernal breeze breathes incense, and the wind blows gently fanning.

The woodlands of the world with their bright-hued flowers worship Thee, O Being Supreme.

Ah, what a grand ritual is in progress!

O Thou that snaps asunder all earthly bonds, all this is thy ritual!

O what a clarion-note rings from out this silence!

With a thousand eyes thou shinest, albeit not a single one thou dost really possess!

In a thousand forms thou dost appear, albeit utterly formless thou art!

I fancy thee with a thousand holy feet, albeit not a single one really exists!

Odourless thou art, albeit thy odour maddens all the universe!

The light that shines in every object is *thy* light, it is *thy* beauty that permeates every object.

It is only the contact with a true preceptor that can reveal all this lustre. His favourite alone can worship Thee.

My heart is athirst day in, day out for the honey of thy lotus feet, O Hari.

My Lord, my Lord! pour down thy mercy in gentle showers on this thirsty *chātaka*, Nanaka, and do thou allow him to dwell in thee forever and aye.

2 ON THE EVE OF HIS DEATH

(i)
O lift up his song of praise!

Let the house ring with his song of praise, the house which has been resonant with his praise.

O sing thou his praise who knows no fear. My heart melts away with ineffable joy with his song of praise.

Lo, he is ever tending his creation.

Ah, who can appraise his benevolence? Ah, who can measure the greatness of that benefactor?

(ii)

Listen, fixed already has been the year and the day for marriage, the appointed hour has now arrived, O hasten with thy preparations.

Offer blessings, O well-wishers, so that the bride may be united with the groom.

From house to house spread the gladsome tidings.

Hark! the call rises eternally:

I bethink of Him who sends forth this call. Nanak says, the time is now ripe.

3

O Thou Lord of creation, Thou alone dost exist.

He, that Absolute, says Nanak, pervades all, where can a second be found? Before the dawn of creation He the Supreme Truth was present, at creation He was present, and now He is present, and forever and aye He shall remain present.

A myriad-worlds He has created—both high up in the sky and low down under the earth. Sages and seers are tired out in search of Him. The *Vedas*, the *Puranas* and a thousand, thousand scriptures tell the same tale: He alone is the Supreme Essence in this boundless universe.

Before the birth of anybody He was, spotless He is, eternal and of fadeless bloom, and changeless from age to age.

In the heart of man and outside reigns that eternal Lord. He the Supreme Lord has every vessel for his tabernacle. He is here, He is high up in the sky and He is low down in the nether world. He the sustainer permeates every object—forests, vegetation and rocks he pervades. Whole creation moves to his order. In the winds, in waters and in fire He is and overspreads the fourfold universe and ten quarters. Where is that spot which has anything but Him? By the grace of his holy preceptor, Nanak has got the Supreme Bliss.

4

Lord, a boundless ocean Thou art, and a tiny fish I am but in it, how can I measure thy immensity? Wherever I cast my eyes I behold Thee. Whenever I am outside Thee I feel like a fish out of water. With Thee I forget the Fisherman with his net—the god of Death with his doom. When evil days come I call upon: Thee, Lord, to save me.

The Supreme God is the all-powerful and merciful creator, worlds come and worlds go; but He the merciful Lord is changeless and abideth forever.

Thou Thyself art the cowherd-girl, Thou Thyself the river *Jamuna* and Thou Thyself the cattleherds.

The *Vedas* sing Thy praise and the *Puranas* tell Thy story and the sages worship Thee by their studies and interpretations of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. All the gods chant Thy praise, the cowherd boys and the cowherd girls sing Thy song. Siva sings Thy hymn, the seers lift up Thy song, and a thousand, thousand Buddhas for ages and ages go on uttering Thy praise.

5

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the fish doth make with water, — the deeper does the fish plunge into the water, the greater is his joy. the greater his bliss, not a moment can he take breath without water, O like unto this is the attachment between the Lord and His votary.

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the water doth make with milk. Boil the milk and lo, the water vanishes in vapour, but the water won't let the milk vanish—the milk remains.

O my Mind, with Hari make thou love, such love as the *chakhi* bird makes with the Sun. Alack, the bird does not enjoy an wink of sleep at night, sundered from her beloved.

6

My Lord, he who has drunk his fill of the nectar of Thy name is lost in love of Thee.

Day and night, in that love is he immersed and listens to unheard melodies.

He alone drinks of that nectar, who is blessed by Thy grace, my Lord.

He who thus trades in nectar divine has no hankering for earthly wine.

He who has once got a taste of the ecstasy of the Beatific Vision yearns neither after salvation nor after heaven.

He alone is the true Recluse who ever gets intoxicated in singing His glory — to him the worldly game of gambles has no attraction.

Obeisances to the Primal Spirit, to Him obeisances, obeisances to Him, the Spotless, the Eternal, the Immutable from age to age.

7

Numberless are the sects, numberless the preceptors and numberless the schools of philosophy, legion their name. But the Preceptor of preceptors is one, only one, though numberless be his manifestations.

Hours, minutes, seconds, make up together one month.

Many are the seasons, though there is only one Sun.

Nanak says, how varied are the dresses put on by my Lord.

8

Wash thou thy body by a thousand ablutions, but canst thou wash thy mind clean?

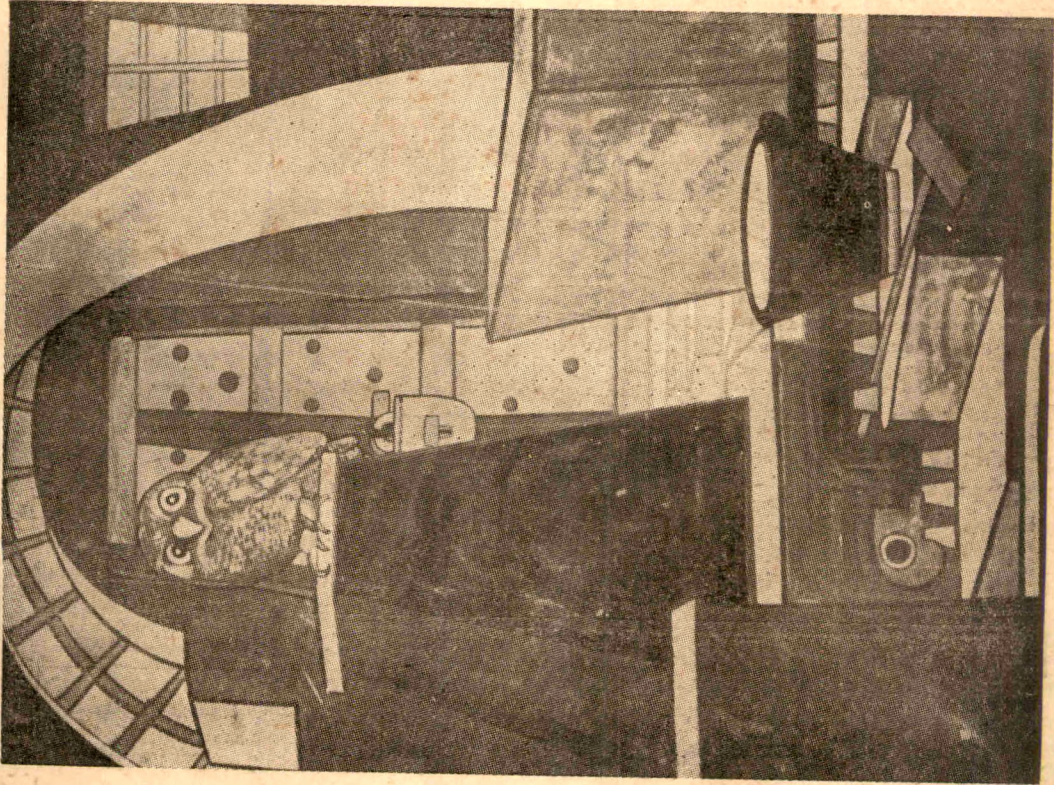
Wrap thyself up in mere silence, but canst thou still thy ever restless mind?

Let seven worlds feed fat thy lust, but will that appease thy hungry soul?

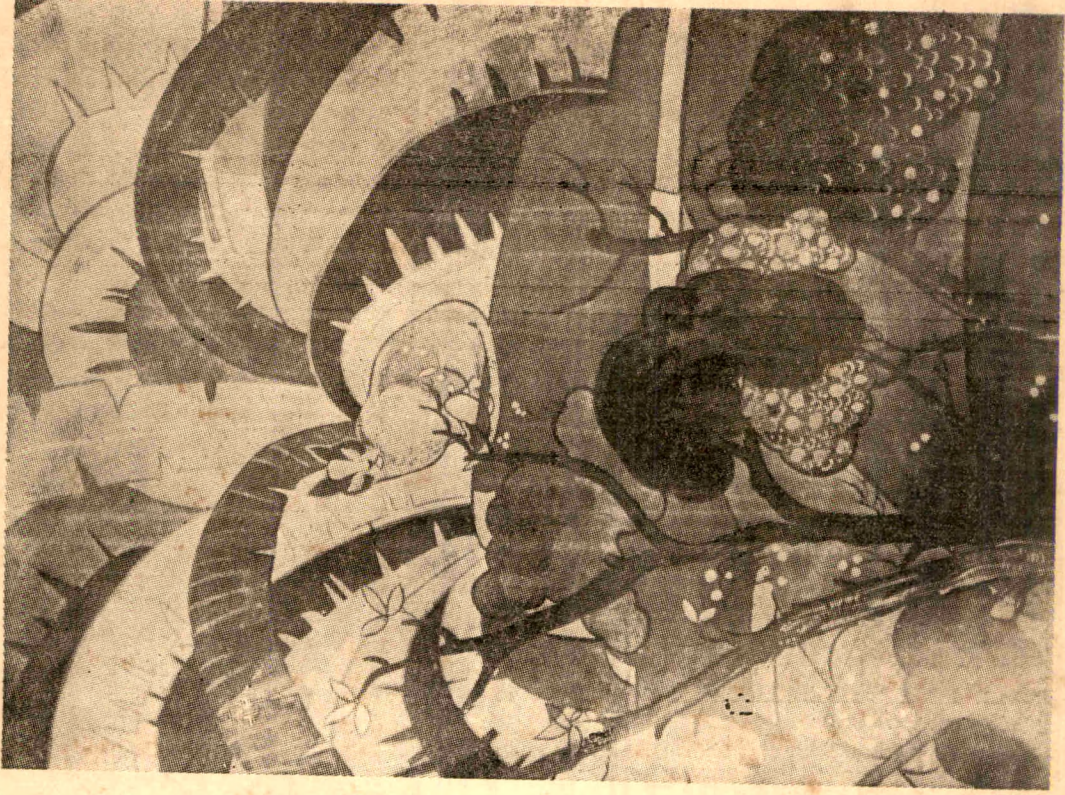
Ah, what avails all thy subterfuges? Will a single one accompany thee unto thy grave?

Then how can I reach the Truth? How can I break through the barriers of the untrue?

Nanak says that since our birth God has thus decreed: "Forget thou thy body, follow only the words of God, love Him, and then only can you attain God!"



Haunted House
(Collection of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy)



The Thief
(Exhibited at the International Exhibition, Paris)
By Sushil Mukherjee



Nitai Paul teaching a clay-modelling class of women students



The women students of Shilpa-Bhawan drawing *Alpona* on a festive occasion

ANTI-FASCIST ELEMENTS IN RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By PROF. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

V

So determined was Tagore's opposition to cults of power that he did not even spare Mahatma Gandhi when he sensed some unwitting use of power-psychology. Tagore and Gandhi continued to disagree over non-co-operation, Charkha and Hindu-Muslim unity. While Gandhiji represented the rising tide of Indian nationalism Tagore stood as the symbol of healthy patriotism which has its roots in the cultural inheritance of the country. This was no limpid internationalism of an 'intellectual vagabond'. It was a conviction born of a disinterested study of Indian history, and the diagnosis of the disease of the twentieth century.

In his many addresses delivered abroad before and during the first World War, the poet steadily denounced the "Nation" and the cults thereof. An organisation of power towards some mechanical end, the Nation, according to Tagore, menaced the future of humanity. He felt ill at ease in the dust and storm of the nationalist movements in his own country. He felt embarrassed preaching his gospel of the unity of the East and the West while in his own country a mass upsurge, which shuffled off everything foreign, arose.

At this distance of time his protest against some of the features of the movement can be dispassionately examined. His criticism was directed against the aim and method of the non-co-operation movement. In regard to the aim he fondly believed that India's problem was social and not political. India had solved in the past in an admirable way the race-problem and she was eminently suited to be the agency of synthesis between the various cultures of the world. It was given to her to stand for the co-operation of all peoples of the world, the spirit of rejection inherent in the non-co-operation movement went, contrary to the mission. In a letter written to his friend and reproduced in *The Modern Review* of May, 1921, he says :

"However we may delude ourselves with phrases learnt from the West, Swaraj is not our objective. Our fight is a spiritual fight, it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him—these organisations of National Egoism."

And further,

"I feel that true India is an idea and not a mere geographical fact. . . . The infinite personality of man is not to be achieved in single individuals, but in one grand harmony of races. The darkness of egoism that will have to be destroyed is the egoism of the people."

In respect of the methods of the non-co-operation movement the poet was hitting nearer the mark. In a brilliant essay entitled "The Call of Truth" he dwells

at length on the main points of his opposition. They are :

- (a) Blind obedience to an unreasoned creed.
- (b) Exploiting crowd psychology.
- (c) Propaganda methods like fixing a date for Swaraj.
- (d) Shortcuts to communal unity.

The first point concerns the Charkha cult. Tagore disapproved of the 'spin and weave' cult as a magical formula because, according to him, it was apt to benumb reason and in the long run end as an empty ritual.

Exploiting crowd psychology always touched the poet to the quick. He saw the burning of foreign cloth and the hysterical joy accompanying it. He sensed danger in these destructive operations as instruments of political intolerance.

"We have enough of magic in this country—magical revelation, magical healing and all kinds of divine intervention in mundane affairs. That is why I am so anxious to reinstate reason in its throne."

he wrote in the same article "The Call of Truth."

He repeated his earlier belief in an inner awakening which may make us realise our country in our daily life. To the poet who had returned from a tour of the continent and Asia and had aligned himself with the great intellectual ferment for human solidarity and world unity, Gandhiji's tirades against Western education seemed regrettable. Besides, he feared the igniting of mass sentiments in whose virulent sway all reason and good sense, so essential to wise national planning, will be submerged.

"The mind of the country," he wrote, "must exert itself in all directions. Above all, the spirit of enquiry throughout the whole country must be kept intact and untrammelled, its mind not made timid or inactive by compulsion, open or secret."

These are not just liberal platitudes. These represent the man of vision's insight into the hazy future. From the immediate present the politician derives his impelling force, the visionary relates it to the complete pattern as must emerge from the mist of time. Tagore aimed at making the freedom struggle a two-pronged drive : against an alien administration as well as against the blinding prejudices and superstitions. Of the second aspect of the battle he took command.

Not a prince of the clouds in dealing with affairs of men Tagore advocated a correct psychological correlative of politics. He had misgivings about releasing the dark unconscious of man in the mass. In an article entitled the "Cult of the Charkha" published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1925, he says among other things :

"I am strongly of the opinion that all intense pressure of persuasion brought upon the crowd psychology is unhealthy for it. Some strong and

widespread intoxication of power and belief among a vast number of people can suddenly produce a convenient uniformity of purpose immense and powerful. It seems for the moment a miracle of conversion; and a catastrophic phenomenon of this nature stuns our rational mind, raising high some hope of easy realisation which is very much like a boom in the business market. The amazingly immediate success is no criterion of its reality—the very dimension of its triumph having a dangerous effect of producing a sudden and universal eclipse of our judgment. Human nature has its elasticity and in the name of urgency it can be forced towards a particular direction far beyond its normal and wholesome limits. But the rebound is sure to follow, and the consequent disillusionment will leave behind it a desert track of demoralisation. We have had our experience of it in the tremendous exultation lately produced by the imaginary prospects of Hindu-Muslim unity. And therefore I am afraid of a blind faith on a very large scale in the Charkha, in a country which is so liable to succumb to the lure of shortcuts when pointed out by a personality about whose moral earnestness they can have no doubt."

Mahatma Gandhi had written in 1921 in *Young India* :

"Swaraj is easy of attainment before October next, if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled."

Musing over this Rabindranath wrote in 1925 :

"True, the announcement of a definite date for the start has an intoxicating effect. But I cannot admit that an intoxicating state can make the journey any easier."

On the Bihar earthquake of 1934 Mahatma Gandhi's statement remains a puzzle. He astounded the intelligentsia by suggesting that Bihar's untouchability had brought God's curse upon it in the shape of the earthquake. The poet felt called upon to join the issue with the Mahatma, and he sent a rejoinder to the press :

"It has caused me painful surprise to find Mahatma Gandhi accusing those who blindly follow their own social custom of having brought down God's vengeance upon certain parts of Bihar, evidently specially selected for His desolating displeasure. . . . What is truly tragic about it is the fact that the kind of argument that Mahatmaji uses by exploiting an event of cosmic disturbance, far better suits the psychology of his opponents than his own, and it would not have surprised me at all if they had taken this opportunity of holding him and his followers responsible for the visitation of the Divine anger. . . . We who are immensely grateful to Mahatmaji for inducing, by his wonderful working inspiration, freedom from fear and feebleness in the minds of his countrymen, feel profoundly hurt when any words from his mouth may emphasise the elements of unreason in those very minds—unreason which is a fundamental source of all the blind powers that drive us against freedom and self-respect."

Mahatmaji explained that visitations like drought, floods, earthquakes were for him somehow connected with man's morals. This fits in with the mystical framework of his mind. Yet, to the average product of this age of science it smacked of superstition.

Tagore earnestly sought to curb the growth of superstitions.

It is not intended to suggest here that Mahatmaji's methods were fascist. He was the pilot of the nation and knew when and how to steer it clear of the rocks. But it was a nascent nation, raw to the core. The millions who composed it lived in the twilight of faith.

The line separating the twilight from the dark-night is narrow. Tagore feared the people lapsing into the primal gloom which had given birth to many kinds of myths and magic-cults in the dawn of history. In modern times fascism employed the outmoded concepts of culture. It aims at keeping the primitive layer of the mind dangerously near the conscious to exploit it at ease and at will. According to Tagore, the main problem of India was social, the political was subordinate to it; psychological shocks or ingenious contrivance, he feared, might put the history out of gear—the cherished goal of evolving a synthesis of the variegated cultures of the world would have been lost sight of.

Gandhiji succeeded in keeping the movement under the stress of a pure impetus which had nothing in common with fascism. Nevertheless, the warnings of Tagore retain the ring of sincerity and high purpose. They served to keep patriotic emotions within bounds, and inspired reasoned and intelligent public opinion.

VI

Fascism represented the neurotic manifestation of nationalism. Before its advent nationalism had become an appendage of economic imperialism. After the first World War there was a tightening of the stranglehold by the State and nationalism became its official creed. Mussolini, the apostle of fascism, wrote in definition of his philosophy in *Encyclopaedia Italiana* :

"It is not the nation which creates the State, on the other hand, the nation is created by the State, which gives the people, conscious of their moral unity, a will and therefore a real existence."

And to give the barbarism inherent in fascism a moral garb he said :

"Fascism is a religious conception in which man appears in his inherent relationship to a superior law, to an objective will which transcends the particular individual and elevates him as a conscious member of a spiritual society."

Nationalism, which became a handmaid of politics in the middle-half of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, was essentially a cultural concept in its origin. Europe in the eighteenth century was largely cosmopolitan; the 'good sense' inhering in that age rendered exclusive nationalism dormant. Yet the soul responded to a particular regional scene more quickly and naturally. The rural set-up enclosing the 'In-group' engendered love of the traditional rituals. This communal affinity, a natural ingredient of the psyche, which used its own appraisals of the beautiful and the ugly, was what one noticed before the advent of the machine and its resultant civilisation.

The psychological impact of the machine is, too well-known to need elaboration. Disintegration and dispersal of the 'group' by it repressed its personality. The traditional values were wrenched from the soil. The 'personal life' reacted strongly against the suppression. There was an unprecedented rebirth of national languages and literatures. Romanticism and self-consciousness became the cultural hall-mark of an industrial age.

Nationalism, before it was prostituted by the nation-State, or before it became the paean of expanding capitalism, connoted the organic sense of the community. It was the defensive mechanism of 'personality' against the forces of repression. But as the ruling classes became the high-priest of nationalism, it lost the personal core and hardened into a mechanical organisation of power.

In his many addresses on 'Nationalism' Tagore returns to denunciation of the latest phase of nationalism—its morbid, exclusive and barbarous aspects. His lecture on 'Nationalism in India' delivered before his American audience makes an interesting reading to-day. He had the insight, then, to denounce the Nation as "the aspect of a whole people as an organised power." The accent on the organised power (reflected in the State) is unmistakable. In the West, the national machinery of commerce and politics turns out neatly compressed bales of humanity."

When he preached international co-operation he did not want the toxins of this Western nationalism to infect India. He was definitely of the view that

"The Western nation acts like a dam to check the free flow of Western civilisation into the country of 'No-nation'."

The country of 'No-nation' is India which has been a great receptacle of races and whose destiny has been to harmonise them. This racial reconciliation was never a problem in European history, with the result that to-day, drunk with the heady wine of nationalism Europe is bent on exterminating all the alien races.

"Either she shuts her doors against the aliens or reduces them to slavery. And this is her solution of the problem of race-conflict."

The plague-spots according to Tagore are :

- (1) The aggressive creed of the nation-State.
- (2) The ideology of competitive commercialism.
- (3) Racism.

How correctly he diagnosed the disease which was soon to appear as the pathological dissolution of the European mind under the Nazi-fascist impact to which the later phase of Picasso holds the mirror.

True to his instinctive abhorrence of all forms of barbarism Tagore voiced his indignation at the rape of China and Abyssinia and throttling of the Republic Spain. His letters to Yone Noguchi are a classic of lofty contempt.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to confine

Tagore to the class of colourful internationalists. He stood in organic relationship to his country's culture. Though he denounced the fascist phase of nationalism he represented the finest flower of cultural nationalism. In his early work entitled *Swadeshi Samaj* he envisaged a self-sufficient society independent of the British rule. He advocated that the foreign goods and dresses should be abandoned, the European forms, dresses and dinners should be discouraged, the letters should not be written in English, and that all quarrels should be settled not in British courts but by representatives of our own people.

His silent endeavour to cultivate the rural side of India in its personalist manifestation is best concretised in Shri Niketan. His unpretentious efforts to resuscitate the folk-culture of India, and through it, to bring to the sophisticated but uprooted Indian the vital-touch of his cultural heritage, are to-day operative even when he is no more.

He had begun with an indomitable faith in Man and a fond hope that out of Europe's heart will issue forth the true springs of civilisation. His faith remained unshaken to the last, though his hope deserted him in the closing phase of his life. He was disillusioned but did not grow cynical.

To the age of disintegration he sought to bring spiritual calm. To a civilisation which had so complicated a pattern as to unbalance itself and to maladjust human personality, he endeavoured to restore the balance. To that end, he continued to sing the saga of Man, the transcendental. He warned against massive organisations of power and greed which had sullied man's dignity. He painted the image of the personal man as fully integrated, balanced and poised, as refulgent with the ray of the eternal, as a harmonious adjunct of environment and as sovereign over Time. About his transcendental man he wrote in his "Religion of Man" :

"As our consciousness more and more comprehends it, new valuations are developed in us, new depths and delicacies of delight, a sober dignity of expression through elimination of tawdriness, of frenzied emotions, of all violence in shape, colour, words or behaviour, of the dark mentality of Kuklux-klanism."

The forces which the dark mentality of the 'Kuklux-klanism' unleashed, preyed upon the mind of his age, now as a haunting nightmare, and now as the sadistic manifestation of the primal energies of man. The rigorous, external aspect of fascism, with its arid and empty inside, was the institutional image of the competitive mechanical civilisation in wedlock with nationalism. The 'cast-iron' and the 'slot-machine' characterised the response of the receptive man under a decaying culture. At this dark hour in human history, Tagore kept on awakening the spirit of man, conscious of the world's destiny and his country's part in it.

(Concluded)

THE BACTERIAL BOMB FACTORY OF PARADISO

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

UNEXPECTEDLY enough I bumped against Roland Knight in an unpretentious-looking little cafe at Montmartre, which was the rendezvous of the ex-veterans of the Spanish civil war. Here we used to infuse new vigour into our dull and monotonous existence by hearty talks on the past thrills of fighting as adventurous volunteers in the Republican army. It was in Spain that I saw Roland for the last time, when hit by a bullet in the shoulder, tottering he fell down on the ground with blood gushing forth in a red stream from his wound. In great agony his face turned and twisted into a hideous grimace and he was left groaning in the battle-zone without getting any help from me, as I was obliged to flee for saving my own dear life. It was therefore quite natural that I gave up all hope of seeing him alive again, but for some reason or other I never dared to speak out my mind to anybody regarding what I thought to be a case of certain death.

Ey Jove! wonder of wonders, I saw him there sitting at the little table of the cafe just opposite to me and my pal Ralph and enjoying a glass of red wine. He looked very much pulled down with his shoulder a little twisted and his dress a bit worn-out and torn. But the former fire of his eyes was still glowing there. After an exchange of greetings and other formalities he told me with wondering eyes that he had heard many wild rumours about the present State of affairs in Spain, one of which was particularly taking possession of his mind — the rumour about Paradiso. I listened to him with wrapt attention and was involuntarily drawn closer to him under the influence of his magnetic personality. We now made up our minds to pay a visit to Paradiso, in order to be convinced if there was any truth in some of those fantastic rumours, circulating here and there about its existence. Roland had connections with many a secret influential agent, through whose help and guidance we succeeded in slipping away to San Sebastian in a boat, where a republican friend extended his kind help and co-operation to us in arranging and rigging out a boat with sails for our secret mission. Continually for three nights we sailed in that boat before we arrived at a place just west of Llanes.

Our destination was Paradiso, a name which had a thrilling mysterious ring and which had been so long on the lips of the ex-veterans of the Spanish civil war. This place was located at about eight miles from Santander. From Llanes we began our hazardous journey on foot up a hill, and when we had reached an altitude of 1,000 metres we could for the first time get indications that Paradiso was a heavily guarded place. Here we pitched our tent and carefully thought out plans how to reach there safely. From our long experience of men and matters in Spain we knew that the most suitable time for avoiding the watchful eyes of the black, hideous-looking Moroccan sentries was the early hours of the morning,

and we acted accordingly. We found two of them sitting half-asleep near an opening of a rusty barbed-wire fencing. It was then about four in the morning when we stealthily crept behind them. Half an hour later we again successfully avoided the notice of another two Moroccan sentries and at half-past five we hid us in an undergrowth to escape detection and remained there till dusk. Looking down from here we saw at a distance a regular camp-city, which with its numerous tents and camps reminded us of any big European or American scouting centre. It was, however, quite obvious to us that these were the barracks of Paradiso, the outer perimeter of which was surrounded by a wall of fortifications. They fitted in with the *milieu* in such a remarkable way that they looked more like a natural wall carved out of the hills. At daybreak when we reached there we found that the wall was covered with barbed wire entanglements. Knight threw up a key, which he was carrying with him, against the wires which being hit at once gave out sparks.

High tension wires, he exclaimed in a whisper. A little farther away we discovered two German 'Teller' mines which seemed to have been carelessly placed under the ground, and we saw at the same time big notices in Spanish hung up here and there obviously with the purpose of warning the sentries rather than any would-be trespassers against the danger of closely examining the mines, strewn here and there. The danger of trespassers getting near this strongly guarded area could scarcely have been overlooked either by the authorities, as a whole army was detailed for the purpose of guarding it under an order from General Franco. With breathless awe we noticed quite a good number of soldiers standing between the tents and the low buildings. We dared not stir out of our hiding, as the risk of being detected was now very great. After a while it began raining and we hailed it as a welcome relief. I was told by Knight that the rains were very frequent in that area. When we felt sure that the danger of being detected had somewhat receded into the background, we crept out of our hiding and made for the wall to find out if there was any point along the whole line, where the high tension wires did not function. Luckily we did find such a point and forthwith we took out a pair of nippers and made a few hasty clips with it and then straightaway made for our hiding. The next day we again successfully adopted the same procedure, but due to obvious reasons we did not dare to go down to Paradiso proper, as we thought it would be tempting the fates too far. We remained content with keeping ourselves hidden in a mountain-plateau which rose to a height of 80 metres above the mountain-fortress of Paradiso. Security reasons and cold commonsense dictated to us the urgent necessity of maintaining a safe distance from this heavily guarded secret factory-town. Beneath us down in the valley lay unfolded the full view of this

fantastic city with its numerous streamlined buildings and cupolas made of glass and aluminium. The still atmosphere of the place vibrated with the dull buzzing sound of generators and transformers. Like a mysterious fairyland, removed far away from the bourne of reality, the town with its spherical shaped reservoirs and ultra-modern streamlined buildings and structures lay hidden, half active and half dormant, among these silent hills.

Soon after the rains the atmosphere again became oppressively hot. Now grown tired with our secret strenuous work of spying upon the activities of the men working in this secret town, we at last could hardly help dozing a little in an undergrowth, from where in tense excitement we had expected every moment to see something more of it. At half past ten we saw scores of people coming out into the open from those buildings. For a little while some of them leisurely kept pacing up and down the bright pavements of cement lining the narrow streets. From their dignified bearing and thick-set features we could easily recognise them to be Germans. They were in white aprons, which are usually worn by German scientists. A group of men could be unmistakably identified as Italians by their dark beards and moustaches and their vivaciousness. We had, similarly, very little difficulty in identifying the Spaniards, as we thoroughly knew their characteristics.

On the outskirts of this fantastic city we saw two aircrafts lying on the ground. They looked like German Condors. Farther away in the valley we saw two lifts working up and down inside a group of buildings.

Am I to remain an idle spectator only? I wish I could get some definite information regarding the secret activities going on in this town, said Roland.

Without caring to wait for my advice and consent and setting aside all considerations of personal safety, he dashed off on what I guessed to be his secret tour of investigation and disappeared in the valley below.

Ralph and I were now left behind in our hiding and he kept away from us the whole day. In the evening I saw him coming towards our common hiding in the company of a gentleman in white apron and wearing a pair of glasses.

Here is Dr. Kurt Kuehner, said Roland and introduced him to us. Ralph and I were dumb-founded with fear and astonishment at this unexpected sight of a perfect stranger.

Don't you worry in the least. I have known Dr. Kuehner for a pretty long time and I feel sure that he would never betray us, observed Roland. Dr. Kuehner sat beside us on the ground and began narrating his personal experiences at Paradiso. At first he was a bit hesitant but gradually, however, after winning our confidence he opened his heart to us without any *arrière pensee*.

Paradiso is, as you may have already heard, the secret laboratory-town of Spain, where we are now busy working on microbes that cause pestilence and other virulent types of diseases under orders from the "Caudillo" himself. We are preserving these microbes in small glass-tubes for

the fulfilment of our secret mission. But none of us working there can say with any amount of accuracy whether such tubes are being preserved in their thousands or millions, as the production of our secret weapon is dependent not on the individual work of any particular scientist but on the total work put forth by many scientists, each working separately and secretly in the different branches of science without the other's knowledge. But this much, however, I can tell you that the bacilli of elephantiasis and scarlet fever are being developed most. Pointing his finger to the glass cupolas, he said, "The reputed Italian scientist Gizetti has already made headway in the development of the Death Rays, which are tested through those cupolas over there. He has already succeeded in effectively using these rays over a distance of 1,500 metres. These rays which are now called after him as the Gizetti-Rays do not injure the skin or the epidermis, but they attack directly the red corpuscles of the blood-stream and thereby they totally destroy the whole human organism. HC (Quicksilver) is said to be one of the chief ingredients used in the secret formula for producing these deadly rays. Molecular disintegration of this mineral is said to bring about radio-activity." Here he ended his account abruptly.

We were then suddenly seized with a paralysing fear to realise what grave risks we might have to run in making good our escape from here with this piece of very valuable information about Paradiso, which we had been so long looking for.

Like a cancerous growth in the body politic of Europe this hidden city of Paradiso might one day cause the ruin of the European civilisation with its terribly destructive weapons of war, which, who knows in a future war might be mercilessly employed not only in the shape of atomic bombs and other hideously lethal weapons so far known to Science, but even also in the shape of an entirely new type of weapon, the bacterial bomb, which may even prove to be much more terrible than the former.

We still frequent the little cafe at Montmartre and we find that one of the seats at the little table, which Roland used to occupy, remains vacant most of the time. On his way back to Spain he is said to have been arrested at Burgos by the orders of the Nationalist Government of Spain. His local friends have however sent information to the British Legation in Madrid to mediate in the matter and it may therefore be hoped that he would at least escape the death penalty. But so long as the Franco regime remains in power he will have very little chance of escaping the hard life behind prison bars.

We are now only two people at the little table of the cafe with a bottle of red wine before us. The third seat remains vacant as usual, but we feel sure that one fine morning a clever chap that he has always been Roland will again pop up here and occupy his own seat at the table, when we will perhaps discuss together our future plan of returning to Spain once again.

Translated into English from the Swedish Weekly "Se"

May 17, 1948

AMERICA'S RECEPTION TO INDIA THEN AND NOW

By DR. N. S. HARDIKER

"I do not propose to do anything with the draft resolution that you have submitted to me. I am going to stop all foreign propaganda. I do not propose to spend even a farthing for that purpose. We must shine by our merit. We must be known to the world by our actions. Let us stand on our own feet and show our worth to the world."—Thus said Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress when I handed him over a copy of the draft resolution on foreign propaganda which I wanted to move in the Congress Session.

I had just then returned from my 8 years' sojourn in America. I was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi by my political teacher—Lala Lajpat Rai. It was on the advice of Lalaji and Mr. N. C. Kelkar that I had prepared the draft and given to Mahatma Gandhi. He dissuaded me and asked me not to think of foreign propaganda but to work in the country strenuously and create enough fire in the minds of the Indian people so that the heat emitted by its flames may be felt by all those foreign countries where we intended to carry on our work.

As I was reading reports of the reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in America and Canada I was reminded of the above advice given by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921. How true it was that until we stood upon our own feet none would pay us any respect that was due to us. Mahatma Gandhi's utterances were indeed prophetic and the one quoted above has proved beyond doubt that until one was capable of showing his own metal, it was not possible for him to shine in this world.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA STOPPED

Mahatma Gandhi did really stop the weekly *India* which was being published in London by a Committee and which was financed by the Indian National Congress. After that he did not pay a single pie for propaganda outside India's own boundaries nor encouraged anyone to do that work.

In 1918, during his stay in London Lokamanya Tilak had given Rs. 50,000 for carrying propaganda on India in the Daily published by the British Labour Party and had assured them further help in this direction. Once in a while a news here and there about India was being published by that British paper. Articles of worth were never written nor was much space for India allotted by that paper. It may be true that India might have secured a few British friends by this action of Lokamanya Tilak. But nothing tangible had been achieved by his contribution to them. Britishers did not change their opinion about India and the Indian people. They continued to treat both as before.

OLD MEMORIES

I worked with Lala Lajpat Rai for four years in the United States of America. Lalaji was the President and I was the General Secretary of the India Home Rule

League of America. He treated me as his own son and trained me in the political field. I know how Lalaji, a great thinker, a popular leader and a true patriot of high calibre, was treated by the Americans. He had to earn his living by contributing articles, reviewing books, publishing his own works and by delivering lectures. Were the Americans interested in his mission? They were not. They were neither interested in India nor in the Indians. They had to plod their own way. Yes! Lalaji was asked by the Irish people to speak to their audiences, by the Theosophical Society to address their members and by the Tagore Clubs to speak to them about India. But the isolated Americans had absolutely no regard for India and they had nothing to do with the movement that was going on in India for freedom from British bondage.

The same experience came to me in 1916 when I was working as President of the Hindustan Association of America, an organisation of Indian students in the United States. They did receive Rabindranath Tagore. They did greet him. It was because of his poetry, his writings and his superb personality and not because of India. "Oh! He looks like Jesus. Look at the snow-white shining beard of his. How grand he looks. I love him." So said the Americans who saw and heard him in 1916. They used to throng to his meetings in order to have a glimpse of him. That is all. As early as the ninety's of the last century Swami Vivekananda had also received ovations at the time of the Chicago World Religious Parliament. But that was due to the spiritual personality of the Swami and his expositions of the Indian philosophy. Americans even refused to listen to India's political story. They had not a word to say against the British bureaucratic rule in India.

TREATMENT GIVEN TO INDIANS THEN

Those of us who lived in America for a number of years know the way in which the Indian people were received and treated by the Americans. We had absolutely no hope of receiving attention from either the Americans or the Canadians. Lala Lajpat Rai, when he was invited by the Indians living in Canada, refused to enter that country as did Rabindranath Tagore. This he did because of the treatment meted out by the Canadians to the Indians living in their country. The *Koma-Gata-Maru* incident of 1912 was yet fresh in the minds of the Indian people. So, both, Lala Lajpat Rai and Rabindranath Tagore, refused to enter Canada until the Canadian Government mended its method of treating the Indian settlers in Canada. However, Lala Lajpat Rai asked me to go to Canada and study the living conditions of the Indian people in that country first-hand and report. I did go and get some bad experience. The report pained Lalaji.

All this was thirty years ago. During his stay in U.S.A., from 1916 to 1920 Lala Lajpat Rai suffered immensely. He was not recognised as even a fighter for Indian Freedom. But Eamon De-Valera, a kith and kin of the Americans, received recognition at their hands. Just as Lalaji, he too was a fighter. One received honour, the other got nothing.

Today, in 1949, we see a vast change. Within 30 years, the world has changed immensely metamorphosically. All that the Americans did then has been forgotten by them. The change that has overtaken them is exhibited in greeting Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

What is the reason? The reason is clear. Mahatma Gandhi has made us stand on our own feet and has taught us to shine by our own deeds. It is the Freedom that we have won without shedding a drop of blood of the enemy that has made the Americans greet us and meet us half-

way. Besides, the world circumstances have changed and the strongest of the enemies of America — Russia — is knocking at their door. The Americans have to find friends in the world and create goodwill in order to save themselves. Their friend, Chiang Kai-shek, upon whom they depended in the East is now out of the political arena. India and India alone can save face of the West in the East and therefore they are now pampering the Indian people. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Premier of India, heir of Mahatma Gandhi, the loveable idol of the Indian people and a master-writer, has attracted the Americans. It is through him that they intend to secure the Asian goodwill and help in the probable defence of their interests in the Pacific Zone. Hence, the unprecedented reception to India in 1949.

It is not without reason, Mahatma Gandhi's prophetic advice that has been quoted at the beginning of this article stands good for all ages and at all times.

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EAST-WEST PHILOSOPHERS' CONFERENCE

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

I

THE second conference of philosophers from East and West, held in Honolulu under the auspices of the University of Hawaii, was a memorable event in the history of philosophy in modern times. It lasted six weeks, from June 20 to July 29, 1949. The first conference was held ten years ago at the same place and under the same auspices. One of its important results was the publication of two notable books, *The Meeting of East and West*, by F. S. C. Northrop, and *East and West in Philosophy*, edited by Charles A. Moore.

Sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, the McNary Foundation, and the Watumull Foundation, the present conference was attended by twenty-two members, representing India, Ceylon, Japan, China, the Territory of Hawaii, and the mainland of America. Twenty-four associate members came from the different universities of the U.S.A. The members and associate members may be said to have fairly represented a cross-section of American philosophical thought. Several members of the Hawaii University faculty, and some of the general public of Honolulu interested in philosophy, attended the conference by special invitation.

Among the distinguished American philosophers who participated at the conference may be mentioned E. A. Burt (Cornell), G. P. Conger (Minnesota), W. R. Dennis (California), Charles A. Moore (Hawaii), Y. P. Mei (Yenching, China), Filmore S. C. Northrop (Yale), D. T. Suzuki (Otani, Japan), John Wild (Harvard), and W. H. Sheldon (Yale).

Ceylon was represented by G. P. Malalasekhara (Colombo), and India by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, D. M. Datta (Patna), P. T. Raju (Andhra), T. M. P. Mahadevan (Madras), and Swami Nikhilananda (Ramakrishna Mission). There was no delegate representing the Islamic culture or any Roman Catholic university. The first conference did not have any delegate from India; American philosophers represented Indian thought.

Most of the members and associate members were lodged on the university campus. They generally had all their meals in the cafeteria of the university. Thus they had ample opportunity to carry on their discussions of philosophical problems at the dining table and on the porches of their living quarters. Various strands of Eastern and Western philosophy were debated, and the possibilities of a synthesis, which was the general aim of the conference, was explored.

Dr. Gregg M. Sincliar, President of Hawaii University, and Dr. Charles Moore spared no pains to ensure the comforts and conveniences of the guest philosophers. Honolulu fully vindicated its reputation of warm hospitality to foreign visitors. The philosophers were entertained by prominent citizens with teas, luncheons, dinners, and sight-seeing trips. The Admiral of Pearl Harbor invited the philosophers to take a boat trip around the harbour. Honolulu, a gem in the Pacific, abounds in fine natural scenery. Flowers were in full bloom. The trees were laden with mangoes, papayas, and other tropical fruits. Bathing was arranged at Wakiki beach. All these

things added to the enjoyment of the delegates and relieved the tension of their discussions on abstruse philosophical matters.

The East-West Philosophers' Conference opened on June 20 at 7-30 p.m. at Farrington Hall. Dr. Sinclair introduced the members of the conference to the public. Suitable replies were given to the felicitous words of welcome. The regular meetings started the following day.

Ten public lectures were given by several members of the conference. Dr. Northrop delivered five lectures on "Scientific and Philosophical Foundations of Western Culture." His dynamic personality created a deep impression. Well versed in law, mathematics, philosophy, and the physical sciences, Dr. Northrop showed an almost intuitive insight in grasping the viewpoints of the East. Repeatedly he pointed out that the concept by intuition, pursued by Eastern philosophers, was necessary to understand the supra-mental reality which he called the "undifferentiated aesthetic continuum." He is convinced that his theory is able to harmonize the different viewpoints of science, religion, and philosophy.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer spoke on "Modern Development of Hinduism" and Dr. D. M. Datta on "Philosophical Basis of Indian Democracy." Farrington Hall was packed to hear the distinguished speakers from East and West.

Twenty-four formal papers on technical philosophical subjects were read and discussed at the meetings of the conference. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer read his paper on "The Philosophical Foundations of the Legal and Political Structure of Indian Culture"; Dr. D. M. Datta, on "Epistemological Methods in Indian Philosophy"; Dr. P. T. Raju, on "Metaphysical Theories in Indian Philosophy"; and Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, on the "Basis of Social, Ethical, and Spiritual Values in Indian Philosophy." Swami Nikhilananda read two papers, one on "Concentration and Meditation as Methods in Indian Philosophy," and the other on "Discussion of Brahman in the Upanishads." The Swami also addressed meetings of the local Rotary Club, the Lions Club, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the Representative Club. The conference distributed to the members and associate members free copies of *Introduction to Indian Philosophy* by D. M. Datta and of *The Upanishads* Vol. I by Swami Nikhilananda.

Visiting philosophers conducted seven special courses in Oriental and comparative philosophy in the summer session of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Datta, Dr. Mahadevan, and Dr. Raju gave courses in Indian philosophy and also participated in the seminars in comparative methodology, comparative ethics, social philosophy and comparative metaphysics. For six weeks the members and associate members in the survey courses and in the seminars

discussed in great detail the problems of ethics, methodology, and metaphysics. The discussions took place on a high intellectual level; opinions were freely expressed, and a spirit of keen sportsmanship was shown to understand and appreciate the viewpoints of others. It appears that the philosophers from different countries realized the need of correcting, supplementing, and enriching their respective philosophical traditions by the knowledge of what others had to offer.

The reports of the deliberations of the seminar and survey courses were submitted to the open conference of the members and the associate members for further discussion. The following is a brief report of the findings and also of the problems raised.

ETHICS

Religious beliefs were left out of the deliberations. Western naturalism in its mature, non-reductionist development, Theravada Buddhism, and Hindu philosophy, among others, were primarily discussed. No basic cleavage was discovered in moral doctrine or ethical theory, though differences in emphasis and in the ranking of values were often evident. There was a common agreement about the ethics of love and compassion, and about the Golden Rule both in its affirmative and its negative formulation. Generally speaking Western naturalism finds the highest good and supreme moral value in social life and action and not in individual salvation or self-perfection. The Confucian ethics, through its concepts of 'Yen' and 'Yi' stresses obligations rather than rights, and emphasizes mutuality in family and social relations. In Buddhist ethics the exercise of compassion in action and the individual's obligation to the community are stressed. The ethics of Vedanta is based on the non-duality of Atman and on the unity of existence. All that exists is Brahman. It is the inmost self of all beings. No selfishness or greed is possible for him who realized the meaning of "Tattavamasi," "That thou art." Furthermore, ethics and morality, in all their aspects, are included in the four-fold disciplines of Vedanta, without which the contemplation of the oneness of Brahman and the self is not possible. Ministering to man's spiritual needs, teaching him how to control his passions, greed, sensuality, and ego, is more important than supplying him with mere physical necessities.

The Western and the Confucian ethics mainly fulfil themselves through action. Taoism, in its "Wu wei" doctrine exalts the ideal of acting with spontaneity and naturalness; and Buddhism speaks of equanimity in action. Vedanta emphasizes contemplation more than action as the manifestation of a higher life. Vedantic non-action does not mean passivity. It is the renunciation of the illusory notion of the ego and also of attachment to the fruit of action. Passivity is a trait of *tamas* (inertia) and severely

condemned. Work in the ordinary sense is not possible for the man whose self has realized its identity with Brahman or the cosmic self. He performs true selfless action, in which Atman remains conscious of its non-active nature while the senses and the mind are busy with work. According to the Gandhian doctrine, while confronting evil, if a choice is to be made between cowardice and violence, the latter is to be preferred; but non-violence (*ahimsa*), which is not meek submission but putting one's whole spiritual strength against the evil-door, is infinitely superior. One finds in the Bhagavad Gita that when good is challenged by evil and all peaceful efforts to subdue evil fail, then the righteous man should use physical power for the preservation of the social order.

Western naturalism and Confucian humanism are concerned with man's life here and now; while the Taoist shows relative indifference to the values of this world, although in practice he leads a life of contentment and detachment which possesses a simple charm of its own. Buddhism asks man to release himself from the wheel of rebirth and thus denies the supreme value of this world; but it is opposed to asceticism and self-mortification. Vedanta prizes four achievements for every human being. These are the cultivation of moral perfection (*dharma*), of economic security (*artha*), of sense pleasure (*kama*), and of liberation from bondage to the world (*moksha*). The first three possess only instrumental, not intrinsic, value. Phenomenal life is transitory. The highest aim of a man lies in his realization of freedom. Through discrimination and experience he realizes the impermanent nature of the first three attainments. Thus he becomes detached from the unreal ego and the world and strives for liberation. A knower of Brahman transcends moral values but he cannot, by his words, his thoughts, or his actions, do anything evil. All his evil propensities were of necessity destroyed while he was preparing for liberation. A knower of Brahman always exerts a good influence upon society. In his presence evil remains subdued. Moral virtues remain with him as ornaments, though he no longer cultivates them assiduously. Western naturalism finds the highest good in moral, aesthetic, and intellectual, rather than in spiritual, values. But a new trend in naturalism, as stressed by W. R. Dennis, wishes not to exclude any humanly experienced value. Confucianism "keeps its feet in two boats," in accepting and transforming this life, especially in its human relations, and also in making room for spiritual values.

Naturalism emphasizes the individual, conceived pluralistically but analysed in social terms. Confucianism, while accepting this concept, provides for the development of the individual to the last stage, which culminates with his identification with the universe. It denies, however, the Absolute or a transcendental reality. Taoism stresses self-transcendence and merger with nature. Vedanta distinguishes between the individualized, empirical self, *jiva*, and the supreme

self, Paramatman. The reality of the former is admitted during the state of *avidya* or nescience. The empirical self is realized, however, to be the supreme self when the ultimate truth is known. Vedanta has elaborate systems of cosmology, psychology, ethics, and spiritual discipline, which are all based on the empirical reality of the individual soul and the manifold universe.

As regards the ground of morality, all systems were found to contain large elements of empirical reference. They all invite men to "come and see" what is good. Influenced to a large extent by physical science, the West tends to regard ethical judgments of facts, without committing the culturalistic fallacy. Vedanta, in laying down ethical laws, pays respect to the teachings of seers, as embodied in the scriptural texts, which must not, however contradict one's reason and experience. Vedanta also admits the fluid nature of moral laws, which often change with the change of time and circumstances.

There is a general agreement that ethics and metaphysics are closely related in both East and West. In Vedanta ethics is solely dependent upon metaphysical theories regarding the ultimate nature of the soul, the universe, and ultimate reality. The foundation of Vedantic ethics lies in the conception of the unity of existence and the potential divinity of every soul. The sure way of overcoming selfishness, greed, and lust is to realize the impermanence of the empirical self, projected by ignorance. When a man finds himself one with all living beings, and all living beings one with himself, he cannot but cultivate an attitude of love for all.

It appears that all the ethical problems were not fully discussed in the seminars and classes to the complete satisfaction of the Western naturalists and Chinese humanists. The following questions need further clarification and study: What value is to be attached to the empirical personality of the individual? Is the locus of values the individual person, or society, or a transcendent entity? Are they crucial; useful as secondary correctives; or quite unnecessary? If the worldly values are to be deprecated, and finally renounced and transcended, how can these be prized and cultivated? If they are realized as merely instrumental to the life of the spirit, will there not be any loss to the ethical life? Should we not joyously seek after this worldly values and affirm them? What is the specific content of the philosophy of inaction, detachment, contemplation, and renunciation? How will this philosophy help man to overcome present evil and injustice? What should be the special concern of ethics? Will it be social service, or economic and social transformation, or spiritual enlightenment? Can all these be combined in equal degree? What is the place of spirituality in ethics? If ethical values are to be ultimately transcended, will not their importance be minimized thereby? How is emphasis on spiritual

values to be reconciled, if deemed necessary, with the philosophy of nature and with empirical experiences? Is metaphysics *logically* necessary as the ground for morality? Is it necessary *psychologically*? Can one derive the same or similar moral doctrines from divergent metaphysical theories? What is the relation between moral doctrines grounded in metaphysical theories and those grounded on empirical theories? Can the one profit from the insight of the other?

METHODOLOGY

The major differences between Eastern and Western methodological assumptions are found to be as follows: The East uses mainly "concepts by intuition"; the West assigns a very important role to "concepts by postulation." The West wants concrete, logical proof for any belief; Easterners say that ultimate reality may be indicated by logic, but it can be fully realized only by intuition or direct experience. In Vedanta the ultimate experience reveals a total identity of the subject and the object. Therefore, logic does not function there. Westerners want to experience everything for themselves before being convinced; Easterners are prepared to accept, in supersensuous matters, the experience of their ancient seers. Such experience serves as a corrective for reason and personal experience, as reason by itself may be a rationalization of one's desire, and experience full of self-deception. One can be sure by having realized truth when the evidences of reason, the testimony of previous seers, and personal experience point to the same conclusion. But personal experience gives the ultimate validity. Western philosophies are primarily theoretical, aiming at thinking truthfully about reality; Eastern philosophies are primarily practical, aiming to show men how to realize identity with reality. The West is basically concerned with this present world and believes it can be saved by changing it through time. The East is basically concerned with an ultimate, beyond this world (or deep within it). It further believes that no perfection in this world is possible. Western philosophy shows a zest for analysis and is convinced that analysis is significantly independent of any ulterior consideration; for Eastern philosophy, analysis is almost always related to some further purpose and is regarded as insignificant when detached from it. The West is convinced that the result of any knowledge-seeking enterprise is fully expressible in verbal symbols, whose relations are subject to the ordinary logical rules; in the East, the intuitive "higher knowledge" is not capable of verbal expression and communication. The attention of the West is primarily turned to the external world, and that of the East to the inner self with its spiritual and social potentialities.

Some of the Eastern philosophers pointed out that in some systems of Indian philosophy logic is highly developed. The philosophy of Charvaka, for instance,

does not accept anything as true that is not corroborated by sense experience. Logic also plays an important part in the Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems.

The differences mentioned above give rise to several problems. One of them is that both East and West believe that their theories are supported by "experience," and that both employ something akin to the "inductive" method. But the Eastern philosophers seem to accept the Western inductive method as valid to the finite objects and events of external experience, but not to the self, which is for them the most important entity to be known. The Western philosophers found it difficult to accept, as data of experience, what is disclosed in dreamless sleep or in the ultimate self-realization.

The greatest difficulty of the West seems to lie in the confidence of the East in the method of intuition, or the gaining of experience without the instrumentality of the senses. This the modern West distrusts. To the West intuition often suggests an irrational apprehension; to the East it is suprarational and is the trusted means by which ultimate metaphysical knowledge may be gained. In the attainment of metaphysical knowledge the East demands prior intellectual and moral disciplines. Logical reasoning is necessary to clear the student's path of contradictions and doubts. The mind also must be cleared of obstructions arising from selfish desire and turbulent emotion. The West finds it hard to accustom itself to this idea, since it does not think it necessary to acquire any moral virtue except honesty or intellectual integrity. In the East, the knowledge of ultimate reality—gained through the testimony of competent persons, reason, and personal experience—is self-evident. The West wants to submit knowledge to further verification. It tends to regard any experimental knowledge, even of the highest order, as always corrigible by further experience. Indian thinkers believe that the intuitive realization of reality is not thus corrigible. They think that a knowledge that brings about a oneness of subject and object is final: it is not a sort of knowledge that merely adds to our information. But the West asks if we can tell infallibly when one has attained to such ultimate knowledge. Vedanta emphatically says that one can.

Another crucial point of difficulty to Westerners is the claim made by Vedanta that the "higher" knowledge, gained by intuition or direct experience, is not communicable to ordinary men through the medium of words. The West characteristically distrusts any such knowledge, which it calls "esoteric."

It seems to be the general consensus that the East and the West, in their methodologies, in the main complement rather than contradict each other, but that the points of possible conflict should be frankly faced.

(To be continued)

THE SAMKHAHALI OR DINNER DANCE OF KERALA

By M. S. KRISHNA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

THE Samkhakali or the Dinner dance, which is known under several names as Sastrakali, Yathrakali, Sathirakali, Chathirakali, Sastrangam, Kshathrangam, Panakali, Panamkali, Panayum Kaliyum, etc., has had once like the Koodiyattom, the Chakkyarkoothu and other theatrical representations, great popularity among Kerala folk, and is still met with during festivals in the houses of kings and other personages of distinction. Like Kathakali, and dances like Mohiniattom whose artistic worth has come to be recognised only within the last few years, the Samkhakali also is a superior form of dramatic representation having literary excellence and historical importance, and it deserves revival, though with changes suitable to the times.

The Nambudiri Brahman had a notable part to play in the evolution and development of this form of *Rupaka* (dramatic representation), and in the hey-days of Kerala, it formed an inevitable part of any family function conducted under his auspices. It is necessary therefore, before we proceed to trace the origin of the Samkhakali, to go back a little to the early history of Kerala and one of its earliest settlers, the Nambudiri Brahmans.

Whether one believes in the legendary origin of Kerala or not, it may be presumed that Sri Parasurama was the leader of the Aryan Brahmans who emigrated to the land. The superior mode of life of the new-comer must necessarily have evoked the admiration of the earlier inhabitants and the result also must naturally have been that the new-comer gained leadership and Parasurama became the founder of a new social and governmental order. History records that the country under this order was divided into sixty-four villages, each forming a unit of administration. These villages were grouped into four territorial divisions each with a Rakshapurusha or administrative head. Later on when troubles arose the Perumal Kings were also anointed.

These arrangements for civil government were, of course, followed by the need for military protection, and therefore some Brahmans decided to practise the science of archery. This led to a caste division among Brahmans, for, they could not according to the Dharmasastras, follow the profession of arms allowed only to the Kshatriyas. The Brahmans were generally of eight classes and there were any number of subdivisions. The fifth class was called the Jatimatrakar (belonging to the caste only in name) and in this category was included the Ashtavaidyans (the hereditary experts in medical science and practice in Kerala), the

Brahmakshatriyas (those Brahmans that accepted Kshatriya Dharma), the Vedadhyanatyagis (those who abandoned the study of the Vedas), and the Parivarthanakkars (those liable to change their manners and customs). These Brahmakshatriyas were the persons who were initiated by Parasurama into the science of archery. These are known in Kerala under various names as Chathirar, Sastranambudiri, Yatra Nambudiri, Yatranga Nambudiri, etc., and it is first, the eighteen groups among them including those that belong to the villages of Kadamuri and Chenganoor in Travancore, that generally conduct the Samkhakali. The other Nambudiris that conduct the Samkhakali are those who settled in Travancore under circumstances detailed below.

The Nambudiris of Thaliparamba village (in the present North Malabar) for some reason earned the displeasure of Udayavarma Kolattiri, Raja of Chirakkal, who, out of spite, brought 237 families of equal distinction as the Thaliparamba Nambudiris from Kokarnam in Tuluvakhanda (one of the four territorial divisions referred to above) to Perinchallur village and attempted to influence the other Nambudiris to accept the new-comers as one among them and as included in their group. Thirty-one villages accepted this new dispensation, the one village Taliparamba alone not agreeing. These new-comers came to be called Sagara Brahmans and Udaya Varma earned the appellation of Parasurama the Second. These Nambudiris belonging to the Perinchallur group first settled in Kolattunad. During Tipu Sultan's invasion some of these Nambudiri families fled away and sought protection under Karthiga Thirunal Maharaja of Travancore. The gracious Maharaja, whose only pleasure in life was giving relief to the distressed, gave them asylum. The descendants of these families are still known to reside in the Moovathupuzha, Chenganasseri Thiruvalla and Mavelikkara taluks in Travancore. The Nambudiris of these places, as also of Evur and Karthigapally conduct the Samkhakali.

Each of the different names under which this form of dramatic representation is known and to which reference has been made in the opening of this article, has etymologically a different meaning and probably refers only to a particular part of aspect of the play, and the difference in nomenclature seems to have arisen either because a comprehensive knowledge of this art portrayal has been lost by efflux of time or because its early characteristics underwent such metamorphosis that the more important in its component parts were wiped out and the less striking assumed more promi-

ment shape, and many new features also came in. (See *The Chathu Panikkar Memorial Lectures* by Appan Thampuran, page 5).

There is also a lot of difference of opinion as to how the name "Samkhakali" itself came to be adopted. Some opine that it is called so because it is put on boards by a Samkha (a company or association of people). (*History of Malayalam Literature* by R. Narayana Panikkar, page 52). Others say that it is so named because it is enacted by a company of archers (Yodha Samkham). (*History of Kerala* by A. K. Pisharoti, page 54). Others opine that just as there was what was called "Samkhas", a group which had religious significance only among the Buddhists in ancient India, there was among the highest class of Kerala Brahmins (Nambudiris) some Samkhamaryadas (group conventions). The Samkhakali is a symbolic representation of such group life, the shell of it alone now unfortunately remaining. According to this view, the Samkhakali is a cue to finding out many particulars relating to the administration of the country, the army, and the religious and social life of the people. (Vide *The Sangha Orders* by K. Ramavarma Raja, page 1). That the Samkhakali or the Sasthakali is only a simple form of entertainment where humour is the predominant sentiment, and it is so called only because it is conducted by a dramatic group (Samkha) composed of Brahmins and Kshatriyas, is yet another view. (See *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, page 163). That the Yathrakali had a mixed origin and that it is only an entertainment which had its foundation in the science of archery and which continued to be conducted by a group of Nambudiri Brahmins said to be the direct representatives of the Brahman army of Sri Parasurama, is the view held by some scholars. (See E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. V, page 229). A few also hold that the Samkhakali is a kind of entertainment exhibited on the stage by some prominent group of persons (Samkhas) from among the Brahmakshatriya families. (See *Kshatriyas* by K. Ramavarma Raja).

Kerala history talks of 18 Samkhas, 18 Nadus (divisions of the country), 18 army camps, 18 modes of archery and use of other implements of war (*Adavugal* and *Ayudha prayogangal*), 18 kinds of manners and customs (*Nattacharangal*) and there seems to be something of importance in this octodecimal division. Further there were 108 military training centres in the 18 Nadus together and six Sampradayis or hereditary chieftains or Gurus who each founded a different mode or school of military training. Each of these chieftains had one camp (*Kalari*) in each of the 18 Nadus, thus constituting in all 108 camps as pointed out above. There is evidence to show that each group of warriors belonging thus to a particular order or school was called a Samkha. Therefore the "Samkham" in Samkhakali must have been the Samkham or association of warriors. That this word "Samkham" came to

have a wider meaning must have been because with the advent of Brahmin predominance and rule in Kerala the constitution of the Samkhas and their manners and customs underwent a radical change.

This form of entertainment throws much light on the conditions of life that existed at the time of its origin and this Yodha Samkham was probably organised on the same lines as the warrior brigades of the middle ages in the west. (See *Sangha Orders* by K. Ramavarma Raja).

The other names by which this form of entertainment is known are not names comprehensive of the whole idea of the play. They are only appellations indicating one or other of the following—the history, traditional precepts, make-up, conduct or conventional modes followed in the play.

The appellation, Yathrakali (literally meaning stage representation of a procession) is again believed to be symbolical of the great processional march that the Mimamsakas led to the presence of the Perumal King challenging the Buddhist propagandists. It is not known if this belief has any foundation, and if it has any, how an event of a superior religious significance came to be associated with a more or less dramatic rehearsal. (See *History of Malayalam Literature* by Narayana Panikkar).

Yet another view which appears to have some historical background, about the connotation of Yathrakali is that it is emblematical of the victorious march of the Kerala Brahmins who took cudgels against the fissiparous tendencies that had set in in the governance of the country and that the dramatic representation as at present displayed is indicative of the then feuds among the ruling classes. (See *History of Kerala* by A. K. Pisharoti).

A tradition connected with the Thrikkariyur temple in Travancore has it that Samkhakali is something in the nature of an offering made to propitiate Sri Parvati and Parameswara. It further goes to say that when the Brahmins who ruled the land felt the need for a king, they sent Attakkat Nambudiri to the neighbouring Chera Nad to fetch one. In those times there was only a narrow passage through the mountains connecting the Kerala country with Coimbatore. As the Nambudiri was coming back with the Chera King a bright super-natural light that spread over the hills was perceived. Two young Nambudiris belonging to Chengamanat village proceeded to find out what that light was. What appeared to them was Goddess Sri Bhagavati herself. The Goddess enjoined on them to go to Kodungalloor (the modern Cranganore) via Thrikkariyur. When they reached the latter place they heard an *Asaviri* (incorporeal voice)—*Chera Perumal! Chera Perumal!* (Chera King). The meaning of the warning exclamation was that, as the Thrikkariyur temple was consecrated by Parasurama, the Kshatriyas on pain of condign punishment were denied entrance there. At this place during the time of the sixth Perumal King, the Brahmins and the Buddhists held a religious dis-

putation. The king ordered that the contestants should come to a definite decision as to which of the two religions was superior. The Brahmans began to pray the Lord of Thrikkariyur for their success in the contest. Then Jangama Maharishi came there and initiated them into the secret of a Samaveda Mantra of four *padas* (feet). He then advised them to remove the lamp that was burning within the Garbha Griha (Sanctum Sanctorum) from the time of Mandhatha to the western bathing ghat of the temple tank and continue propitiating Lord Siva. The propitiation went on for a *Mandala* (41 days) when Mayura Bhatta and five others came there and the discussion began with their assistance. But as the discussion went on endlessly the king wanted somehow to conclude it. He secretly caused a cobra to be put into a water-pot, sealed it and enquired of both the parties as to what the pitcher contained. The Buddhists gave the answer correctly and hit the nail on its head. But the Brahmans asserted that it contained a lotus flower and when the jar was opened it was discovered that the assertion was right. From that day the Nalupada (chanting of the Samaveda Mantra referred to above which forms a part of the Samkhakali even to day) began to be considered efficacious to achieve any desired object. It is said that when the Nambudiri Brahmans were chanting the Mantra, the Devas and the Gandharvas were entertaining Sri Parvati with dance and music. An incorporeal voice was then heard to say, "Let these entertaining items also form part of the ceremony for propitiation of Lord Siva." This, according to this tradition, is the origin of the Samkhakali. (See *Cochin Castes and Tribes* by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, pp. 163-165).

A slightly variant tradition substituting Muslims in the place of the Buddhists, and a Yogiswara in the place of the Maharishi and the six Brahmans, is also extant.

One other tradition runs as follows. When the Brahmans went to the Thrikkariyur temple for worship, they took with them some other Brahmans who were well versed in archery and who were for that reason considered not competent to study the Vedas, for the purpose of protecting themselves against the Muslims. These Brahman archers, for whiling away their leisure, engaged themselves in singing, dancing and drumming. When in course of time the Nalupadam became popular, these funny things also happened to be shown, and the two functions came to be associated one with the other with the result that the two became inevitable adjuncts. It is this combination that is called Samkhakali according to this tradition.

It need hardly be said that these traditions cannot stand strict historical or rational criticism. But indeed they are useful to us as explaining certain features and conventions of the entertainment as at present staged or exhibited. And from the fact that all the names by which this form of art is called, can be etymologically explained to have some relationship or other

with archery and other military practices, it appears fairly clear that Samkhakali had a military organisational basis.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in one of the 64 villages, what was called Ezham Muttukali was being enacted. (See Thurston: *South Indian Castes and Tribes*). This is said to be an abbreviated form of the Yathrakali; but it has no religious conventions. The actors need not be Brahmans. Nalupadam has no place in it. Sitting round the lighted lamp the actors sing in praise of Lord Siva and begin their play. The play consists of some questions and answers, putting forward of a proposition or problem for decision, a decision on the matter and then a final decision. Whether this form of art has any relationship with the history of Kerala, is a matter for enquiry, and if so it may be that the Samkhas existed even before the Brahman advent and predominance in Kerala, that they were Yodhasamkhas, that archerial feats were exhibited in the stage side by side with other funs, and that the Brahminical Nalupadam, etc., were later introductions.

The one common feature of all the Samkhas is that all of them have Thrikkariyurappan or Lord Siva of Thrikkariyur as their titular deity. So the birth-place of Samkhakali must have been Thrikkariyur. Ezham Gramam was the place where Ezham Muttukali was started and if the Chengamanat Nambudiri who met the first Chera King (to whom we have made reference above) belonged to this village the place where the Samkhakali took its roots must have been Thrikkariyur and the time of its development about 113 B.C. or thereabout.

A peculiar practice among the Samkhas even today is that each of them plays only in a particular portion or division of the country. This limitation must have come about because, as the demand for this kind of devotional sport grew, and as the Brahmans who conducted it could not go to all the places where they were wanted, they were grouped into 18 Samkhas, each under a different name and each given jurisdiction to exhibit the play in a given Desam or section of the country.

The Samkhakali is generally enacted during big family festivals as marriages, Upanayanam, Anna-prasanam, Shastiabadapurthi, birthday celebrations of royal personages, Pradrandam Masam (day after the first death anniversary), etc. It has four parts called respectively the Nalupadam, the Angyam, the Pana and the Hasyam. Its elaborate technique exhibits wonderful indigenous talent, and it also shows the recognition by its authors of the presence of the supreme in everything and everywhere. It also consists of quaint and curious rituals. We shall now proceed to give a general account of the play and its paraphernalia.

The troupe of actors reaches the place in the morning of the day the function is proposed to be held. The first thing that they do is to proclaim their arrival by beat of drums. This is called Kelikottu. A big mid-

day feast is arranged for the actors. An hour or two hence there is what is known as Uchappattu. This proceeds by first placing upside down a big copper vessel, circular in shape, in the pandal or Shamiana improvised for the show. The Nambudiris sit round the vessel and begin playing on it and sing several kinds of songs. The songs are in old Malayalam having dialectal peculiarities. A detailed and colourful description of Sri Durga is the substance of these songs. One among those sitting round does not take part in the drumming or music but sits leaning on one side with a *chirattakkayyil* (spoon made of coconut shell) in his hand. After some time is spent by his friends in singing, this individual plays the oracle and gives expression to what is supposed to be inspired by the divine. The spoon is the oracle's emblem. The oracle is believed to have derived supramental power from Durga who has been propitiated by the adulation and panegyrics that have gone before.

Before the oracle finishes his part, it is dusk and the actors have *sandhya* or evening prayers. Then begins the Nalupadam or Dipapradakshinam, the next and most important part of the Samkhakali. The actors go round a big lighted lamp loudly chanting in Vedic style and conforming to *tala* (time). What they chant is a hymn in Dravidian metre. The hymn apparently is only laudatory of Thrikkariyurappan, Sri Krishna and Siva, but it really contains the essence of all the four Vedas. Going round the lamp singing this song of praise is regarded as very auspicious. The chant is so enthralling that it moves even the confirmed unbeliever. 'Nalupadam' (literally, containing four feet) can only be a conventional name, for the verse as a whole has more than four feet or *padas*.

After the Nalupadam comes a grand dinner to the actors who, during the meal, call for various kinds of dainty dishes one by one, which the host is bound to supply. Various pleasing tunes are adopted in calling for the things and this gives occasion for a lot of merriment. At intervals what is called *Karislukas* (verses about the dishes) are recited. These verses begin with prayers of Ganesha, Saraswati and Krishna. There is also a special chant for Lord Ganesha. This part of the show is reminiscent of the great feast offered by Kubera to Lord Ganesha. There is then the cheering indicative of the magnificence of the feast, followed by *Neetuchollal*, which is of several kinds. The one in general vogue is the reading of a long letter composed in old and ornate Malayalam prose and addressed by one Puranic hero to another. This is not simple reading ;

it is accompanied by action and there will be cheering both at the beginning and the end.

After dinner the regular dance drama begins. The actors dress themselves in different kinds of costumes and come out in procession from the green room towards the Kalipandal (stage). The drummers and the Dipayashtikkars (persons holding lights perched on staffs) accompany them. They all station themselves a little away from the stage where in the meanwhile a big lamp is lighted and Arippara (a big measureful of rice), Nelpara (a measureful of paddy), raw and ripe plantain bunches, cocoanut, *pan palakhombu* (white cedar branch), tender cocoanut leaves, etc., are brought and arranged in a particular order. The musicians stand near this and the spectators also occupy places close by. The procession slowly continues its march with music, drumming, etc., the actors singing *vanchipattu* (boat song). The actors take their seats around the lamp. The drummers take the place behind them. After a short panegyric on Ganesha, what is called Angya begins. The musicians sing from behind. They keep time on a water-pot (something like the Ghata Vadyam that is seen in Madras). The actors then show different finger signs (Angya). Though there is not much connection between the songs and the signs, the scene on the whole produces much laughter, mirth and buffoonery, and concludes with dances and songs and circumambulation round the sacred lamp.

The third part of the Samkhakali called Pana then begins. It consists of two parts. The first is *Polipattu*. This consists of singing eulogistic songs on Ganesha, Mahamaya, Sri Krishna, and the Vedic gods. The second is *Thattolyuzhichal*. All stand up and pray, and *vadya ghosha* (instrumental music) is at its highest swing. In a cocoanut shell without the kernel being removed, ghee is poured and a flame is kept burning, and *mantrakshata*, etc., are placed on a broad plate. This plate is waved three times before the big lamp, when a *mantra* praising Sri Durga is also chanted.

Then comes the fourth and concluding part—Hasya. This portion is illustrative of the proverbial Nambudiri humour. Several actors as the oracle, Kandappan, Viddi (buffoon), Kakkalan, Prakkal, Nambudiri, Kaniyar, etc., take part ; but Kandappan is the biggest buffoon of all. He poses himself as a big dignitary and boasts of his accomplishments. His speeches, songs and actions are full of wit and humour. There is much of Sringara Rasa (erotic) also. The other actors likewise indulge themselves in a lot of fun and frolic. Before all these end, it is daybreak and a benedictory song concludes the function.



TWO BRITISH SYMPATHISERS OF THE INDIAN WAR OF REVOLUTION

BY S. R. RANA, PARIS

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF DR. RICHARD

CONGREVE

RICHARD CONGREVE, third son of Thomas Congreve by Julia, his wife, was born at Leamington, Hastings, Warwickshire, in September 1818. He was educated at Boulogne under an uncle from May 1827 to 1832, and afterwards at Rugby till 1837. He went to Oxford, a typical pupil of Dr. Arnold, high-minded and intensely earnest. He gained a scholarship at Wadham College, Oxford, took a first class in 1840 and in 1844 obtained a fellowship. His influence upon his pupils is said to have been singularly bracing morally as well as intellectually. He spent some years as a master at Rugby until 1854. In that year he resigned his fellowship and thenceforward devoted himself to the study and dissemination of Positivism. He married his cousin, Maria, eldest daughter of John Bury, surgeon of Coventry in 1854, and after some months abroad, settled at Wandsworth. He had taken orders in 1854 and he had become acquainted with the writings of August Comte, then in course of publication.

In 1856 he published *Gibraltar*, a pamphlet advocating the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain, and on Comte's death in 1857, he devoted himself to the preaching of Positivism as a religion, — the Religion of Humanity, bearing on national as well as personal morality. In that year he returned to Dr. Tait (then Bishop of London) his Letters of Orders and published his pamphlet pleading justice for India. The animosity aroused by the publication of this essay on India and the hostile criticisms passed by the English thereon injured him materially.

As a preparation for the special functions of a Positivist Priest, he studied medicine at King's College, going through the whole curriculum successfully.

Dr. Congreve was elected Honorary Fellow of Wadham in December 1891. In 1870 a room—19, Chapel Street, Lambs' Conduct Street, was taken for Positivist purposes and there he, as a leader or director, gave Positivist lectures. There was a split amongst the London Positivists in 1879, when Dr. Congreve deeply regretted for the sake of the cause. In 1881 he went to live in Palace Gardens Terrace but for the rest of his life, disturbed as it was by trials and anxiety, he preached and ministered in the little church at Chapel Street, where also were first spoken the various appeals to justice and humanity, which he put forth and which were afterwards reprinted in three volumes. The last of these special appeals was in 1875 in favour of Brazil, and in his address on the Festival of Humanity in 1896, some of the early pages are headed "Pressure of Empire, India, Armenia, Ashanti." He read the Service at Chapel Street on the last Sunday before his death, which took place on July 5, 1899.

Dr. Congreve's published works are contained in three volumes called *Essays—Political, Social and Religious*, *The Fourth Volume of the Politics Positive* and some earlier circulars.

INDIAN PLACARD

Protest published as a Placard

The Thanksgiving ordered for May 1, 1859

Believing the cause of the English in India to be unjust and that of the Hindus just, as the legitimate effort of a nation to shake off an oppressive foreign yoke, Believing consequently, the English success to be triumph of force over right,

Considering secondly that even had our cause been just, it has been disgraced at home by fraudulent misrepresentations, by exhibition of a ferocious spirit of vengeance and disgraced in India by atrocious cruelties, that we have been demoralised ourselves and lowered in the eyes of all nations,

Considering lastly that the English viceroy is but the source of many evils to us as a nation, involving a further pressure on the already overtaxed and suffering industrial poor of this country and sacrifices of lives of English soldiers drawn from the same class,

I hereby do all that is in my power as a private Englishman to clear myself and induce others to reflect.

In the name of humanity I publicly protest against the Thanksgiving of the 1st May, as an act at variance with our national professions as a free people, repugnant to the spirit of Christianity which the nation has recognised and an outrage upon all higher feelings of mankind.

(Signed) Richard Congreve.

South Fields, Wandsworth

April 19, 1859.

The above-mentioned pamphlet *India* of Dr. Richard Congreve was reprinted and distributed, to the English press and those Englishmen who took interest in India, by late Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma—President of the "Home Rule for India" Society in London. The author of the pamphlet suggested three ways of putting an end to the pernicious system of the Government of one country by another :

- (1) Voluntary withdrawal of the English occupation.
- (2) A successful effort on the part of Indians to throw off the foreign rule.
- (3) The disinterested intervention of some Power in favour of India.

The policy suggested by Dr. Congreve was as follows : It is that we withdraw our occupation of India without unnecessary delay within the shortest period compatible with due arrangements for the security of European life and property, and with such measures as shall be deemed advisable in the interests of Indian independence and good government. He further proposed that England should secure a guarantee on the part of all great European Powers that the Empire she retires from shall not be considered open to the ambition of any of these and that no extra European Power shall have a right which England renounces herself.

MR. HUGH O'DONNELL

I must here mention the name of an Irish friend of India, Mr. Hugh O'Donnell, who addressed the following letter to Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma, who published it in the *Indian Socialologist*, April 1907 :

"A TRIPLE REPARATION"

As the jubilee of the sad and memorable events of 1857 is now at hand, it occurs to me that the great movement of commemoration and reparation in India should focus itself, so to speak, in three principal centres, all intimately connected with the most tragic events of that tragic time.

The most enlightened Englishmen, even soldiers like Field Marshall Lord Roberts, are now united in recognising the terrible nature of the outrage offered to the gallant Indian Army, when scores of thousands of honourable men, both Hindoos and Mussalmans, were forced to choose between religious pollution, worse than death, and obedience to a Government that had broken the most solemn pledges of impartial justice and religious toleration. When perjured officials and dishonest contractors were permitted to force the offal of the European butchershops upon Hindoos and Mahomedans alike, the consequences were inevitable as if similar outrages were perpetrated upon the white troops of the different Christian denomination.

The scene of the first Service of Reparation should naturally be those arsenals at Dum-Dum, where low caste men were employed to manufacture the polluted cartridges that were to dishonour and degrade hundreds of thousands of brave and gallant soldiers.

The second Service of Reparation should most naturally be held at Meerut, the site of the cantonments of the splendid Third Cavalry, who were forced in to insurrection by the sight of their bravest comrades being led away chained and fettered to penal servitude for no cause, except the just defence of nationality and religion.

I would suggest that a third Service of Reparation could not be better held than at Delhi, on the scene of the murders of the young Princes of the Imperial House who, though prisoners of war, were butchered in cold blood by the ruffian Hodson of Hodson's house.

As the present British Government has proclaimed its anxiety to conciliate the sentiments of the Indian Mahomedans, it could have no more conspicuous opportunity to exhibit the earnestness of its convictions than by joining the Hindoos and Mahomedans, who should meet in hundreds of thousands to commemorate the cruel massacre of the princely prisoners.

If a conclusive reason were wanted to convince the Government of Lord Minto of the propriety of associating itself with grief and indignation of the millions of India, it would be supplied by the recollection that three-fourths of the Army, which reconquered Delhi for the British Government, were composed of Sikhs, Gurkhas, and other Indian races, who had been kept in ignorance of the truth about the polluted cartridges. It is surely not sufficient to write books, like Field Marshal Lord Roberts, exposing the persecution of the Native Army of 1857; there is also room for direct action by the British Government in expression of its sorrow for the deeds which drove to despair hundreds of thousands of gallant men who had conquered for the East India Company all possessions, of which Lord Minto is now Viceroy. Let us also not forget that the action of the Native Army fifty years ago put an end to the Dalhousie system of Annexation, and secured for the Native Princes of India that recognition of their sovereign rights which they are still, though grudgingly, permitted to enjoy.

I remain

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F. Hugh O'Donnell,

Past President of the National Democratic League,
Vice-President of the Irish National Federation.

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SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

By MANKUMAR SEN

Our independence is now two and a half years old. But that is only political independence—the independence of controlling our affairs ourselves. We cannot be complacent of our victory and ignore the still more arduous and thorny way we have to tread over before our final victory can be attained. This is only the beginning of our journey to the far-off pilgrimage of 'Swaraj'—a status of economic and cultural development of the people. It is as if we were striking at the iron-bars of entrance to the temple of 'Narayana,'—our combined might has forced the door open, and we have yet to win our numerous obstacles before we can reach the holy temple itself and offer our prayers to Him. Political independence is the means to economic and cultural independence—the end. Let us not confuse between the two.

Now the question arises, are we really clear in our vision about Swaraj—the independence of the masses? Unfortunately no forthright reply to this apparently difficult question is possible at this moment. Nevertheless, our planning and performance during these two and a half years have revealed almost fully that most of us lack a comprehensive and clear view of what we are after or how to fashion our destiny,—the destiny of the masses on proper lines.

THE OUTLOOK

First we have to change our outlook radically. We have to admit it courageously that the pattern of life which our alien rulers have introduced is not only not unsuitable, it is definitely prejudicial to a nation like India. With clear conscience we have to write off much of our present education, present way of think-

ing and planning, our habits and material considerations as bad debt. Let us voluntarily unlearn what we have learnt only to destroy our own culture and heritage. It is very necessary for us to have a clear conception of the pattern of society we envisage. With this end in view the political, economic and social planning has to be directed. This is the practical way of bringing about co-ordination in the different departments of our national life.

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PLANNING FOR THE PEOPLE

The masses of the Indian people live in the villages. In other words, Indian village is India. So, it is the villager who forms the pivot of any successful planning for India. Our planning has to be set out in such a manner that the primary needs of the people are satisfied. In fact, this is the only type of planning that deserves to be called a planning. Modern planning is directed by millionaires, and it produces a handful of millionaires only, at the expense of millions of people. This is a terrible deviation from humanitarian outlook. This outlook has led to the modern unnatural economic and social structure. Portents are eminently manifest today that in the not-too-distant future this basically weak structure will tumble down and bring upon humanity a total disaster. India must shun this path here and now. With the practical ideology of Mahatma Gandhi before us, we cannot conscientiously follow the path of disaster. Gandhiji's life and programme of work is a portrayal of what planning for the people should aim at and what should be the order of a society worth being called a human society.

OUR REQUIREMENTS

India is essentially an agricultural country, but the pity is that Indian people are living on the barest minimum food. Hence any national and national planning for India must centre round agriculture with the production of foodstuffs and raw materials for clothing as its principal features. Exploitation of land for industrial purposes, such as for producing sugarcane, producing tobacco, oilseeds, etc., for export, cotton for textile mills must now recede to the background and totally remain the responsibility of the State. Scarcity of food is now the number one problem of India. To meet up the deficit we have to resort to food-imports which drain away approximately 130 crores of rupees annually. In fact, it is the food problem alone which has stranded us in other spheres of development and has so far baffled our projects for people's welfare. We have not only to feed the people properly, we have to build up a reserve too for rainy days. So only after we have provided for current demand and for an adequate surplus for reserve, the rest of the land can be utilized for industrial purposes and that too by the state. How are we going to achieve that objective? Like learned economists we often advocate the use of more

and more capital, large-scale use of mechanical equipments in agriculture, as if these two factors alone count in increased production. In fact, the much more important and tremendous factor for production in India is the human labour. Once this labour resource is canalised properly, the Indian villages and for that the whole of India will be humming with life. Shortage of this labour factor has persuaded the Western countries to turn more and more, to mechanized production. Their problem is how to save labour—quite reverse is the problem of India, our problem is 'how to employ labour.' In the words of Gandhiji, "Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India."

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Next to agriculture comes the village industry. Having ensured the production of food materials we have to take up agro-industries for processing cereals and other food products ready for the market. The peculiarities and prevailing condition of India should determine what form these industries should take. We have already referred to the baffling unemployment of our labour. And we have shortage of capital as another problem. The immediate deduction from these two factors is that we have to employ our huge labour resource without calling for much investment on plant and machinery. In other words we have to develop village industries. Existence and happy functioning of rice mills, oil mills, etc., have been rapidly making our people lazy, taking vitality out of them and demoralizing the entire life of the nation. Let us think for a moment how bountiful would be the blessings from indigenous paddy-husking system, oil-pressing *ghanies*, etc. Now the time has come when every village or a group of villages should refuse to drain away its resources and to live upon the mercy of mills or a handful of industrialists and millionaires. The suicidal policy of supplying fine oilseeds and getting adulterated—and that too in unreasonably short quantity—oil in return, supplying fine paddy and in return getting inadequate rice with its food-value mostly destroyed by milling process, should be buried for good. The village-industry or decentralization policy will on the one hand ensure sufficient nutritive food for the people and on the other keep them away from the pernicious economic system of centralization. The large-scale industries are inspired by the profit-motive of a handful of powerful and wealthy persons who are extremely self seeking and self-centred. With the revival of village industries the city-centred large-scale industries managed by private interests will die a natural death. Look at any village today. What do you see? You see the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the pottery-maker, the handloom-weaver, each and every class of our village artisans

who have made no mean contribution to India's culture and heritage, is either panting for breath or totally extinct. The man behind the plough is no longer a man with life. Skeleton-like he moves about and tills the land with a pair of dead cows or buffaloes. The village industry and village agriculture which for hundreds of years have sustained India are either dead or on the verge of extinction. India lives in her thousands of villages. If the villages die, how can India live? These are simple things, things that have been happening before our eyes. Even today few of us seem to be serious about the impending necessity of a village movement as initiated and guided by the All-India Village Industries Association, All-India Spinners' Association and

the like. It is time we wholeheartedly and ardently devote ourselves to the constructive programme as laid down by Gandhiji. Let the meaningless political squabbles stop and stop at once. Gandhiji's plan embodies in itself all the primary needs of the villages which are (1) agriculture, (2) village industries, (3) sanitation and housing, (4) village education, (5) village organization and (6) village culture. Once the villages of India survive and vibrate with renewed life, the Indian Republic will be restored to the peaceful and dignified position which India of ancient times held. The grim realities of the modern world are a pointer to the truth that the village-way is the only way through which we can attain our goal—the goal of Swaraj for the masses.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

VAISALI-ABHINANDANA-GRANTHA (Vaisali Commemoration Volume) : *With Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Editors J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra. Published by Vaisali Sangha, Muzaffarpur. 1948. Two appendices and five plates. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 12.*

Vaisali ranked among the greatest cities of our land in the early Buddhist period and was acclaimed as the type of the political *sangha* or *gana* (aristocratic republic) in the ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina works. Nearly a century has passed since its identification with the village of Basarh (Muzaffarpur district, Bihar) was suggested by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham and the suggestion of the Father of Indian archaeology was proved conclusively by the archaeological excavations of Dr. Th. Bloch on this site almost half-a-century ago. It speaks much for the newly awakened patriotism of our people that a *Vaisali Sangha* was started in 1945 "with a view to bring (*sic*) the ruins of Vaisali and to initiate a movement for a culture of the people drawing inspiration from the democratic (*sic*) ideals of Vaisali." The *Sangha* has since been holding annual festivals at the ancient site to commemorate the glory of the old and forgotten city.

In the attractive monograph before us the *Sangha* has brought together a number of papers in English and in Hindi from the pen of some well-known scholars and public men of our country, dealing with various aspects of the history and culture of Vaisali. While it is not possible to notice here even a majority

of the interesting points occurring in these papers some remarks may be made. In the paper entitled *Vaisali in Indian History and Culture* (pp. 4-9), the rendering of *Vesalie* in a Jaina work as "the first citizen of Vaisali" is inaccurate, while the terms "national and popular government" as well as "the centre of democracy" applied to the Lichchhavi constitution, together with the reference to a chain of courts from the *raja* downwards are based, as was shown by the present reviewer (*JHQ*, Vol. XX), upon a misapprehension of the relevant texts. In the same paper the statement that "the Nine Lichchhavis were in charge of foreign policy and the Ashtakulakas of domestic affairs" ignores the evidence of a story in the *Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya* (*Gilgit MSS*, Vol. III, Part I, pp 9-10) regarding the pre-eminent part played by the Lichchhavi Assembly with the *Senapati* as its executive head in the direction of internal and foreign administration. In the paper on *The Constitutional History of Vaisali* (pp. 67-71), the change from a monarchic to a republican constitution in the ancient city is stated with extraordinary faith in the authenticity of the Puranic tradition to have taken place in C. 2000 B.C. Also the present reviewer is credited with the view that the enumeration in a well-known *Jataka* text "is true as far as the number of 'kings' is concerned, but not so far as the numbers of viceroys, generals and treasurers are concerned"—a statement which in its crude generalisation is a travesty of facts. Other suggestions occurring in the same paper, *viz.*, that "the executive of the Lichchhavis most probably consisted of about 8 to 10 persons," that the Lichchhavi general assembly elected its general for each

campaign and that the method of management of foreign affairs by the Lichchavis is unknown, are disproved by the testimony of the story in the Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya to which reference has been made above.

We have noticed a number of misprints, such as Mahasamgika (P. 7), Sammatiya (p. 8) and galledied (p. 32). The paper, print and get-up are excellent.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA (1924-1948): Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 4.

This collection of letters will remain one of the classics of the literature which is gradually gathering round Gandhi's name. They reveal the intense humaneness of his character, and the deep personal interest which he bestowed upon those who loved him and placed themselves voluntarily under his guidance.

I COULD NOT SAVE BAPU: By Dr. Jagdish-chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Jagaran Sahitya Mandir, Kamacha, Bandras. Pp. 241. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Jain was one of the witnesses in the trial associated with Gandhiji's assassination. In this entirely sincere book he reveals the story of how, accidentally he came to know about the conspiracy and how also he tried to enlist official co-operation. This attempt proved a failure and led to the enactment of a tragedy for which the whole of the Indian nation should hold itself guilty.

MAHATMA GANDHI: Edited by S. Radhakrishnan together with a new memorial section. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1949. Pp. 557. Price 15s. net.

This is the second edition of the volume of essays presented to Gandhiji on his 70th birthday in 1939. It has been enlarged by the edition of a memorial section in which authors and thinkers like Aldous Huxley, Kingsley Martin, and others have tried to assess Gandhiji's position in human history and the contribution which he made to the progress of civilization.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND THE FUTURE OF BOMBAY: By K. M. Munshi. The National Information and the Publications Ltd. Bombay. Pp. 62. Price Rs. 2 only.

This booklet is in substance a Note submitted in December, 1948 to the Dar Commission on Linguistic Provinces as one of its Associate members. Generally a rehash of the now-familiar arguments against a more rational reconstruction of Indian Provinces and States based on language and culture-expressions, the booklet has a value owing to the publication of certain maps and charts relating to Bombay City and Island, and the Province's linguistic differentiations.

Sree Kanayalal Munshi is an outstanding literary figure in Gujarat, and the use in this booklet of the word "Maha-Gujarat" and the concept behind it give his whole case away of opposition to the idea of reconstituting the Bombay Presidency on the linguistic principle. The pleas of "infant State," of "national emergency" are so specious in the back-ground of promises solemnly made for more than 30 years by the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the hopes raised thereby that the dangers of what the author calls "frustrated linguism" have become a reality and halt progress in various fields of all-India activity.

The experiences of Soviet Union are referred to but no wisdom is drawn therefrom; he speaks of "autonomy" enjoyed by "nationalities" in this Union of States, of their stopping "short of all questions of politics and economics." We have yet to meet an "autonomist" in Bharat who secretly entertains any other higher ambition.

Kanayalalji's burden of arguments in favour of "multi-national State" which he presses forward in the name of unspecified "advanced political thought" is inspired by mixed feelings of fear of "the possibility of a uni-lingual people" over the life of "Bombay City," of an unjust suspicion of people who speak the Marhatta language and of the ambition that claims Bombay as "the pivot of Gujarati culture." These three feelings are really at the back of the opposition to linguistic Provinces and States that has gained the ears of the present rulers of Bharat to the confusion of ordered progressive forces in our country. It is an evil genius.

The booklet under review has gained importance owing to the fact that its author, is one of the framers of Bharat's constitution as a "Sovereign Republic." As Bharat is constituted now after the partition of August, 1947, no language area except the Hindi belt is powerful enough to think in "terms of power-politics." And in his pet aversion to "linguism," Kanayalalji has misrepresented historic developments in India. He speaks of Bengal as developing this germ "first," of Bengal "already claiming ... some districts of Bihar," while in truth the repartition of Bengal in 1912 had given to Bihar areas which for more than six centuries had been Bengali-speaking; the "South" — the Telugus, Kannadigas, Marhattas — are said to have followed this bad example "a little later;" he has not taken pains to analyse the feelings that inspire the "Maha Gujrat" movement.

Books and pamphlets like these deserve notice for the mischief they do. They give a wrong twist to a natural human impulse and thus stir up feelings that disrupt natural human relations. Opposition to linguistic Provinces and States is having this effect. It is time the thought-leaders of the country recognize the danger of this attitude.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INDIAN NATIONALISM: By Nagendra Nath Gupta. Hind Kitabs Limited, 267, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2-8.

A journalist of repute and a literary figure of high order, Nagendra Nath Gupta contributed many thoughtful articles to this and other Journals on contemporary events. Some of his papers written in 1930 and consequently having a bearing on the famous civil disobedience movement have found a place in this brochure. Its perusal has once more taken us back to those days of storm and stress. The motive force behind our freedom movement of 1930 and all its concomitant factors have been laid bare in these chapters. And the present-day reader, too, will be able to appreciate the volume of this national upheaval from a perusal of this book. Chapters like 'The Awakening of India,' 'Governments and Peoples,' 'Factors of Indian Nationalism,' 'Economic Aspects of Indian Nationalism,' 'The Hindu-Mussalman Problem,' 'The Part of Women in India,' and 'The Problem of Language' will repay perusal. One wishing to have a full conception of the Freedom Movement of 1930 can scarcely do without this book.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

REPORT OF THE BOTANICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1943-44. Calcutta. 1948.

The work of this national scientific institution could not progress much during the year due to the continuance of the war.

It is a matter of regret that during this year two eminent Botanists (Sir E. J. Butler, F.R.S. and Sir David Prain, F.R.S.) who held various posts in India and contributed much to Indian Botany, died.

A new species, *Excoecaria aboriana* R. N. De was discovered by Mr. R. N. De, the specimens of which have been sent to the Royal Botanic Gardens for preservation. Two new varieties of *Drosera indica* L. (an insectivorous plant) from Kohlapur (Var. *alba* and var. *rubra*) have been published by Parandekar and Dewan, who, however, omitted Latin diagnosis for these plants and thus violated International rules of Botanical Nomenclature. This omission has unfortunately deprived the authors of the plea sure of publishing the new varieties and their status in the scientific world.

The new Russian method under a short rotation has been introduced in the cultivation of cinchona to increase the production of quinine in the immediate future. Various types of commercial drugs, fibres, etc., were examined and identified by the Industrial section of the Indian Museum. This has given much help to many who are helping different industries to make the country self-sufficient. This section has also been supplying various types of information of economic value to many correspondents.

R. M. DATTA

FOR THINKERS ON EDUCATION: By Swami Ramakrishnananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Golden Jubilee, 1948 Memorial Edition. Pages 234. Price Rs. 3.

The Ramakrishna Order founded with the blessings of the Master, the Rishi of Dakshineswar, and inspired with the noble zeal of dedicated life and service to the cause of humanity has always held high the ideal of a purer and godlier life. The most distinguishing feature of this missionary body is the fact that the leaders, besides being erudite scholars, do not devote themselves solely to personal God-realisation but to the spiritual upliftment of humanity at large. They can focus the whole wealth of their spiritual wisdom and deep thinking and show the right path to the bewildered people lost in the maze of worldly affairs.

The present volume is a collection of Swami Ramakrishnananda's writings and speeches which, as they gush forth out of a fountain of perfect knowledge, are sure to 'stimulate moral and spiritual thought through a correct philosophy of religion.' The one supreme idea that permeates the whole book is the fervent conviction of the Swami that real greatness of the life of individuals as also of nations lies in their morality and spirituality and not in the quality and quantity of materialistic goods that they may produce. The reader comes in contact with the master-mind's life-long thoughts on subjects relating to essential education and correct appraisal of human values. It is a treasure of thought-provoking ideas and suggestions for educationists. The English-knowing public should be grateful to the publishers for this beautiful, neatly printed volume. A Bengali version of the book will be very much appreciated.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

SHENI AND VIJANAND: By U. K. Oza. Published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-14.

A poem of four cantos, originally written by the author in Gujarati and later translated into English,

treats a pastoral love-story, that probably got currency at one time from mouth to mouth and then passed into comparative oblivion. The time of the story is put between 1170 and 1193 A.D. and the place of action in the Junagadh State in Kathiawar. The two lovers have been a humble shepherd boy and the daughter of his master. By the magic of song and of music produced on the harp the shepherd boy attracts the master's daughter. But the difference between their respective social status stands on the way of their union. They however meet almost at the end of this mortal life each assuring the other of their reunion in the other world. The charm of the story, told in the poem, is apparent and this charm has been maintained with great craftsmanship in translation. Such revival of folklore, in as presentable a form as the poem under review, will go a long way towards consolidation of the Indian National culture and literature.

SOCIO-LITERARY MOVEMENTS IN BENGALI AND FRENCH: By Miss Indira Sarkar. Published by Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

Miss Sarkar, who is at present in Paris reading at the City University, in the course of the first article of the booklet, that is named after it, shows certain affinities that exist in the literary movements in Bengal and in French since the middle of the 18th century. The other materials of the booklet include "Bengali in French Scholarship" and a bibliographical milieu. The booklet also contains reproductions of the four photographs of R. C. Dutt, Hara Prosad Sastri, Brojendra Nath Seal and Dinesh Chandra Sen.

Such comparative studies of cultural and literary movements in India will help to establish our cordial relationship with the foreign countries. This will also uphold our achievements before the foreigners, who will have no occasion to belittle our attainments.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

A GUIDE TO A HEALTHY HAPPY SEX LIFE (Vol. I): By R. M. Singh. Published by the S. Health Centre, Jaipur City, Northern India. Price Rs. 3.

The volume under review contains valuable up-to-date scientific information regarding the sex-life of man and woman. Every chapter of the book is informative, interesting and testifies to the author's scientific outlook. His easy simple style makes the book a happy reading. But we are at a loss to understand as to why he has, so vehemently, denounced the ancient Sanskrit Kama-shastras and the Ayurveda which have stood the test of time. He has got the audacity to say, "... The Kama-shastras of ancient origin hardly contain a pageful of useful information each." We would like to remind the author that Vatsyayana, the author of the Kama-sutra, is still regarded to be one of the best authorities on sexology by the top-ranking sexologists of the modern world. The Kama-sutra which is based on other authentic Kama-shastras written by Vabhravya, Dattaka, Subarnanabha, Charayana and others is a monumental work on sexology. Sir Richard Burton, the eminent orientalist, has aptly said, "The work (the Kama-Sutra) has placed Vatsyaana among the immortals." Like scholars and sexologists eminent medical men have also paid high tribute to the genius of Vatsyayana and other sexologists of ancient India. But it is strange that the author of the present work has such colossal ignorance about the ancient Kamashastras and tries to belittle their merit.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

SANSKRIT

THE EPIGRAMS ATTRIBUTED TO BHARTRIHARI (including the three Centuries): *For the first time collected and critically edited with principal variants and an Introduction by D. D. Kosambi, Professor at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay. Singhi Jain Series, Vol. No. 23. Published by Singhi Jain Sastra Sikshatirtha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Royal octavo. Pages i-viii + 1-81 + 1-240. Price Rs. 12-8.*

This is a critical edition of verses attributed to Bhartrihari who is generally supposed to be the author of three popular centuries of Sanskrit epigrams—the *Nitisataka*, the *Sringarasataka* and the *Vairagyasataka*. The verses numbering more than one thousand have been arranged under four groups. Group I contains two hundred verses which are considered to be authentic being found in all the versions of the above-mentioned works. These are again sub-divided into separate sections: Niti, Srinagara and Vairagya. Group II contains 152 verses of doubtful authenticity not being found in all versions. Group III has 500 verses occurring in single versions, isolated manuscripts and anthologies. Group IV gives the texts of two small apocryphal works of about one hundred verses each, the *Vitavrittā* and the *Vijnanasataka*, both attributed to Bhartrihari. Elaborate foot-notes have been added referring to the sources where the verses of the first three groups could be traced and recording variants met with in the manuscripts collated. In a long and learned Introduction we have a detailed description of the critical apparatus, mainly consisting of a large number of manuscripts in the possession of various manuscripts libraries in and outside India. There is also an account of the method followed in determining the text and of the results achieved. A chart has been added showing the position of each verse in different recensions and versions. On a careful analysis of the available material the learned editor has come to the conclusion that 'there is no way of knowing what form the original Bhartrihari collection took but it could never have been a *Satakatraya*' (p. 62) and that 'the collection is an anthology of verses believed to have been Bhartrihari's by later compilers' (p. 78). It points to the deplorable condition of textual tradition in our country and it is not unlikely that other popular texts like the *Chanakya Sataka*, if subjected to similar scrupulousness may lead to identical conclusions. Students of Sanskrit will extend their hearty welcome to this handsome, valuable and highly useful publication and be thankful to Prof. Kosambi, albeit a distinguished student of Mathematics, for his labour of love and amateur work in bringing out the *editio princeps* of the well-known poems passing under the name of poet Bhartrihari and drawing attention to the textual problems relating thereto.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

HINDI

MAHABHARAT-KATHA: *By Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalacharya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 250. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri P. Soma-sundaram of the author's Tamil work, *Vyasara Virandu*, consisting of forty-nine tales from the Mahabharata,

presented without any "ornament," either of expression or of imagination so that the stories like art-pictures, may speak for themselves in all the sincerity and strength of truth. And the writer's fervid hope that such a presentation will be conducive to the cultivation of the virtues dwelt upon in the epic by Vyas, is one which will be shared by many a reader. *Mahabharat-Katha* is, indeed, a telescope which reveals the grandeur of the epic. The translator, too, has succeeded in preserving the flavour of the original. The book deserves a special place not only in one's own private library, but also in the kit of every peripatetic teacher in our villages and cities.

BHARATIYA SIKKE: *By Shri Vasudena Upadhyā. Bharati Bhandar, Leader Press, Allahabad. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 6.*

The coins of a country are a sort of a pocket encyclopaedia of its many-sided history—cultural, social, economic and religious. This is the impression left on the reader's mind by the work under review, which, perhaps, is the first of its kind in the language. The learned author, whose range of study seems to be almost phenomenal, has dealt with our large variety of coins from the earliest times to those of the East India Company, from every possible point of view. The book, which is adequately illustrated, is timely inasmuch as it can give many "tips" to our National Government in drawing up designs for their new coins.

G. M.

GUJARATI

Work done by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, A.D. 1945-46. Paper cover. Pp. 243+14. 1948. Price Rs. 4.

There are several Literary Societies in Gujarat, but the most outstanding one is that in Ahmedabad. Year after year it pursues its path, guided by its three Hon. Secretaries, of utility and help to scholars, in spite of difficulties due to present times. The present volume contains a review by experts of the literature produced in A.D. 1945, including science books, lectures including one on Eunuchs (who form an important community in Gujarat) by Dr. Sumant Mehta, celebration of Kaka Kalelkar's sixtieth Birthday, presentation of a Gold Medal to a well-known writer, Gunavantrau Acharya and several other functions. It is a notable and a creditable compilation.

RASHNU: *Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Mandal, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. 1947. Paper cover. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Professors Jhata and Jhaveri who are the Editors of this issue of the College magazine can congratulate themselves on the lead given by them to their pupils, in having procured contributions from outsiders as well as students, both of outstanding merit.

K. M. J.

VIR VANI: *By Swami Vivekananda. Translated by Jayantilal M. Oza. Ramakrishna Ashrama, Rajkot. Pp. 56. Price eight annas only.*

This is a translation in Gujarati of *Thoughts of Power*—an anthology of Swami Vivekananda's thoughts—together with a rendering of Swamiji's "The Song of Sannyasin." The translator has succeeded indeed in preserving the passionate fervour of the Swami. A good guide for youths.

G. M.

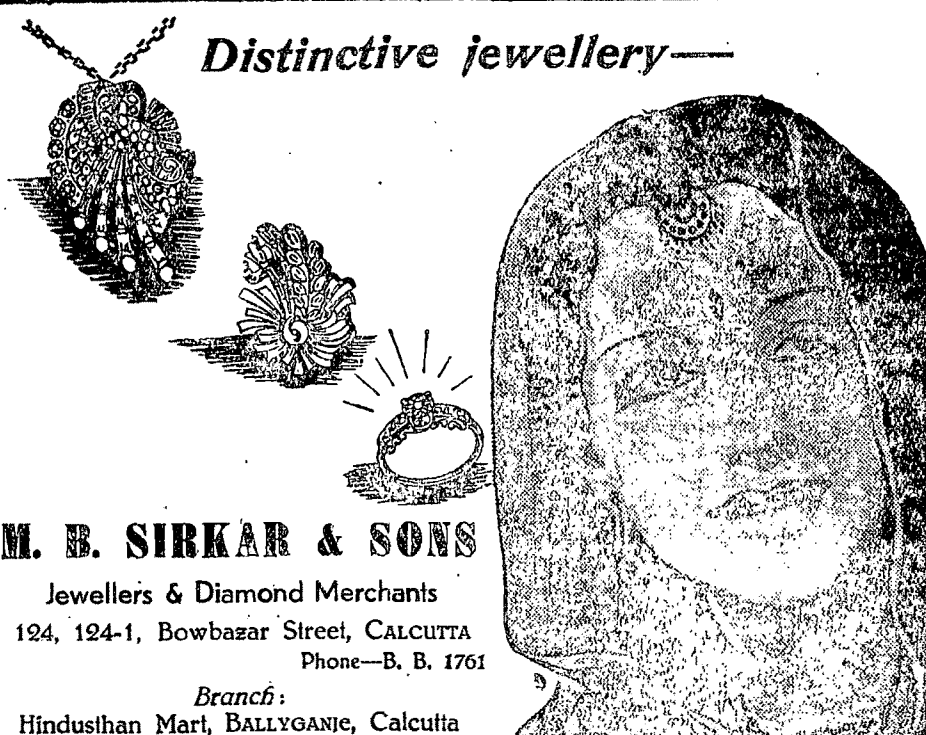
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



An Hour with Prof. John Dewey

Principal S. N. Agarwal writes in *The Indian Review* :

A few Indian students at the International House informed me that Prof. John Dewey, the well-known American educationist and philosopher was in New York and it may be possible for me to meet him. Prof. Kilpatrick whom I had seen a few days earlier agreed to contact Prof. Dewey and fix an interview for me.

And so we did get the opportunity of meeting Prof. Dewey a day before leaving for London. Although the learned Professor was not keeping good health, he was kind enough to spare full one hour for us. Even at the age of ninety, Prof. Dewey showed a freshness of outlook and keenness of intellect which have always characterised his educational literature.

I had with me a few books regarding the system of Basic education in India as outlined by Mahatma Gandhi. I presented those books to Prof. Dewey and asked him whether he knew about Gandhiji's educational scheme based on learning through a productive craft.

"Yes, I have heard about Gandhi's scheme of Basic education," answered Prof. Dewey, "although, I confess I do not have a very clear idea about it."

Within a few minutes, I tried to explain to him how Gandhiji's Plan of education was different from combining work with education. On the other hand, it was education through the medium of productive activity. In this system, academic subjects like History, Geography, Civics, and Mathematics are taught to the students while they are working at their different crafts like spinning, weaving, gardening and agriculture by exploiting the different processes of handwork for educative purposes. It is this integration of work with education, or the correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture, which distinguishes Gandhiji's Plan of education with other "methods."

Prof. Dewey was glad to know these details and observed : "Gandhiji's system of education is, I am sure, one step ahead of all the other systems." "It is full of immense potentialities, and we all hope to learn much from India in this revolutionary educational effort."

Prof. Dewey, then, referred to the Chinese system of education as it existed several years ago when he had been to that vast and ancient country. "I was so sorry to find in China that the professors and students imitated the American manners and modes of thought, instead of trying to evolve their own indigenous culture and traditions," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"The same thing is happening in Japan now," I said.

"Yes, I am glad you mentioned about Japan," observed the Professor; "I will be thankful if you give me some idea of the changes that are being introduced in the Japanese educational system after 'occupation' by the SCAP authorities."

"The American system of education is being foisted on Japan in the name of Democracy. Co-education and greater importance to the English language are some of the new trends," I informed Prof. Dewey. "But the worst feature of the 'Occupational forces' is that plans are being prepared for wholesale conversions of the

Japanese to Christianity. The Americans seem to think that only Christians can be real democrats."

"This is very sad, indeed," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"I did try to raise my voice against this cultural domination and conversion while I was in Tokio," I added.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Western impact is liable to prove more disintegrating than helpful to the Eastern countries" said Prof. Dewey, in a serious tone.

"What are your views regarding education in India?" I asked.

"So far, India had to suffer all kinds of cultural humiliations under the British rule," stated the Professor. "She could not develop her educational system in accordance with her own genius. But now, after regaining her lost freedom, India must try to build up her educational structure on the basis of her ancient culture and traditions."

"What is your message to India?" Mrs. Agarwal asked the learned Professor.

"What message can I give to India" remarked Prof. Dewey in an admirable tone of humility which is so characteristic of all great men. "We have to learn much from an ancient country like yours!"

Later, the Professor, was kind enough to write down his thoughts in Mrs. Agarwal's Album. He wrote the following remarkable sentence :

"We look to India to elicit from its old history and culture that which will give help in the guidance of newer and younger peoples."

Prof. Dewey, then, walked down with us to the adjoining room and showed us his Library and Study Corner. He was very kind to present to me a copy of his latest book entitled *Reconstruction of Philosophy*.

Mrs. Dewey and her two adopted children were extremely hospitable and evinced keen interest in India. She herself drove us back to our Hotel in that fairly hot afternoon.

It was, indeed, a great privilege to have spent an hour with, perhaps, the greatest living educationist of the West in modern times. And what a penetrating intellect and a spirit of humility at this ripe age of ninety!

1949 Squibs

The New Review observes :

General conflagration could have started with Yugoslavia's change of mood. So far Yugoslavia was a communist nation which showed resentment at Soviet interference in her internal affairs, yet followed the Soviet lead in foreign policy. During 1949 Yugoslavia opposed the Soviet on a world-plane. Though she had no military or political alliance with any other country, she repeatedly irritated the Soviet by opposing Moscow on Marxist interpretations with pure Marxist arguments and by encouraging dissidents behind the Iron Curtain. She even ventured to combat Czechoslovakia who was the official candidate for the U.N. Security Council. Still, no military demonstration was made against Yugoslavia.

A second occasion of world-conflict came with the communist victory in China. The new regime was soon

recognised by the U.S.S.R., India, Burma and the U.K. Had war been expected in the near future, Britain would certainly have withheld recognition and the U.S.A. would have taken positive action.

In the course of the year, the North Atlantic Pact was given a definite beginning on the continent of Europe. The Soviet made no move beyond verbal protest. On the other hand, the first Soviet atomic explosion shook public opinion out of its complacency, but the U.S.A. who would have had cogent reasons to prevent further production of such weapons in other countries never threatened mobilisation of its atomic forces nor spoke of any 'aggressive defence' but was satisfied with securing some sort of handicap by hurrying up the production of the H-bomb.

On the other hand, the wave of pessimism which swept the world when the Soviet Union withdrew from the Security Council meetings and other commissions, committees and subcommittees of the U.N.O. is gradually subsiding. It is good to remember that this walk-out is an old game with the Soviet. Five previous cases can be quoted: the Iranian debate, the Little Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, the Balkan and the Korean commissions. The most explosive occasions were the Iranian dispute when world-peace and world-war were the alternatives and the Balkan Commission when actual fighting was going on in Greece. The quarrel over the Chinese representative on the Security Council does not imply any war danger; the confusion was inevitable: five of the eleven members of the Council had recognised the Communist regime, and it was the turn of the Chinese delegate to preside; naturally enough the Russian delegate did not miss the chance of refusing a chairman 'who represented nobody.' Then began the boycott of all U.N. activities. The Soviet could do so light-heartedly as they are certain that ultimately they will win in this case. They failed to split the partnership between Britain and America

and even to rally India to their side on this Asian question. They, however, strengthened their solidarity with Mao Tze-tung and improved their bargaining position with all of the United Nations which will be forced to accept the reality of Mao Tze-tung's dominance. From a world-standpoint, such tactical advantages do not balance the harm done to the U.N.O.

Were such practice to develop, the U.N.O. would go the way of the League of Nations and the very concept of a world-organisation would recede with disastrous finality.

On the other hand, public opinion is definitely set against any world-war. In no nation do we have a substantial section of the people ready to support war, as we had in Germany in 1938. Everywhere people are tired of war, they are keen on welfare and not on war-fare. They are not prepared to support a move that would look like aggression.

UNCEASING CONFLICT

Though war is not imminent, the struggle which people lazily call the conflict between East and West (West covering West, Near East and Far East) is going on relentlessly for ideological dominance as well as for political, economic and social leadership of the world. Peaceful penetration, economic invasion, strengthening of sympathisers and building up of military advance-post, economic bases and political groups are used to solidify situations, rectify ideological frontiers and stabilise blocs. The field of manoeuvre extends from Korea, Indo-China, Tibet to the Near East, Germany, and Scandinavia. The international struggle is everywhere complicated by national forces and local interests. The whole world is in ferment, and only the stupid and the selfish are free of anxiety about the outcome of the present crisis.



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The First Budget of Republican India

Prof. P. C. Jain, writes in *The Indian Review* :

The Central Government's Budget for 1950-51 has many remarkable features. With total revenue and expenditure at Rs. 339.19 crores and Rs. 337.88 crores respectively the budget is expected to leave a surplus of Rs. 1.31 crores. It is remarkable that this surplus in the revenue budget has been secured without any increase in direct or indirect taxation and in spite of a reduction of nearly Rs. 15 crores in direct taxation. A surplus budget is anti-inflationary. In a period of super-inflation and economic deterioration through which India is at present passing a deficit budget would have been highly undesirable, as it would have added to the purchasing power competing for a restricted supply of goods in the market, thus still further pushing up the price level. According to orthodox theory, a surplus should be created by increasing the level of taxation. If this is done the money available to people for purposes of consumption is reduced thus reducing the pressure of purchasing power in the market. This method was tried in the previous budgets. But in the peculiar conditions of India it completely failed to check the inflationary forces. On the contrary the high level of direct taxation tended to increase the price level. This unexpected result was brought about by the high level of taxation discouraging production and thereby reducing the supply of goods in the market. It reduced the amount of purchasing power in the hands of the people but it also reduced the supply of goods in the market thus defeating its own purpose. Moreover, it reduced people's capacity to save thereby reducing the amount of national savings available for capital formation. This has done tremendous harm to the industrial progress of the country. The Finance Minister has recognised the peculiar working of the Indian economic system and has reduced the level of direct taxation. In last year's budget the income tax on slabs of income below Rs. 10,000 was reduced. This process has been extended further. The rate of income tax on the slab of income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 per annum has been reduced by half-an-anna in the rupee to three annas while the maximum rate of income tax applicable to incomes exceeding Rs. 15,000 has been reduced from 5 annas to 4 annas in the rupee. The obnoxious distinction between earned and unearned incomes, so far as super-tax is concerned, has been removed. The maximum rate of super-tax has been reduced from 10 annas in the rupee in the case of unearned incomes and 9 annas for earned incomes exceeding Rs. 3½ lakhs to a uniform rate of 8½ annas in the rupee for all incomes exceeding Rs. 1½ lakhs per annum. In this way the combined rate of income tax and super-tax on incomes exceeding Rs. 1½ lakhs will be only 12½ annas in the rupee as against 15½ annas in the rupee in the much-hated Liaquat Ali Khan Budget for 1947-48. This gives a substantial relief to all categories of income-tax payers. This will increase the saving capacity of people, will give some relief in the face of a rising spiral of prices, and would lead to an increase in the rate of capital formation which has seriously declined partly because savings are not available for investment and partly because those who could borrow whatever savings are available are not willing to do so because of the high rate of taxation. The 1950-51 budget will not be anti-inflationary because it would reduce the money in the hands of the consumers but because it would increase the output of goods and would lead to an expansion of India's industrial enterprise thus increasing the supply of goods in the market and bringing down the price level. For some time it has been clearly realised that inflation in India is not monetary in nature and cannot be controlled by

monetary or fiscal measures. The only effective way of fighting inflation is to increase the production of goods. The 1950-51 Budget is calculated to have this effect.

The Budget gives a substantial relief to industry. The Business Profits Tax which was levied by the Liaquat Ali Khan Budget to replace the Excess Profits Tax although the excess profits had ceased to be earned has now been withdrawn. This was very harmful to business enterprise. The limitation on dividend will be allowed to expire at the end of March 1950. The rate of income tax on companies has been reduced from 5 to 4 annas in the rupee while the rate of super-tax on companies called the corporation tax, has been increased from 2 annas to 2½ annas in the rupee. The effect would be to reduce the combined rate of income and super-tax on company incomes from annas 7 in the Liaquat Ali Khan Budget to 6½ annas in the rupee. The obnoxious effects of the Liaquat Ali Khan budget have to a very large extent been removed. Some mischief still remains but that can only be removed in due course of time because we have to ensure that the Government revenues do not decline below a reasonable limit in the process of giving relief to income-tax payers and companies. The Government has created favourable conditions for industry and it is now for the entrepreneurs to do their part. If they fail to benefit by this opportunity they will be to blame.

The changes in the tax structure in the 1950-51 budget is note-worthy. In 1944-45 the proportion of taxes on income to total tax revenue had risen to a high figure of 68.1 per cent. This was too high for Indian conditions. It was brought down to 44.7 per cent in 1949-50. Now it has been reduced below 40 per cent. The Indian income tax system has become much less progressive than during the war period. The share of customs and union excise duties in the total tax revenue has increased and since these taxes fall on consumers the result is regressive taxation. Under ordinary conditions this might have been a highly undesirable development. But in the peculiar conditions of India a reduction in the progressiveness of taxation will be in the best interests of the country because of its stimulating effects on production which is still very low. The problem of distribution would be solved best when production has increased. In the pre-war period the central excise duties yielded Rs. 8½ crores as against customs duties which yielded Rs. 40½ crores out of a total revenue of Rs. 84½ crores. The importance of central excise duties as a source of indirect taxation has very considerably increased and in 1950-51, union excise duties would contribute Rs. 71½ crores as against customs duties which would contribute Rs. 106½ crores. The importance of customs and excise duties in the central budget has increased throughout the past 10 years. The contribution of commercial services, such as the railways,



posts and telegraphs and currency, had increased to a high level of Rs. 60 crores in 1945-46 but since then there has been a decline and in 1950-51 these services would contribute only Rs. 19.93 crores. Due to the increase in the wages bill, costs of operation and other reasons these services are not likely to assume their war-time importance for Government finances for quite a long time in the future.

While the revenue budget of the Central Government shows a surplus of Rs. 1-1½ crores the capital budget shows a deficit of Rs. 15.93 crores but this does not make the budget-inflationary. Some of the items in the capital budget are mere entries and show a picture of Government transactions without giving any idea of the net effect this would have on the price situation. Part of the expenditure both on account of the Central Government and out of the loans and grants given to the provinces would be spent on schemes which would produce immediate result. The expenditure will increase the purchasing power while at the same time the supply of goods will also be increased as these short period schemes mature. This will have not an inflationary but a deflationary effect. While the revenue expenditure on development schemes has increased by Rs. 2½ crores from Rs. 12.83 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 15.33 crores in 1950-51 the capital expenditure outside revenue on development has been reduced by Rs. 45½ crores from nearly Rs. 101 crores in 1949-50 to Rs. 55½ crores. This will have an anti-inflationary effect. The remarkable fact is that the budget reverses the obnoxious policy of giving the Provincial Governments development grants which was started in 1946. This led to much waste of money and inflation. In the 1950-51 budget, provision has been made for a grant of only Rs. 9½ crores as against Rs. 26½ crores last year and this money is for the grow-more-food campaigns. The Central Government has also reduced its own capital expenditure on development and in this industrial development has suffered a loss of Rs. 4½ crores, irrigation projects of over Rs. 1 crore and civil aviation of less than Rs. 1½ crores. Some items of expenditure, such as on civil works and communications, have been increased in spite of the general reduction in this budget. This clearly shows that the Government is fully alive to the need of securing economic and industrial development of the country in spite of the need for economy in expenditure.

The two chief weaknesses of the Budget are (1) the shabby treatment which has been meted out to the provinces so far as the distribution of income tax is concerned and (2) Government's failure to reduce expenditure in spite of repeated promises in the past.

Under the Otto Niemeyer formula the provinces were getting a 50 per cent share in the net proceeds of income tax with certain reservations. The relative shares of the

different provinces were fixed arbitrarily on the recommendation of Sir Otto Niemeyer. The provinces were not given a due share in the income tax proceeds and were starved of finances although most of the nation-building departments were a provincial responsibility. The Sarkar Committee which enquired into the question recommended that the provinces should get 60 per cent share in the divisible income-tax pool as against 50 per cent so far. Not only the yield of income tax but also that of the income tax on federal emoluments and the corporation tax should be credited to this pool. The provincial share should be distributed to the extent of 20 per cent on the basis of population, 35 per cent on the basis of collection, and 5 per cent as an adjusting factor. This would have improved matters. The Constitution did not incorporate these recommendations and the matter has been left to be decided on the recommendations of a Finance Commission. In the transitory period a new arrangement has been put into operation on the basis of an award given by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh. His award has not improved matters. It has rather made them worse. Without going into the merits of the question, purely on the basis of expediency he has increased the share of West Bengal by 1 per cent and that of the Punjab by ½ per cent while reducing the share of Uttar Pradesh by 1 per cent, of Madras by ½ per cent and that of Bihar by ½ per cent. The shares of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Orissa have been left unchanged. The resulting shares are highly unfavourable to Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Bihar which have the largest total population. The share in income tax should take into account the needs of the different provinces and population is a very satisfactory index of such need. The provinces of Assam and Orissa have not received an adequate share which is justified by their backwardness. The status quo will remain till the Finance Commission goes into the matter in detail. In the meanwhile it is for the Government of India to remove the hardship of some of the provinces by making special grants which are allowed under the Constitution. Without this the injured provinces might find themselves in great difficulty.

The civil expenditure of the Central Government has increased by Rs. 3.83 crores as compared to the revised figures of 1949-50 and by Rs. 4.87 crores as compared to the budget estimates for 1949-50. This has happened in spite of the fact that the provision for foodgrain subsidies, rehabilitation of displaced persons, and pre-partition liabilities, has been reduced from Rs. 19.67 crores, Rs. 13.70 crores and Rs. 6.6 crores respectively to the corresponding figures of Rs. 21 crores, Rs. 6 crores and Rs. 2 crores. The increase in grants-in-aid to the provinces is mostly due to the fact that instead of getting a share in the jute duty the provinces now get a central grant in lieu of

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it. The chief increase in expenditure is in civil administration by Rs. 9.17 crores from Rs. 40.89 crores to Rs. 50.06 crores. This expenditure should rather have been reduced. The Economy Committee recommended a reduction in this expenditure. The Central Secretariat is top-heavy and this has more persons than it needs. It was expected that the Government will reduce this item of expenditure and a failure to do so is a great weakness of the budget proposals. The integration of Indian States with the Union Centre has led to some increase in the Central Government's expenditure but this does not either explain or justify the Central Government's inability to reduce expenditure.

The defence expenditure has also increased by Rs. 10.64 crores from Rs. 157.37 crores in the 1949-50 (budget) to Rs. 168.01 crores in 1950-51. There is no doubt that the defence of the country is a vital and prime duty of the Government and in view of the turbulent attitude of Pakistan it is not possible to make a drastic reduction in the defence budget. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, the expenditure on the navy has increased by Rs. 90 lakhs and on the Air Force by Rs. 1½ crores. There is still much scope for development of the navy and the air force and a larger sum will have to be provided for this purpose in the future. There is however some scope of reduction in the expenditure on stores and supplies of the Army without in any way reducing its striking power or efficiency. The Central Government should ensure that as great an economy as possible is made both in civil and defence expenditure, otherwise the purpose of a surplus budget would be defeated. The Government is living much beyond its means and much beyond the means of the country as is clearly indicated by the deteriorating position of Government's cash balances which are expected to decline from Rs. 273.9 crores in the beginning of 1948-49 to only Rs. 78.37 crores at the close of 1950-51. This is not a happy feature. The Government should make all possible economy in expenditure to save the country from ruin.

Fruit for the Millions

Murari Prosad Guha writes in *Indian Farming* :

Banana, the cheapest and possibly the best fruit of India, is being cultivated here from the dawn of civilization; the Ajanta frescoes (443 B.C.) depict the fruit in high state of cultivation.

Decandolle records that banana is cultivated for more than 4,000 years in tropical Asia and its antiquity and wild character are indisputable facts, there being a good many Sanskrit names. The botanical generic name *Musa* is derived from the Arabic *Mouz* or *Mouhoz* as sages ate its fruit and reposed beneath its shade.—Alphonse Decandolle: *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 1884, p. 304.

Although, as has already been said, the natural home of banana is in the tropics, wild and cultivated varieties have made themselves at home in sub-tropical regions, and even in cooler regions as in the Himalayas, where it is found in the wild state even at 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet and is cultivated at 7,000 feet above sea-level. It has spread all over the tropical world probably from its original home in India or Malaya and today it is grown throughout the warm regions, except the desert areas which are too arid.

Banana found its new home in Africa probably earlier than it was carried to the land of Arabian nights. Probably it spread to the islands of the Pacific before any explorer visited them.

But the present mass production of banana in the West Indies and tropical America had its origin from Canary Islands, where the plant reached in 1516 A.D.

The two most important varieties, from point of view of utilization are *paka kala* (banana) and *kacha kala* (plantain), the former eaten raw and the latter eaten after being cooked. All our Indian varieties are confined to only one sub-species *sapientum* under the species *Musa paradisiace*. The dwarf form (*Musa Cavendishii*), known as *Singapuri kala*, is very popular throughout India, differing from the others in that it loves a cooler climate and the fruit when ripe remains the same pea-green in colour.

The most outstanding variety in the whole world is the Gros Michel, a tall tree with long, comparatively slender recurved yellow fruit with strong stem. This variety alone dominates the whole of the tropical American plantations as well as those of the Pacific Islands and bananas worth about \$50,00,000 are shipped from these regions yearly.

The most important provincial varieties are: Sabri or Martaman and Champa in West Bengal; Poovan and Nendan in Madras; Basrai and Tambadi or Tambeli in Bombay; Champa in Assam; Anpan and Chinia or Chunia Kela in Bihar; Palanpodan and Yethen in Travancore; Rasabale and Salmale in Mysore.

The varieties Martaman and Lalchal in West Bengal and Bombay respectively as well as the hill bananas of Madras are rather costly and are generally preferred by the rich.

It has been estimated that the total area under banana and plantain is about 20 per cent of the total area of two million acres under all fruits in India and next to mango which has the highest acreage of all fruits. Of all the provinces Madras has the maximum acreage, next comes West Bengal, although due to partition the major area has gone over to Eastern Bengal. The present acreage in West Bengal might be more or less some 50,000 acres. As is revealed by available statistics banana gives the maximum yield per acre (being highest in West Bengal yielding 500 maunds per acre) and as such can support a greater number of people, the units of calorie produced per acre being higher than a similar area of any other crop under the most favourable conditions. Moreover, this huge produce can be preserved indefinitely by preparing meal from the dried fruit without affecting the food value.

The available quantity for consumption *per capita* in India was 22.9 lb. (loc. cit. 2) annually (15.2 lb. in England—all imported), this being highest in Bengal (87.1 lb.) and lowest in U.P. (0.5 lb.). Unfortunately this fruit does not reach the millions in our country though in the last few years the production *per capita* has increased considerably.

The young innermost leaf of banana is used as a dressing for burns as well as for covering boils and blisters. From *Ayurvedic* point of view plantain curry is a recipe for bowel troubles and the roots and stems are tonic, antiscorbutic and useful in disorders of blood.

Of the total production of 109,841,000 maunds estimated in 1940-41 (loc. cit. 2), the total available in the market was 87,087,000 maunds, the rest being retained by the producer for home consumption. The annual wastage has been estimated at 1,532,400 maunds and out of the rest a little more than 14 per cent is utilized for cooking, a little more than 85 per cent utilized for table purposes and less than 1 per cent for industrial purposes.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Museums and Education

D. A. Allan, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.E., Director, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, November, 1945:

Museums and education—museums are education. They exist only to further it; they can be neither provided, maintained, nor utilized without it. Education is the preparation for living, and for living, if possible, the good and complete life; it aims at understanding and appreciation leading to the application of what has been learnt to the art of living. Man as an animal has a slower rate and a correspondingly longer period of development to maturity than his co-inhabitants on the earth, and there is a wide range of skills in the acquisition of which his educators have applauded sometimes one method, sometimes another. If the individual were to live in a watertight compartment, his education could begin with a study of the earth, its constituent materials, together with their characteristic structures and behaviour, the plant and the animal worlds, and so lead to man, his history and achievements. Man is, however, gregarious, and the young of the species must learn as soon as possible to lead a communal existence, in which process he learns as much from those who are his contemporaries in physical and mental stature as from the giants who have journeyed farther along life's path ahead of him. Living and learning are thus inseparable, but it is not the detached learning of a monk of mature years poring over manuscripts in his cell; it is a complicated organic process in which the learner is growing for a quarter of his life's span, where the world around him is changing and changing rapidly, and where the interpretation of its processes and events develops with the instruments to hand and with each accumulation of fresh evidence.

Education, then, must aim at least at a basic system of living, at such knowledge and aptitudes as will enable the individual to sustain himself and to take his place in his world. It must teach him to identify a considerable range of things, and to perform a fairly extensive series of physical and mental operations. The process of education begins at home in the very early stages of life, where individuality is naturally emphasized, then passes to school where is taught the art of living in a community, which to a large extent reflects the adult world beyond, and so to the stage of higher education where the wider aspects of life and its responsibilities are studied, where a choice of vocation can be made, and opportunities to explore the frontiers of knowledge are provided. In this vitally important work the first essential is a good teacher, at one time or another parent, schoolmaster, instructor, or leader. For convenience of handling and epitomizing, much of the learning is done through the media of speech, pictures, and print, but the most efficient lesson can never be long divorced from actual objects, which are, after all, man's habitat, and particularly at the lower and the higher ends of the educational scale can material things provide both evidence of reality and the stimulus of inspiration. Any educational system must inculcate the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic—the one-time often-quoted three Rs—essential for life at our cultural level, but beyond that there has been a tendency to develop on classical lines with the emphasis on history

and literature, on modern lines with the languages, vocations, and citizenship of today in ascendancy, and on scientific lines, which, while dealing with the material of our earth, did so in a somewhat detached manner. More recently, possibly as a result of the impact of the outside world on the schoolroom, there has arisen a realization of the need to link lessons with usage, and education is availing itself more and more of illustrative examples from the world around us, of opportunities for seeing things and for studying processes and their products. The first is limited by the accommodation available in any school or college; the second largely by the expenditure of time and money in reaching the appropriate location; but much can be accomplished by the provision of accessible centres where both the class and the individual can find the objects necessary for successful studies.

The museum is the obvious solution to the problem, and it is already in existence as an institution, though probably more often than not but ill-equipped for the important functions it can perform.

It is the aim of this survey to estimate the part that museums can play in the educational scheme, and to examine in what way they can be made to meet the needs of our most important national service.

Most museums had their origin in the collecting instincts and tastes of those who had wealth and power to indulge them, from royalty and nobility to merchant venturers and the successful exploiters of the Industrial Revolution. Their collections were in part an investment and in part an advertisement. Other times provided other means for the first and other fashions for the second, and from private possession the collections passed to public ownership, and ministries, trustees, and municipal authorities became responsible for treasures of gold and silver, ivories, tapestries, pictures, porcelain, glass, weapons of war, musical instruments and innumerable examples of, on the whole, fairly high-grade domestic furnishings. A somewhat later source of ready-made collections on the natural and applied sciences lay in the natural history and antiquarian societies, philosophical institutions, and mechanics' institutes which flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century. The material they accumulated reflected the current interest in scientific discovery, and ranged from instruments to demonstrate principles and advances, largely in the field of physics, to collections illustrating the systematics of the natural sciences, enjoying a wide popularity from the publications of Charles Darwin and his contemporaries. Both types of museum were genre pieces; neither claimed to be comprehensive. On the art side, indeed, there was a generally accepted "Index," and certain types of specimens were excluded from the category of museum pieces. Yet all garnered valuable material to serve as a nucleus or establish a bent for the museums of today, although it may suffer physically from the more primitive methods of preservation then considered adequate, or scientifically by the insufficient data regarding the time, place, or conditions of taking.

It is the duty of the museum of modern times to strengthen its collections with the best available material as fully documented as possible.

Museums, like human beings, are the better for restricting their diet to what can be digested; both readily display the effects of gluttony. Staff and storage are the limiting factors, if a museum is to be more than a repository, is to serve as the educational institution it is its peculiar function to perform. The larger the museum, the wider the field it can safely and satisfactorily survey, the greater the service it can render to a very diverse public, but not even the largest national building of the kind can embrace all the fields of knowledge within its almost endless galleries and halls. A museum must first of all select and define its field, and aim to give the best possible service within it. The day of the museum as a general store-house is over, and with it the often distressingly monotonous similarity between so many of them. The museum official, so long expected to be an expert in a score of sciences and inevitably parrying inquirers with some handy form of encyclopædia, can have an authoritative knowledge of a small group of subjects, his competence enabling him to interpret his collections and the underlying principles of his studies to his public.

Any one type of material presents its own problems of preservative treatment, storage, documentation, and display. Preservation may involve a practical knowledge of the chemical and physical properties of fabrics, leather, wood, ivory, metals, glass, porcelain, fur and feather, the ills to which such specimens are heir and the most up-to-date research methods to combat them. Repair or replacement is a routine obligation, comparison with similar material a daily duty. It is clear, therefore, that museums by limiting their field can employ a staff supremely competent for their restricted needs, can provide adequate storage and supervision for a comprehensive range of specimens for comparison, and can pursue the research and documentation which ensure the greatest use being made of the resources of material. Moreover, from the point of view of major museums policy, it encourages individuality and *amour propre* in our institutions, irrespective of their size and wealth, and discourages competition in the acquisition of similar specimens.

There are fully seven hundred museums and art galleries in the British Isles ranging from large relatively wealthy national institutions with staffs numbering from a hundred upwards, through the municipally owned ones of the important provincial centres, where the staffs may be anything between twenty and eighty, to the small ones administered by the lesser towns and local learned societies, with a paid staff rarely exceeding half a dozen. Their acreage and finances show a correspondingly wide range, but all too frequently the smaller ones attempt to cover a field as large as that of their bigger brethren, and in the failure which naturally follows lose heart. Yet there is a part for every active and ambitious museum to play, and the immediate task is to allocate the individual duties in keeping with individual abilities.

Knowledge, like charity, should begin at home, and a museum has a primary duty to its own people in depicting for them aspects of the district, which are a natural extension of what is learned in school.


It should show by models, diagrams, maps and photographs the geography of the neighbourhood, its hills and valleys, its rock structures and water supply, for on these elementary factors have depended the choice of occupation sites, the provision of shelter, food and drainage, the pursuit of farming and other industries, and the siting of roadways to link with adjacent districts. Secondly, there should be shown examples of the commonest or the most important rocks of the district together with associated ores and fossils, and clear indication given where to find and

how to identify them in the field. Vegetation should be treated similarly, setting out by means of illustrations, models, and actual specimens the plants of the region, their occurrence, and their uses. Animals, birds, reptiles, and fish would come next. Identification in all these cases is a first step; and to achieve that some elementary treatment of structure, function, and development is necessary, but the aim must be to arouse an interest in habits and habitat—an interest which will extend to the out-of-doors world and the after-working-hours time, for the emphasis is to be laid on the appreciation of factual evidence which the ordinary person can find for himself in his own countryside.

So much for his environment; the work of man naturally follows. Archaeology can trace his occupation sites, his handicrafts, and his success in winning a livelihood from his surroundings, the later stages in his progress being normally marked by an ever-increasing variety of relics of his presence and activities. Thus can the history of the region be illustrated by actual material, plentiful or scanty according as the locality was attractive or the reverse, and as the objects have survived or been destroyed. The lacunæ become smaller and the relics ever more abundant till the past merges into the present day, and the line of demarcation can be drawn only in an arbitrary way to suit the special circumstances of the institution. Such, then, would appear to be the legitimate general pattern of a local museum, crystallizing the essential characteristics of the district for young and old alike, satisfying the needs both of the folk on the spot and of the visitor from farther afield, providing the evidence and, above all, the simple interpretation of it for the beginner. To achieve this end, imagination and understanding must be summoned to secure an attractive lay-out leading to interest-compelling descriptive text. The actual specimens are of prime importance, otherwise a good illustrated introductory textbook could replace the museum and carry instruction to the fireside chair, but the best assemblage of real things requires the use of words to describe their significance, and is enhanced by diagrams, models, and photographs in driving its lesson home. The aim should always be to arouse curiosity, not to expose ignorance.

The museum's portrayal of the features of an area will be a link between book knowledge on the one hand and open-air actuality on the other, enjoying the power of epitome with the first and the provision of real evidence with the second.

Of the larger centres, more is naturally expected. They have in most cases much greater resources in space,



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specimens, and staff; but they have a much wider clientele and heavier responsibilities to meet their needs. Advanced schools, colleges of various kinds, and universities attract and produce people to whom extensive collections are essential for the prosecution of their studies, and it is the duty of museums to provide them, preferably in a section apart from the public galleries. Where the users of such reference collections, who are more or less familiar with scientific phraseology and textbook descriptions, can be under ideal museum conditions segregated from the ordinary visitor, there is no need to sacrifice valuable space to artistic display or lengthy introductory texts. The specimens can be arranged in cases in simple close formation on an accepted basis, and the labels limited to brief statements of identity, structures, and provenance. Even then, however, there must be selection of the field to be covered, for such general systematic collections, to be comprehensive, demand considerable space and a staff of experts competent to identify, classify, and explain the material to critical seekers after knowledge on at least an ordinary university degree standard.

There is a third, higher group for whom museum provision must be made—the research students.

For them there must be stored and preserved material on which past research has been based, material which in the light of later discoveries or of newer methods of exploitation may yield further valuable information. With it must be grouped the precious type specimens, the standards by which others are tested. Despite the progress of scientific invention, which is performing miracles in the reduction of time required, of distance to be travelled, or of effort to be expended in any investigation, it is still of considerable advantage to have collections of objects brought together for inspection and comparison. The evanescent character of even the most durable materials left to the mercy of nature in the raw emphasizes the responsibility of man to conserve by all the aids at his disposal such examples as seem valuable for research not only in his own time but also in an indeterminate future. The university remains the spearhead of scientific studies, but there the tempo of research is such that only a fraction of the required material can be kept, and consciousness of the obligation to do so is aroused only by jubilee or centenary celebrations of some distinguished savant. It has not often been easy to raise the funds for research, be it exploration in the field or in the laboratory; still less easy is it to provide the accommodation or the periodic treatment necessary for the retention of the specimens for future inspection. The same problem arises in connection with the preservation of apparatus employed in pioneer work. Here it is that the museum can play a most important part—as a repository of material evidence. It has to gather, classify, annotate, protect, and store systematically as wide and as detailed collections as possible. With them must be kept notes, maps, and diagrams, certain to be required in any revision of the specimens, and also

copies of published papers recording the results of research upon them. This type of museum activity calls for different treatment and equipment from that of the two previously described. It demands a laboratory with library and storerooms attached. No display is required, merely adequate, readily accessible, and indexed cabinets together with the fullest facilities for handling, investigating and, where necessary, treating the original material. To maintain such collections calls for a staff of experts of the highest standing, able to assist, to assess, and to exploit the discoveries made by specialists accustomed to visit and utilize the resources of a variety of institutions often of international repute. There are thus few museums adequately equipped to measure up to such heavy obligations, and again there is a clear call to specialize in order to concentrate the available resources to the best possible advantage.

ILO Session, Mysore

The *ILO News Service*, issued by the Indian Branch of the International Labour Office, is designed to enable Governments (Central, Provincial and States), and Organisations of employers and workers in India and other South-East Asian countries to be posted regularly with information about the ILO's current activities:

ILO DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S TOUR IN INDIA

Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO toured India during December 1949 and January 1950 on the invitation of the Government of India, and visited among other places, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Mysore and Madras. During his tour, Mr. Morse met, among others, Cabinet Ministers, Government officials and representatives of employers and workers.

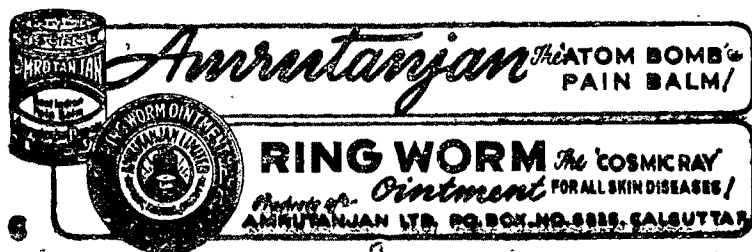
MR. MORSE'S ADDRESS AT LABOUR MINISTERS'

CONFERENCE

Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO, addressed the Labour Ministers' Conference held recently at Mysore, on 27th December 1949. Paying a tribute to India, Mr. Morse said that the world at large today looked to India, not only for its stability, but also for its leadership in the world and the preservation of world peace. He called for the closest possible understanding and co-operation in the work of the ILO and emphasised that the ILO was a universal organisation, which reflected every point of view and the problems of all sectors of the world. He appealed to the Labour Ministers to accept the ILO's co-operation in ensuring the proper utilisation of India's resources on a priority basis.

MR. MORSE'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

In a New Year message, Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O. said that no year in history had come more richly blessed with opportunities for men and women of good will than the new year, 1950. There never was a time when the men of all continents were so close to one another in a physical sense, or better informed concerning each others' fears and needs. There never was



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a time when so much wealth was at the disposal of men and Governments for the rapid multiplication of new wealth. The press, the radio, the universities and the schools were never so potent before. There never was so much power in the world or so many machines. "Yet no year in human history has arrived at a more difficult or a more dangerous time. Much of the power and machinery which are needed to put an end to fear and want in the less developed regions of the world is being used, instead, to create new fear and, thereby, to produce unnecessary want. Too often, education and public opinion are used to spread fear instead of to destroy it. Vast treasures of human skill and experience and capital and machinery are being hoarded behind artificial barriers of nationalism and economic apprehension."

Stating that the ILO, being an agency not only of Governments but also of the workers and employers of 60 nations, wanted earnestly to help the men and women of all countries to realise their dreams of peace securely built on prosperity and social justice, he appealed to all in the name of the workers, employers and Governments, to do all that lay within their power to aid the flow of technical knowledge and investment into those lands which needed it most, and understand and support the international actions which were being taken to raise the economic and social standards of all countries. Together, the peoples and the nations of the world could make the year 1950 a year of glorious advance. Divided, they could make it a black year of terror and despair.

The 110th Session of the Governing Body of the ILO was held at Mysore, from 3 to 7 January 1950. Mr. S. Lall, Chairman of the Governing Body presided. The Labour Ministers of India and Burma attended the session by special invitation.

Maharaja of Mysore's Welcome address: In the course of his welcome address, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore stated that he learnt that a building of the ILO was intended to be constructed in India and announced the Mysore State's proportionate share of the expenses of the building.

Mr. Lall's speech: Need to tackle Asia's problems stressed: Mr. S. Lall, Chairman of the Governing Body speaking at the opening session emphasised the need for ILO to tackle Asia's problems. He stated: "In Asia the toughest problems still await solution. Asia is a challenge to the ILO. If we fail in Asia, we shall fail everywhere. For this reason, I regard the holding of this session in Mysore as an event of considerable significance, both for the ILO and for Asia."

Mr. Jagjiwan Ram's address: Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, Minister for Labour, Government of India, addressing the opening meeting expressed the hope that the session of the Governing Body will bring ILO closer to Asia and Asia closer to the ILO, thereby contributing in ample measure towards the promotion of peace and goodwill throughout the world. He was glad to find that the ILO was now seriously directing its attention to Asia and her problems. Regional activities were necessary if local requirements were not to be overlooked. But regional activities must be carried on within the international framework because all people must co-operate for the solution of the problems of want and poverty and not only those who are afflicted. The ILO, he stated, would have to demonstrate to the people of Asia that it was willing and able to contribute substantially towards the solution of their special problems.

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ILO Asian Conference, Ceylon, Adopts 16-Point Programme

Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, January 27, 1950 (*ILO News Service*): The Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation concluded its work today with the adoption of 16 resolutions for the improvement of Asian social and labour conditions.

The meeting, attended by 121 employer, worker and government representatives of 18 countries, took action on a series of resolutions which will go before the ILO's Governing Body at its March meeting in Geneva for consideration.

The states represented were Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Federation of Malaya, France, Hongkong, India, Laos, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, United Kingdom, Vietnam. The United States and Japan sent observers.

During the conference, while the delegates were waiting for five technical committees to frame the proposals which were adopted, 42 speakers discussed the report presented to the conference by ILO Director General David A. Morse.

Without exception they spoke of the extreme gravity of social and economic conditions in the Asian countries and the need for international action and assistance. In reply, Mr. Morse urged the delegates to "root out and fight the ills of poverty, disease, famine and ignorance" as the "surest and really only road to world peace." He outlined the programme of technical assistance which the ILO proposed for Asia but emphasised that the responsibility for the "staggering task" of improving living standards in Asia must be shouldered by the Asian countries themselves.

T. B. Jayah, Ceylon, minister of labour and social services, was president of the conference.

The ILO is a specialised agency associated with the United Nations.

Indian Scientist Accepts High Post in WHO

Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, who for the last 18 years has directed the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, has now accepted a high international post as Assistant Director-General of the *World Health Organization*, it was announced on March 2, New Delhi. Very shortly he is to leave India to take up his new duties in Geneva, Switzerland.

Dr. Sokhey's work is known and respected by scientists and medical men throughout the world. He is an outstanding authority on plague and cholera. Under his leadership important progress has been made in the production of plague and cholera vaccine and anti-snake venom serum, while the present reputation of the Haffkine Institute as one of the famous laboratories of the world may be said to be due almost entirely to his energy and initiative.

At the sametime Dr. Sokhey has devoted much attention to field work, and he has played an important part in recent advances in methods of treating plague in particular.

In medical circles considerable satisfaction is felt that Dr. Sokhey, who has now reached the age of retirement from the Haffkine Institute, has the opportunity to continue his labours in an even wider sphere.

At Geneva Headquarters of WHO, Dr. Sokhey will succeed Dr. Raymond Gautier as Assistant Director-General in charge of the Department of Technical Services which includes the Divisions of Epidemiology, Health Statistics and Therapeutic Substances. The Department of Advisory Services, responsible for field work and direct assistance to Governments, is under another Assistant Director-General, Dr. Martha Eliot, (U.S.A.), who visited India last September.

The Director-General of WHO is Dr. Brock Chisholm of Canada.—*World Health Organisation*.

Diabetes Detection Machine

A device that automatically and speedily performs a careful chemical blood test for detecting diabetes was recently demonstrated in the United States. Completing tests at the rate of as many as 120 an hour, the machine makes possible mass screening of hundreds of persons to discover victims of diabetes.

The chemical test used in the apparatus was developed by the U.S. Public Health Service. The machine, called a Clinitron, was perfected by Thomas Hewson of a private engineering firm, Lessells Associates, Inc., of Boston. Since the machine is about the size of a suitcase and weighs only about 20 pounds, it is easily portable.

The Clinitron reports whether the sugar level of a person's blood is above normal—one sign of possible diabetes. A drop or two of blood taken from a finger is mixed with a small quantity of water and placed in a test tube. After the tube is inserted in a slot on the rim of a rotating disk, the entire operation is automatic.

As the disk rotates, two chemical reagents in pill form drop into the tube, which then is heated and inclined slightly. Heating continues until a protein precipitate rises in the test tube. Then a third reagent is added, the heat is reduced, and the tube agitated in a cooling water bath. After a fourth reagent is added, the test tube is further cooled and ejected into a rack or basket. The color of the tube's contents indicates the blood sugar level.

The value of the machine is seen in helping public health officials detect cases of diabetes early enough so that it may be controlled. Through early detection and the use of improved insulin treatment, a diabetic today can look forward to living a long and almost normal life. A year-round, nation-wide campaign to detect early cases of diabetes is conducted by the American Diabetes Association.—USIS.

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Rabindranath Tagore



FISHERMAN

By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Pradasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1950

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 6

WHOLE No. 522

NOTES

The Pact and After

The uproar in West Bengal, following the Nehru-Liaquat deal, is now slowly diminishing. But although the tempo of the pandemonium has slackened, the opposition does not seem to have lost heart. The Press in Bengal, as in the rest of India, has little power of control over the public, ever since its adoption of the line-of-least-resistance policy consequent on the draconian episodes of the Press Control Departments during the last war. It can now only accelerate mob-passions by adding fuel to the fire or can dampen it very gently—with great caution—by “blacking out.” Under these circumstances the Press is in no shape to implement the Pact. As a matter of fact, a certain section of the Press in West Bengal is still vigorously stirring up public sentiment against the Pact, while the rest is either making a half-hearted attempt to blow hot and cold in the same breath or else is pretending to ignore the matter altogether.

New Delhi seems to be illustrating the old saw about “where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise.” Pandit Nehru, strangely enough, seems supremely complacent, as was evident in his last Press interview. But then Pandit Nehru seldom is *au courant* with facts regarding West Bengal. And for that matter, what are facts compared to theories where the Union of India is concerned?

Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, was very cautious in his interview with Pressmen on his return from New Delhi on the 29th May.

“Asked about the working of the Delhi Agreement in the two Bengals, he said, it was obvious that transport facilities for immigrants were better now and the number of complaints about harassment and customs difficulties had decreased remarkably.

He added that the number of daily arrivals in West Bengal and departures for East Bengal indicated

that after the Agreement conditions in East Bengal had changed sufficiently to enable some migrants to go back.

Reports of incidents in East Bengal reaching him were referred to the Government there. They replied to his letters promptly and took action in some cases. For example, the mustard oil mills of Mr. Sarat Mitter at Jessore and his house which had been requisitioned by the East Bengal Government, were released at the instance of the West Bengal Government.

Incidents in East Bengal, said Dr. Roy, continued to be reported. He suggested that the aggrieved people should refer their cases to the District Minority Board or the Provincial Minority Commission or the Central Minister for Minority Affairs and also get into touch with India's Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca.

If they so wished, they could also send copies of their reports to him. It was up to every afflicted person to take all available help from the machinery provided by the Delhi Agreement so that his grievances might be redressed and sufferings relieved.

Dr. Roy said that District Magistrates in West Bengal were being given statutory authority to give effect to the clause in the Delhi Agreement relating to the immovable property of a migrant. Legislation was proposed to be enacted in order that no cultivable land remained uncultivated and no vacant house was left uncared for.”

His opposite number in East Pakistan, Mr. Nurul Amin was equally cautious in his Press interview at Dacca on the 28th May, though he did have a crack at the West Bengal Press—and with some justification. He said :

“It is very encouraging to note that the volume of traffic in the reverse direction has been slowly mounting, as is evidenced by the figures of the daily arrivals of

Hindus in East Pakistan and Muslims in West Bengal. The fact that more Hindus are going back from West Bengal to their homes in East Bengal and that the number of those returning, include women and children, at once disproves the argument that all of them intended only to salvage their properties they had left behind when they migrated to West Bengal. Muslim families are also returning to their original homes in Bharat. I must, however, record here that there are elements in West Bengal who are still trying to defeat the implementation of the Delhi Pact.

"A section of the Press in that province is still carrying on baseless propaganda and some of the prominent leaders there are still making palpably mischievous statements about conditions in East Pakistan. It is my earnest hope that the saner section of our neighbours across the border will ultimately prevail over disruptive forces."

The real index of the implementation of the Pact lies in the figures of migration and return of the refugees. Judged solely by this criterion the Hindu of East Bengal has not yet recovered his morale to the extent that the West Bengal Moslem has. The influx of Hindus from East Bengal is on a much reduced scale, it is true, since it is 40 to 50 per. cent less on average than what it was at the end of April, but still it considerably exceeds the figures for the returning emigrants. In the case of the Moslems, the figures have almost reached the turning point though still very large numbers of Moslems are leaving West Bengal.

The position then today is that the panic has subsided. But neither in the East nor in the West are the minorities reassured about the future. And we do not intend making any prophecies regarding the future as we are unable to see any signs as yet of either New Delhi or Karachi being wide-awake about the implementation of the Pact.

Pandit Nehru's Press Conference

In a review of the working of the minorities agreement between India and Pakistan, Pandit Nehru told his monthly Press conference on May 22 that he looked upon the pact with "restrained optimism."

"One thing is quite obvious," he said, "and that is the fact of the agreement and the immediate consequence that the agreement has produced a great deal of relief all over the country and more particularly in East and West Bengal and Assam—relief from tension, relief from fear, relief from some danger of a catastrophe happening—so that the lifting of that fear itself from the minds of people is something to be thankful for."

One of the tests, of course, was the stoppage of exodus, he said, but it would be wrong to expect a sudden stopping of the exodus particularly because a large number of people had left their homes and had been uprooted and had been waiting at various concentration points and particularly because of all kinds of economic and other reasons.

The exodus showed signs of decline, but it went up

again, and again it showed signs of "a fairly considerable decline." The new feature was the return of the minorities to the places from which they came.

It had often been said, he remarked, that these people who were returning were really going back to fetch their goods and chattels while the going was good and that they would come back again. "I suppose quite a number of them feel that way."

"Nevertheless, it is significant that, if we analyse the figures, we will see that the number of Hindus coming from East Bengal to West Bengal is progressively declining—slowly but progressively—and the people returning to East Bengal is going up—slowly but progressively also. If we analyse those figures again of the Hindus going back to East Bengal, we will find that quite a number of them are women and children. Normally speaking, women and children would not go back if it was only to bring chattels. It shows, first of all, a lessening of the fear complex. Secondly, if not a final decision, at any rate there is a desire to go back and look at things and settle down, if possible there."

"That picture," he said "is definitely encouraging, though we cannot say definitely how things will take shape. There are many other factors. One thing is quite clear. It is incorrect to talk of the present movement as one-way traffic, as Dr. Mookerjee has called it."

The Prime Minister referred to the exodus of Muslims from U.P. and parts of Rajasthan. It was a considerable exodus, he said, and it gradually went down, but it tended to go up on the report that the Pakistani Government were sealing that border.

"The people who had been going from U.P. are more or less of the working class—artisans, metal workers and landless peasants. Rumours were spread among them that the wages in Pakistan were high and work was easy to obtain.

"The real thing we have to examine apart from the specific data of exodus in regard to the Indo-Pakistani agreement is the mental climate on the issue. There is no doubt that the mental climate on the whole is very good on both sides."

The joint meeting of the newspaper editors in Delhi, he said, had helped greatly in producing a mental climate.

"My own belief is, added the Prime Minister, that certainly the Governments on both sides—the Central and Provincial Governments, that is to say, the Governments of West Bengal and East Bengal and Assam as well as the two Central Governments—are trying their utmost to implement the agreement and co-operate in this task."

Asked about his views on the report of a New York paper which created the impression that the Delhi Pact was the "result of American pressure," the Prime Minister said: "I think I remember to have seen the report. So far as I remember, it was contradicted. A very large part of it was completely without foundation, and in so far as American or any other pressure was concerned, I am not aware of any pressure.

Asked about rehabilitation work, the Prime Minister said that both Governments were trying hard to rehabilitate those who were returning. It was not an automatic

process. The West Bengal Government, for example, had put the refugees in some of the evacuated houses on the explicit understanding that they had to go out if the Muslim evacuees returned. Likewise lands were given to them. These lands would be returned to the owners as soon as the harvest was over.

Characterizing the figures of Hindu exodus from East Bengal given by Dr. Mookerjee as "a very much exaggerated figure," Pandit Nehru said that no accurate figure was possible, but "I should imagine that it will be 3 millions since partition, roughly half of them having come in the last few months and the other half previously."

Replying to a question on the recognition of the Bao Dai Government, Pandit Nehru said: "We came deliberately to the conclusion that we should not recognize either of the two Governments in Indo-China, the Bao Dai Government and the Ho Chi Minh Government as long as it is not clear which of the two Governments prevails there."

As regards recognition of Israel, the Prime Minister said: "We are on friendly terms with Israel. The only question is that of formal recognition which involves largely an exchange of ambassadors, etc., which we are not prepared to do at the present moment."

Questioned about relief to East Bengal displaced persons in camps and the refusal of doles to them, Pandit Nehru said that the Government wanted all these people to go back to their original homes. They recognized that in all probability a vast number would not go back and therefore would have to be rehabilitated here.

Quite a fair number had been absorbed in the villages of West Bengal. The Government was trying to erect townships and extend the existing townships.

Dole without work was a psychologically wrong thing to do. It was not a question of saving money. Long-term doles would have a very bad effect, psychologically speaking.

Pandit Nehru agreed that the sense of urgency which impelled the conclusion of the Delhi Pact might be extended to the solution of other factors. The other factors, apart from Kashmir, he said, were the questions of evacuee property and canal waters.

The canal water question was not a political but an engineering question. India's approach to it was that both countries should profit fully by the canal waters.

As regards evacuee property, it had been proposed to have a conference on the subject by this time, but for personal reasons the dates did not suit Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Khwaja Shahabuddin. It was also felt desirable that before the conference was held certain points might be informally decided.

"We are discussing those matters in regard to a number of these questions. There is a broad agreement. I cannot go into details. I feel hopeful that sometime in June the conference will be held when these agreements will be finalized."

At present, he said, there were two basic problems : (1) the economic policy and (2) the attitude towards communalism. He left aside, for the moment, the Indo-Pakistani relations which, though a political problem, was coloured by communal approach.

In Pakistan, the basic policy was communalism. They were toning it down. Apart from ideological reasons they were trying their best to tone down their policy.

"So far as India is concerned," he said, "we are to be perfectly clear as to what our policy on the communal plane should be. In our constitution and otherwise theoretically we have declared our State to be a secular State."

"A secular State is not a novel thing. Most of the modern States are secular. Apart from the Constitution, the basic policy of the Congress has been very definite and precise in regard to communal questions. We may have by pressure of events done something here and there."

"But today we have to be clear in our own minds whether the old Congress approach to the communal issue holds, or whether it has to vary. The methods of approach of the Hindu Mahasabha and others are diametrically opposed to the Congress."

Dr. Mookerjee on East Bengal

The main points in Dr. Mookerjee's analysis of the East Bengal problem in his speech on May 21, were as follows :

We are living in an atmosphere of dangerous frustration, and many are groping in the dark unable to discover the right course of action. At the same time I have witnessed living signs of restlessness and determination to pull through and not to succumb to the crisis. *In such an atmosphere it is easy to create conditions of chaos and confusion. That will not be the path to victory. In a moment of crisis we have to keep our heads cool and approach the problem with a sense of perfect realism unswayed by emotions and prejudices.*

Let us not forget that the sufferings of Hindus in East Bengal are not the outcome of a sudden outburst of communal passion or frenzy. For ten years or more Bengal had been the victim of communal misrule and maladministration. This was due, more than anything else, to the Communal Award which was designed by the British Government to crush the rights and aspirations of the Hindus of Bengal. That was the heavy price they paid for their unswerving loyalty to the cause of Indian freedom. Ten years of mis-government, intermixed with grave calamities such as war, cyclone and famine, practically broke the backbone of the people of Bengal. *The climax was reached on the 16th August, 1946 when came the Great Calcutta Killing, virtually preparing the ground for imposing Pakistan on India.* India was partitioned due to the intransigence of the Muslim League which voiced the demand of the bulk of Indian Muslims and our own inability to resist it and fight against it. *When partition of India became inevitable, we had to work for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab; otherwise we would have lost both these territories in their entirety to Pakistan.* Here again the Hindus of the regions that fell within Pakistan sacrificed themselves for the sake of the rest of India. All hopes, however, for the safety and security of the minorities in Pakistan were falsified almost immediately after partition. Western Pakistan has got rid of its minorities.

It is common knowledge that without any provocation

whatsoever nearly two millions of Hindus were squeezed out of East Bengal into India between August 1947 and December 1949, in spite of solemn agreements between the Governments of India and Pakistan. When the recent Agreement was signed, another million-and-a-half had already come away from East Bengal to India, following wanton attacks on their lives and properties and specially on their women-folk. On this occasion it was not however a case of one-way traffic entirely. About half-a-million of Muslims had also to go away from India to Pakistan. This fact more than anything else impelled the Prime Minister of Pakistan to come to India.

During the last few weeks I have personally met several thousands of refugees of all classes and conditions of society. I have also received reports from several organisations which had similar opportunities of receiving first hand information of conditions in East Bengal. From investigations thus made, I may summarise the following conclusions :

- (1) The Pact has made movement freer and safer than before.
- (2) Harassment by Customs Officials has been reduced.
- (3) People can come away with their belongings to a larger extent than before.
- (4) Officials are generally more accessible than before and Moslem leaders in some areas outwardly speak of communal peace.

I have not over-rated or under-rated these seemingly good effects of the Pact. But, as indicated by the exodus, this has not at all helped to create confidence or feelings of security in the minds of the Hindus or reduced in any way their determination to come out of East Bengal. Let me summarise the reasons why Hindus express their inability to stay in Pakistan.

(i) Systematic squeezing out of Hindus from East Pakistan is still the settled policy of Pakistani authorities and the majority of its people. For this purpose, widespread and brutal atrocities like those that happened in February-March may not be necessary.

(2) Their sufferings and persecutions are in accordance with a well-planned and well-directed programme in which the official machinery plays a vital part.

(3) Their sufferings in February and March at the hands of both non-Bengali and Bengali Muslims give them no guarantee whatsoever regarding their future security. They got no protection from most of the officials. Deprived of all means of self-defence, their morale is shaken completely.

(4) The following is the nature of some of the acts committed after the Pact :

- (i) There have been a number of cases of abduction of Hindu women and even case of married Hindu women being given in marriage to Muslims.
- (ii) Cases of murder and arson have taken place in some areas.
- (iii) Cases of burglary and dacoity in which Hindus are the invariable victims are on the increase.
- (iv) Systematic oppression and humiliation of Hindus at the hand of Muslims.
- (v) Harassment and extortions continue from petty officials and non-officials, specially while Hindus are on their journey to West Bengal. There have been some attacks on trains.

(vi) Forcible occupation of houses or parts of houses continues.

(vii) Complaints with Police seldom lead to any real remedy; they often provoke tortures and sufferings at the hands of the local people. Arrested persons are freely given bail.

(viii) Arrests and detention of Hindus who had returned to East Bengal after the Pact.

(ix) Hindus are being asked by Muslims to go out of Pakistan taking advantage of the Pact inasmuch as it will be impossible to save them when the next attack would take place.

Of the numerous cases that have come to our knowledge we have analysed 502 cases of oppression between 9th April and 30th April. This is not by any means exhaustive and the actual number must be much larger.

Two other important factors are aggravating the exodus, one economic and the other cultural. Economic boycott of Hindus by Muslims is being vigorously pursued.

When I had discussed the fate of Hindus of East Bengal with their representatives, they told me frankly that if they had to live in East Bengal, they had two alternatives to face, either to embrace Islam or to be reconciled to serfdom. Whether in respect of their political rights or of their legitimate economic activities or of social and cultural ideologies or of honour of Hindu women, they have nothing to look forward to and a dark and dismal future awaits them. It is not a question of guaranteeing their physical existence alone. *A citizen must be able to live without constant fear, without undue restriction on his rights and liberties and in an atmosphere where he can give full expression to the emotions and ideals which he holds dear to his heart.*

The minorities have regained their confidence in India and there has been practically no complaint of oppression on them from any quarter. Instead of depending on large and smooth promises made by Pakistan, we should like to make a few specific demands and we would judge Pakistan's sincerity from its willingness or otherwise to fulfil them.

(1) *Would the East Bengal Government restore within a week the unfortunate Hindu women who have been abducted and mete out exemplary punishment to the offenders? At least 350 names have already been supplied. There are many more whose whereabouts are still unknown. There are some who were abducted after the Pact. Whether there has been a change of heart or not would be judged by this test, more than anything else.*

(2) *Would they restore forthwith the guns which were taken away from Hindu citizens of East Bengal?*

(3) *Would they agree to disband the Ansars' organisation which has been responsible for untold oppression and torture on Hindus?*

(4) *Would Hindu citizens of Pakistan who have been kept under detention or are being tried on false charges be forthwith released so as to restore confidence?*

(5) *Would even 25 per cent of the Hindu houses which have been requisitioned or forcibly occupied be released within a week?*

In strange contrast to the goodwill supposed to be heralded by the Indo-Pakistan Agreement, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has been unfolding the real character

of Pakistan to his American audience. I shall take only five points which are of great import to India. He has not concealed the fact that Pakistan is an Islamic State and its establishment was aimed at liberating not only 60 millions of Muslims who are today living in Pakistan, but also 40 millions of Muslims who are still residents in India. He persists in the two-nation theory of the Muslim League, which can hardly give any comfort to the unfortunate Hindus who are still living in Pakistan. He has frankly asserted the need of modern arms and weapons, his potential aggressor being principally India. He has declared that from every point of view Kashmir belongs to Pakistan and India is in forcible occupation of that territory. To crown all, he has emphatically declared as falsehood any allegation that Hindus in East Bengal have been murdered or oppressed. He obviously believes in the dictum that to make a lie appear as truth, it has only to be repeatedly and loudly uttered.

If those basic conditions are not fulfilled by Pakistan, obviously the cardinal principles of partition of India disappear. Unlike Muslims in India, who wanted partition, Hindus of East Bengal had no faith in the vivisection of our country. They were given assurances that in case they failed to get protection from Pakistan, India would come to their rescue. That crisis has come and they cannot be left to their own fate or to the tender mercies of Pakistan. The supporters of Indo-Pak Agreement have been anxious to give it a fair trial. We, who did not believe that the Agreement would lead to the solution of the problem, have not created any hindrance or obstacles.

To us, people of Bengal, it is a struggle between life and death. If there is a continuous one way traffic and if ten millions of Hindus come away from East Bengal to West Bengal, it will mean a collapse of the economy of our State. Bengal has contributed her best towards the cultural, economic and political uplift of India, not swayed by narrow provincial outlook but as citizens of Free India, anxious to contribute our mite to her regeneration. We have a right to call upon the people of India to understand our problem correctly and sympathetically.

Let us, if we can, compel Pakistan to change its Islamic ideology, and to abandon its two-nation theory, so that it may function as a civilized State—not in name, but in action, wherein people belonging to diverse religions may live without fear and be given full and equal opportunities for self-development. If such a change cannot be effected without recourse to methods on which Government cannot embark now, will Pakistan accept the demand made by East Bengal Hindus for a homeland for themselves, to be carved out of its territory? If this also is not capable of implementation by agreement, we have no other alternative but to demand an exchange of population and property at Governmental level on a regional basis, comprising East Bengal on the one hand, and West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and parts of Bihar on the other.

The question of rehabilitation of refugees is also as urgent as it is important. The Government of India have given their solemn assurance that they will take full responsibility for relief and rehabilitation. We must see

to it that this does not remain a dead letter. Here is a sphere of constructive work where there may be full co-operation between Government and the public. There are one or two aspects of the problem of rehabilitation which I may, however, emphasise. The residents of West Bengal have suffered from grave economic maladjustment due to a variety of circumstances. Let there be no controversy between West-Bengalees and East-Bengalees. *Any plan of rehabilitation of refugees, who will be full-fledged Indian citizens, must be so integrated as to be able to serve the cause of the entire Bengali population of West Bengal*

✓ Supreme Court on Newspaper Rights

The Supreme Court delivered judgment in the petition filed by *Cross Roads*, a pro-Communist Bombay weekly, holding that the ban imposed by the Madras Government against its entry into the State was illegal. The court, by a majority of 5 to 1. (Justice Fazal Ali dissenting) quashed the ban order of the State Government and declared invalid Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, under which the ban had been issued.

This was the first case decided by the Supreme Court in which the violation of Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution conferring the right of freedom of speech and expression was alleged.

Justice Patanjali Sastri, delivering the judgment of the court on behalf of the judges who took the majority view, referred to the contention of the Advocate-General, Madras, that, as a matter of procedure, the petitioner should first have resorted to the Madras High Court which had concurrent jurisdiction to deal with the matter under Article 226 of the Constitution. His lordship observed: "This Court is constituted a protector and guarantor of fundamental rights and it cannot, consistently with the responsibility so laid upon it, refuse to entertain applications seeking protection against infringements of its rights."

Justice Sastri proceeded to examine the question whether Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act was "a law relating to any matter which undermines the security or tends to overthrow the State within the meaning of Article 19(2) of the Constitution." He said that "public safety" ordinarily meant security of the public or their freedom from danger. In that sense, it could include anything which tends to prevent dangers to public health. The meaning of the expression must, however, vary according to the context.

His Lordship further observed: "It was stated that an enactment which provided for drastic remedies like preventive detention and ban on newspapers must be taken to relate to matters affecting the security of the State rather than trivial offences like rash driving or an affray. To whatever ends the impugned Act may have been intended to subserve, and what-

ever aims its framers may have had in view, its application and scope cannot, in the absence of limiting words in the statute itself be restricted to those aggravated forms of prejudicial activity which are calculated to endanger the security of the State; nor is there any guarantee that those authorized to exercise the powers under the Act will in using them discriminate between those who act prejudicially to the security of the State and those who do not."

Continuing his Lordship said: "The Constitution, in formulating the varying criteria for permissible legislation imposing restrictions on the fundamental rights enumerated in Article 19(1); has placed in a distinct category those offences against public order which aim at undermining the security of the State or overthrowing it and made their prevention the sole justification for legislative abridgment of freedom of speech and expression. That is to say, nothing less than endangering the foundations of the State, or threatening its overthrowing could justify curtailment of the right to freedom of speech and expression, while the right of peaceable assembly [sub-clause (b) of Article 19 (1)] and the right of association [sub-clause (c)] may be restricted under Clauses 3 and 4 of Article 19 in the interests of public order, which in those clauses include the security of the State."

Proceeding, his Lordship said that it was worthy of note that the word 'sedition' which occurred in Article 13(2) of the draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee was deleted before the Article was finally passed as Article 19(2). This deletion, he said, "shows that criticism of Government, exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards it, is not to be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press, unless it is such as to undermine the security of the State." His Lordship, therefore, took the view that unless a law restricting freedom of speech and expression was directed solely against undermining the security of the State, such law could not fall within the purview of Clause 2 of Article 19, although the restrictions which it sought to impose might have been conceived generally in the interests of public order. Hence, Section 9(1-A) of the impugned Act was void and unconstitutional and the order of ban on the *Cross Roads* was illegal.

Justice Fazl Ali, in his dissenting judgment, observed: "While public disorder was wide enough to cover a small riot or any affray and other cases where peace was disturbed by or affected a small group of persons, 'public unsafety' would usually be connected with serious internal disorders and such disturbances of public tranquillity as jeopardized the security of the State."

He observed that the words 'public safety' in the East Punjab Public Safety Act strongly suggested that the Act was intended to deal with serious cases of

public disorder which affected public safety or the security of the State or cases in which, owing to some kind of emergency or a grave situation having arisen, even public disorders of comparatively small dimensions might have far-reaching effect on the security of the State.

Referring to the deletion of the word 'sedition' in the draft Constitution, his Lordship quoted the definition of the word 'sedition' given by Chief Justice Sir Maurice Gwyer in a leading case in 1942 and observed: "Public disorder, or the reasonable anticipation or likelihood of public disorder, is the gist of the offence of sedition and the acts or words complained of must either incite to disorder or must be such as to satisfy reasonable men that that is their intention or tendency. The framers of the Constitution must, therefore, have found themselves face to face with the dilemma as to whether the word 'sedition' should be used at all in Article 19(2) and if it was to be used in what sense it was to be used."

His Lordship referred to the affidavit sworn by the Home Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, stating that the order in question was passed by the Chief Commissioner in consultation with the Central Press Advisory Committee, which was an independent body created by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and composed of representatives of some of the leading papers, and had held that it was beyond the power of the Court to grant relief claimed by the petitioners.

The Jute Deal

Authoritative sources have disclosed at New Delhi that the schedule of trade transactions provided under the Indo-Pak Trade Agreement has not been kept up. It provided that 16 lakh maunds of jute had to be delivered to India by May 15 and another 8 lakh maunds by May 31, but the quantity delivered so far is reported to be almost "negligible." On the other hand, the offtake of Indian goods against jute arrivals have been held up as no letters of credit are stated to have been opened by Pakistani importers so far. The Government of India on their part are said to have taken steps to facilitate the transit of goods to Pakistan by issuing provisional export licenses.

The fixation of a fantastically high price for Pakistani cuttings and leavings reacted badly on the Indian jute market. Offer of Indian jute to the mills were smaller in quantity. The course of prices since the Agreement has been interesting. The first reaction was: spurt in prices in East Bengal and slump in prices in West Bengal. Prices of jute receded not only in Calcutta but in distant mofussil areas as well. The market was bearish. The initial recession in prices however proved short-lived. Prices have begun to rise. As a result, the present position is that the current prices both in Pakistan and in India are considerably higher than before New Delhi's ratification of the Jute deal. The *Indian Finance* writes:

"Meantime, propaganda designed to stir up prices in the coming months has been set afoot. In a Karachi message containing a lot of vague and verbose 'gup' about the possibility of a new jute policy on the part of Pakistan, an innocent-looking paragraph is sneaked in about the present position of jute stocks in East Bengal. According to the Karachi message, which is dated May 15 and appears in daily papers on May 18, and which, in the date-line, is described as 'delayed,' the present stocks are represented as nothing more than 4,00,000 bales. Let me quote the para in full.

"Before the recent short-term trade agreement between Pakistan and India was concluded, it is learnt, Pakistan was left with about 12 lakh bales of jute under the agreement, Pakistan has agreed to supply 8 lakh bales to India which will leave about 4 lakh bales with Pakistan during the current season to be exported to countries other than India."

If all the jute left of the 1949-50 crop is 4 lakh bales, there can be no doubt that not only is the present firmness in East Bengal's jute market justified but there is every ground to think that, so far as the next season is concerned, firm conditions will persist. But the figures in the Karachi message are obviously wrong and blatantly misleading. Even on the basis of the figures given, from time to time, by Pakistan authorities, the carry forward must be of the order of 20 lakh bales.

(1) It is a Pakistani source that revealed the current crop's estimate to be 50 lakh bales.

(2) It is the official figures of the Chittagong Port that showed exports of jute to India up to the end of October as being 5,25,485 bales.

(3) It is a Karachi message dated May 17, that gives the following figures about the exports from Chittagong Port from July 1949 to April 1950. "Pakistan's jute exports from the port of Chittagong up to the end of April 1950, amounted to nearly 12 lakh bales beginning from July 1949. Jute exports to hard currency areas during this period amounted to 3½ lakh bales, United States being the biggest customer followed by Germany and Belgium. Among the soft currency areas, United Kingdom with a total purchase of 3½ lakh bales during the period takes the lead followed closely by France with its import of 2 lakh bales."

(4) It is the deal executed by the Pakistan Jute Board with the Indian Jute Mills Association that gives the figure of cuttings and rejections sold to India to be 8,00,000 bales.

(5) It is Pakistan's own admission that the held-up jute amounts to 5,00,000 bales.

Let us sum up the position :

1949-50 crop is 50,00,000 bales, of which have been exported :

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| (a) to India up to October | 5,25,485 bales |
| (b) to foreign countries from July | |
| 1949 to April 1950 .. | 12,00,000 .. |
| (c) to India through held-up process | 5,00,000 .. |
| (d) to India through Walker-Farouq deal .. | 8,00,000 .. |

Total .. 30,25,485 bales

The balance of the crop remaining unsold is 19,74,515 bales. It is true that, since the deal of 8,00,000 bales, foreign countries have become keener buyers of jute in East Bengal."

Baguio Conference and the Far East

Seven sovereign nations of South-East Asia and Western Pacific met in a conference in this city, the summer capital of Philippines, to consider means to advance peace through economic, political and cultural collaboration.

Although officially the Conference was not convened against any body, one of its main objectives is to formulate ways and means to arrest the tide of totalitarian subversion. This move against totalitarian subversion is considered natural especially among nations that have just won freedom from the shackles of colonialism. But precisely because of the determination of South-East Asian and Western Pacific nations to rise against any form of totalitarian subversion, the question that has been haunting the minds of many is: How can this be accomplished without a military programme?

The best official opinion gathered from the chief delegates of participating nations is that a military programme is not necessary to achieve the objective, although it is admitted that the threat from totalitarianism is immediate.

The nations represented in the Baguio Conference—Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand and Philippines—all these nations fully realize the threat to their independence, but all seem to believe that there are other ways of warding off the threat without military involvement.

The solution obviously lies in economic, political and cultural collaboration, but behind this broad statement of purpose is emerging a new philosophy—the belief in a third force to balance the two conflicting forces now engaged in the cold war.

The *United Press of America* reports that the Philippine Government called on the seven nations to form a permanent organisation to guard internal security in the Orient. General Romulo, Foreign Secretary of Philippines, who is also President of the U. N. General Assembly, made this proposal but he did not say exactly what form such a body should have and what actions it could take. He did not specifically name communism as the threat it would guard against but the meaning of his words was clear to the delegates. The Philippine President came close to spelling it out when he asked for mutual efforts to counter the "terrible menace which overhangs the world."

The Chinese Nationalist regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was not invited and its observers were barred from the closed sessions that followed. The opening meeting was open to foreign diplomats but the Chinese Ambassador ignored the invitation. The Indonesian delegate, Dr. Subardjo, sounded a

"militant independence" note saying, "Our slogan is to uproot all remaining traces of the old diehard colonialism. Let us not be misunderstood. We are anti-colonial, anti-imperialist; we are not anti-Western. Individual Westerners are welcome and free to remain in their former colonial territories, but we will have none of the colonial mentality and attitude of superiority which in the past poisoned relations between orientals and occidentals."

Recalling that until recent past, "most of us could not chart our own course and had to depend on alien guidance," President Quirino of Philippines said, "Now that we are masters of our destiny and as we endeavour to pursue our systematic growth and development consistent with our national genius, we believe we can complement one another relying on our common historic origin and traditional sympathy with each other as well as on our geographic propinquity to better promote our common interests by frank mutual consultations."

Closely following the Sydney Conference, the purpose of the Baguio Conference seems indeterminate. The purpose of both is to stem the rising tide of Communism in South and South-East Asia. While the Sydney Conference tried to organise the British Commonwealth countries, the Baguio Conference has sought to bring in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines into it in order to build up a powerful anti-Communist front.

We have given before the suave words of Lord MacDonald, leader of British delegation to the Sydney Conference, broadcast to Australia. We give below a significant extract from a despatch of the Diplomatic Correspondent of the celebrated British monthly *Nineteenth Century and After* :

"It is not impossible to save South-East Asia from Communism, despite the many obvious advantages which the Communists hold in that area. If it is to be saved from Communism, and also made an asset rather than liability to the free world, the West must achieve three things. All three are inter-related since they are but different aspects of the same policy; but they may be distinguished analytically. Firstly, *the area must be held militarily*. European troops are involved in operations in both Indo-China and Malaya; there is widespread fighting in Burma; and guerilla activities of a kind in parts of both Indonesia and the Philippines. Native Governments must be established which really keep the peace. There must be adequate protection for the movement of people and goods; and the ordinary operations of agriculture, industry and commerce, which are the lifeblood of any community, must have the minimum of security which they need in order to operate. Apart from military and technical aid, the Western Powers may be able to help with specific schemes for main-

taining communications and similar activities under contract. Secondly, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the area must be brought either to support their new independent governments actively, *or at least accept them passively*. The new nationalist solution must be made to seem preferable to the Communist alternative. This can partly be done by ensuring that Western activities are freed from the stigma of colonial imperialism and exploitation, both political and economic, which has for so long been attached to them. The imperialist threat must be visibly a Communist one from the North. But the peoples of the area, and especially the overseas Chinese, will in any case not accept regimes which cannot ensure a sufficient degree of security and prosperity. This second achievement, therefore, depends partly on the first; and partly also on the third achievement, which consists of fostering the development of the area on a healthy basis by integrating more firmly into the potential of both Japan and India. This will serve both to develop South-East Asia itself, and so secure its security and prosperity, and at the same time make the position of Japan and India themselves more stable and more constructive than they are today."

This despatch throws a flood of light on what is happening behind the screens. Australia seems, naturally enough vitally interested in both the Conferences. There is little doubt that Australians have started considering the proposition that such a policy is perhaps the only way to save a white Australia.

Far East after the second World War has assumed the same political and international significance that Near East had arrogated after the first World War. The surging tide of nationalism was responsible for the popular sentiment to break away from foreign tutelage. The kind of experiment proposed for South-East Asia by the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Nineteenth Century* today had been undertaken in the post-First War Near East. It has started crumbling there. Attempts are now made to build up the same alignments here in the Far East. Independence of India, Burma, Ceylon, Philippines and Indonesia, creation of the new Muslim State of Pakistan and the emergence of China as a Communist State have disturbed balance of power in the Far East. The key positions are occupied by India and Japan with high military potentials. Instead of being dictated, the recently freed nations have now to be placated. The eagerness of Britain and U.S.A., with huge capital sunk here and with very high stakes to guard not only their possessions and capitals but to safeguard their trade routes as well, is quite understandable.

Against this background, Pandit Nehru's Indonesian tour has been planned.

New Finance Minister and Revaluation

The President, on the advice of the Prime Minister, has appointed Shri Chintaman Dwarkanath Deshmukh to be a Cabinet Minister.

According to another communique issued by the Cabinet Secretariat, Shri Chintaman Dwarkanath Deshmukh, will succeed Dr. John Matthai as Minister for Finance when the latter relinquishes office at the end of the month.

Sir Chintaman's appointment is also taken as an index of the Prime Minister's determination not to compromise quality with political loyalty in the choice of one of the most important Cabinet Ministers.

There can be no two opinions about Sir Chintaman's technical fitness for the post, for which his long and distinguished official career may be described as a suitable preparation.

After a six-year period as Revenue and Finance Secretary in the State Government, Sir Chintaman was transferred to the Centre, where he was Secretary to the Central Board of the Reserve Bank for two years until 1941.

Promoted Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank thereafter, he held that appointment until he became Governor of the Bank in August, 1943, which post he held for six years.

Today's official announcement says that Sir Chintaman will continue his membership of the Planning Commission, which some will consider a definite advantage over his predecessor.

Rumours had been current in the Bombay Share Market for quite a long time that the external value of the rupee may be raised to 1s. 9d. or 1s. 8d. with a view to resolving the deadlock with Pakistan. It had been vehemently denied on a number of occasions by the Finance Minister. It has lately received credence and market circles attribute this to the resignation of Dr. Matthai. They say that Dr. Matthai must have resigned owing to difference of opinion with the Government on the question of the exchange rate. The talk in the Bombay market was that the Prime Minister was in favour of meeting Pakistan half-way by revaluing the rupee a little in the upward direction but that the Finance Minister stoutly opposed it and resigned so that the Prime Minister might carry out his policy. We hope Shri Deshmukh will deal with the matter with firmness.

Sardar Patel has made the following categorical statement at Bombay in this connection :

"On my return to Bombay I learnt that there is some speculation in certain quarters about the attitude of the Government of India on the exchange ratio fixed at the time of devaluation. Some time ago the Finance Minister made it quite clear that the Government of India did not contemplate any change in the present ratio. I am, therefore, surprised that the matter should even then have been the subject of any speculation and would like to state that the Government of India reached the decision on this matter after careful consideration; and subsequent improvement in our economic position has fully confirmed the correctness of the decision.

No question of reconsideration of the ratio arises; in fact, economic trends are strongly in favour of its stabilisation.

Any speculation on this issue is, therefore, entirely meaningless and would be definitely detrimental to the interests of the country. I would, therefore, warn the general public against any interested rumour-mongering on this point."

The rumour is so persistent that even after this contradiction it has not been allayed. Experience has shown that the Treasury circles will have nothing to say but contradict the rumours about alteration in the exchange rate whether they refer to devaluation or revaluation. Even the last big devaluation came only after a series of categorical denials by Sir Stafford Cripps. Some definite indication about the genuineness of the rumour will be available when the Pakistan Government submits the par value of its currency to the International Monetary Fund. The Fund has already expressed its willingness to admit Pakistan and it is for the latter to ratify the agreement and inform the Fund of the par value of its rupee. It is not known when Pakistan will do so, but in any case it cannot be delayed beyond August or early September when the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Fund falls due.

The present devaluation has hard hit a powerful group of importers whose main business was with the hard currency areas and consisted of luxury goods of high value. Firms dealing with Pakistan have also been severely hit. Their desire for the re-establishment of the former trade with hard currency areas and Pakistan is understandable and on some points justifiable when the import of essentials like machinery, drugs, etc., from hard currency areas and jute, cotton and wheat from Pakistan is considered. The sole consideration for determining the need for stabilisation of the rupee at the present ratio on its revaluation must be the overall interest of the country from the long period standpoint of production and employment and not from the short period need and expediency.

Weak Links on Railways

Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayangar, India's Railway Minister in a broadcast speech on Railway accidents, said that of all accidents only 15 per cent could be attributed to sabotage. He said :

"There is little doubt that there are serious defects on the tracks which require immediate attention. The usefulness of the imported WP type Engines has also been challenged. There are matters which have been thoroughly gone into by the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee, formed in 1947 under the Chairmanship of Mr. K. C. Neogy. On Mr. Neogy's selection as the Rehabilitation Minister Pandit H. N. Kunzru succeeded him as the Chairman. The Report of the Committee is now available."

About the standard of track, the Committee says, "The standard of track on the whole is satisfactory except in the matter of sleepers and rails

which have been in short supply. With the implementation of the relaying programme for the next five years, it is expected that the *existing weak links* will be eliminated and the standard will improve sufficiently to meet the future demands for increase in traffic and acceleration in train speeds. The present post-war speed of the faster trains are below the pre-war speeds, and after rehabilitation the track should be well able to stand to future demands." (page 19). The public have a right to know what measures have been taken to spot out the weak links and to set them right. Hardly a week passes without some news of derailment on one or other railway in the country. These hardly receive the attention they deserve because casualty figures are not spectacular. Serious view ought to be taken of each and every accident, specially which reveals a defect in the track or in the organisation, even when there may not be any casualty.

As regards sleepers, the Committee says, "We have found a good deal of confused thinking on this matter which has probably led to extravagant action in regard to the sleeper densities on the different railways. Firstly, *we have to admit that we have no scientific data available at present to determine the economic density of sleepers per mile to suit particular traffic conditions.* Although we lack this data, we know that the lateral strength varies with the type of sleepers . . . In deciding the number of sleepers per mile, we must take into account the type of sleepers to be used. We do not know how far the lateral strength of the track is affected by vertical stresses in the track. Railways should guard against adopting the expensive solution of bad maintenance by an increase in the number of sleepers per mile." (p. 21).

The permanent way is maintained by small gangs numbering 7 or more men in charge of a mate. The gang length is either 3 or 4 miles. About these gangs on whom the actual maintenance of the permanent way depends, the Committee says, (p. 23), "We are painfully aware that it is exceedingly difficult to exercise check on the labour both permanent and temporary, employed on the maintenance of the track, owing to the variations in the methods and systems of maintenance. We have found no uniformity or accepted basis for any one operation of track maintenance. The opening of a road, the overhauling of track, the packing of sleepers, the screening of ballast, the lubrication of fishplates and bolts are done at different intervals and not always in the same manner. . . . The existing wide variations in the fundamentals of track maintenance cannot lead either to economy or efficiency. It is, therefore, essential that close investigation should be made into the whole subject of track maintenance."

Ballast has always been an expensive item in

the cost of maintenance of the permanent way. The cost of ballast has increased by 300 to 400 per cent over the pre-war costs and even at this cost, all railways are experiencing difficulty in the procurement of their requirements. The standard ballast sections differ substantially on different railways. The Committee says that "it is not suggested that there should be uniformity in ballast sections on all the railways, but there is no reason why a standard section should not be laid down for a standard track on various soils, these sections to be modified for special conditions of traffic, climate, etc." (p. 25). The Committee admits the fact that "ballast is deficient on most railways." The Committee recommends that an early research should be undertaken to examine critically the existing ballast sections under track on good formations for varying traffic conditions on different railways.

Thus serious defects in the track and in its maintenance have been noticed by the Committee. The Government owe an explanation to the public on what has till now been done to remedy them.

There has been a popular apprehension about

the use of the modern W.P. type locomotives imported at enormous cost from U.S.A. and Canada. These locomotives have been involved in the last few big derailments. The Pacific Locomotive Enquiry Committee had recommended that the speed of all Pacific type locomotives should be restricted to a maximum of 45 miles per hour and in 1939, the Railway Board applied this restriction until modifications to stabilise these engines could be carried out, exceptions being made in the case of B. B. and C. I. and the N.-W. Railways where measures already taken had removed the danger of hunting. The Kunzru Committee says, "This has led to a very unsatisfactory position at present inasmuch as the most modern and powerful X type locomotives on which the Indian Railways had spent Rs. 285.5 lakhs approximately, are not and have not been fulfilling the purpose for which they were purchased and are at present working unimportant trains instead of being used on the mail and other fast trains. We understand that designs to stabilise these engines were completed at the end of 1946 and that the railways concerned placed orders for the necessary materials. The Committee suggest that the Railway Board should take special steps to ensure that modifications are carried out without unnecessary delay so that the existing restrictions of 44 miles per hour can be raised and a large number of modern locomotives is not relegated to secondary services any longer than can be helped. We have not been able to obtain the total estimated cost of modifications to these engines, but the figures given by the B. B. and C. I. Railway indicate that they have spent about rupees one lakh per engine for modify-

ing each of the 14 XC locomotives in addition to spending large sums on strengthening the track. The story of the purchase and operation of these locomotives has been tragic and if we are to avoid the repetition of this sorry tale, we should take heed of the two important lessons which emerge for future guidance. These are : (i) the risk of divided responsibility for specification and design, and (ii) *the undesirability of bulk ordering of engines to new designs without adequate tests.* . . . The 16 W.P. locomotives already delivered are being subjected to intensive tests and modifications found necessary as a result of these tests will be incorporated in the standard design for the remaining 300 locomotives that are proposed to be purchased. *We wish to emphasise* that bulk orders for these locomotives should be placed only after these experimental engines have been fully tested, but also after modifications found necessary have been proved to be effective in service." (pp. 62-63).

The Railway Board should lose no time to clarify this situation. Meanwhile the question of sabotage has come to the fore due to the terrible loss of life in the Jasidih derailment of the Punjab Mail. There is little doubt—if any—that there was foul play in this major disaster. Renewed vigilance and a relentless hunt for the criminals is indicated thereby.

The derailment of the Punjab Mail at Jasidih has been the worst railway disaster probably in the history of Indian Railways. Official investigation has revealed that it had been an act of sabotage. We have seen photographs of the damaged track which bear unmistakable evidence that fishplates had actually been tampered with. A reward of Rs. 10,000 has been declared for information leading to the apprehension of the saboteurs. We consider the amount of the reward ridiculously low. The cause of the sabotage, at least in this case, was anything but loot; it must have been political. The amount of damage, apart from loss of life, may quite reasonably be placed at a figure somewhere near Rs. 30 lakhs. A reward of Rs. 10,000 will be little inducement to cover the risk for an attempt to unearth a political conspiracy of first-rate India-wide importance and of a colossal magnitude. Even a reward of Rs. 1 lakh may be considered too low.

Following this disaster, proposals have been put forward for the cognisance of crimes of similar nature on the railways as a law and order subject. Proposals have also been made for imposing collective responsibility on the villages through which the railway lines pass, and to seal the fishplates so that they cannot be removed. The following suggestion of Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, who has been a permanent way Inspector for over 21 years, made in a letter published in a Calcutta contemporary, deserves serious attention. He suggests that one bolt nearest the joint be rivetted under the personal supervision of the Inspector-in-charge. Care should be taken that the bolt thus rivetted is not too tight so that it allows free expan-

sion and contraction. Opening a bolt rivetted in this way would take time and create noise that could be heard within two miles. Present talk of imposing collective responsibility on villagers does not appear practical because most of the villages being quite far off from the tracks, it takes too much to expect village folk to mount guard at all hours of day and night. But if some contrivance could be devised so that the act of tampering with the track would require a lot of noise audible from a long distance, the villagers can certainly be asked to be watchful. Mr. Woodhouse further suggests, "Three good wooden (sal) sleepers should also be laid in every rail length — one at either end and the third in the middle with holding down bolts fastened from beneath the sleeper. The bolts should be 6 ins. to 7 ins. by 1 in. in diameter forming the jaw of the cleats. This would defy any would-be saboteurs slewing the rail either in or out. Rivetting one bolt in every joint could be done without additional expenditure. The key man of the workers' party with one worker could complete rivetting on an average section of three miles — involving about 880 bolts — within two weeks. The bolts are standard, except the heads which could be altered to prevent a spanner gripping; the washers could easily be procured." Making the possession of a spanner grip of the odd size used in the railway a severe criminal offence will add further security to the track because unauthorised possession of such grips will lead to the only presumption that it was intended to be used for sabotage.

Mr. Woodhouse opposes the suggestion of welding of fishplates, of which he has considerable experience. He considers it unpracticable except near bridges as the welding is done on one rail only, that is on half the plates, the other half active as a sleeve to accommodate expansion and contraction.

Maharashtra's Economic Advance

One reason of the tension between Gujaratis and Marhattas is said to be the unequal development of modern industries in the two areas, and unequal distribution of profits made therefrom. The former appear to be captains of the industries taking off the cream of the profits; the latter constitute the broad "labour" force. This is a general picture of the situation.

The discontent created by it can be canalized if new industries are established in Maharashtra proper and the people's attention diverted to constructive nationalism. It is a good sign, therefore, that the possibilities of such developments are being discussed. One suggestion in this behalf that we have come across will interest Bengalees. Bombay's rather Maharashtra's reaction to it will be eagerly watched.

The suggestion is with regard to the cultivation of jute in the Konkan area of Maharashtra which, it is hoped, will raise its "industrial potential." Scientists appear to hold different views in the matter. As one of them wrote in the *Bombay Chronicle* :

"The point is then whether we cannot or can grow in the Konkan areas the particular type of jute plant which flourishes in Bengal with its two varieties; there is the genus, 'capsularis,' which grows native in the wilds of Konkan right up to Mangalore. Experiments deserve to be made regarding its fibre qualities and its being used ultimately in the production of jute. As regards cultivation we have an excellent opportunity of entrusting it to capable and experienced hands. Why should not our Department of Agriculture select certain areas and ask the Central Government to settle upon them those evicted Hindus from East Bengal and those who find life there so unbearable as Hindus that they would go anywhere else in Bharat to make a respectable living. It appears, 'capsularis' has already been the subject of investigation by the agricultural department of the Central Government. One would like to know what has happened afterwards."

We draw attention to this discussion because this would be opening out a new way in which the so-called "refugees" can contribute to the betterment of India.

River Research in West Bengal

The address delivered by Dr. N. K. Bose, Director River Research Institute, West Bengal, on the occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Institute at Haringhata on May 21, 1950, contains some vital information which is quoted below:

"The wealth of the State of West Bengal was at one time the envy of others and the theme of our poets. The source of that wealth lay in the abundance of our natural resources, and the most fundamental of them was our system of flowing rivers. The story of our economic decline is, in a vital sense, the history of the decay of our rivers. Changes in their courses and shortsighted interference with their natural flow have reduced the country to patches of stagnant swamps and extensive tracts periodically swept by deadly inundations. The consequences are now becoming more and more evident. The most serious of these is that the production of food has failed to keep pace with the growth of our numbers; so much so, that we have no option but to beg or borrow to appease our immediate hunger.

"No measure is so important for our agricultural revival as the resuscitation of our dying rivers. These have to be restored to a healthy flow. The fury of monsoon-flood has to be controlled and the waters now dissipated and creating havoc to be conserved and harnessed for productive purposes. Waste lands have to be watered and malarious swamps drained and reclaimed for use.

"After the partition of Bengal, the Bhagirathi occupies the most important place among the rivers

that have fallen in the new State. In the olden days, the Bhagirathi was one of the main courses of the Ganga. A number of prosperous towns had grown up on its banks, such as Berhampur, Ajimganj, Nabadwip, Kalna, Katwa, Hooghly. With the diversion of the Ganga from the Bhagirathi course, the importance and prosperity of these towns also decayed.

"From the maps it will be seen that the Bhagirathi runs like the backbone through West Bengal. Coming out of the Ganga near about Dhulia it receives water supply from both its banks situated in West Bengal. All the rivers of Santal Parganas and Chotanagpur bring down the rain waters of this area into the Bhagirathi. One characteristic of these rivers is that they swell up at the onset of the rains and pour into the Hooghly and Bhagirathi. On the way, they flood the villages and towns, men, women and cattle, destroy crops and devastate all the places through which they flow. After this dance of death is over, no water is left in the rivers and the winter crops can barely be grown. Floods in the rainy season and drought after that have been the annual experience of the inhabitants of this area. The memory of the devastating floods of the Damodar in the years 1913, 1917, 1935, and 1943, is still fresh with many of us. To tackle some of these problems the Damodar Valley Corporation has been set up by the Government of India."

Dr. Bose has brought up to date what Willcocks had said at his University Extension Lectures about twelve years back. It is a story of forgetting Bengal's history, misunderstanding its lessons and supinely depending on others to do the work of reconstruction that should be the concern of us alone. The present crisis would not be in vain if this complacency is knocked out of us. We expect the River Research Institute to bring knowledge to us so that we may be like Bhagiratha and other pioneers who reconstructed Bengal in response to their particular needs and requirements. We can not do less if we want to live.

The Institute will be serving a bigger purpose. The whole of India is thirsting for water, subsoil and above soil. The latter is often wasted in floods. The Institute has to show how this waste can be controlled. Subsoil water has to be brought to the surface as did Arjuna to Bhishma. May the Institute enable us to do it; and serve the whole of India!

"Milk Town" Schemes

There are at present two grandiose "Milk Town" plans in India that have caught the popular imagination. One is situated in the State of Bombay, the other in the State of West Bengal; one is stationed in the area round about the village of Aare on the B. B. and C. I. Suburban Railway about 30 miles from Bombay City, the other is stationed at Haringhata near Kanchrapara on the E. I. Railway about 32 miles distant from Calcutta. The

Bombay Government have not cared to publicize their scheme, neither have they in Bengal. We don't know the reason for the former; for the latter its British inception is responsible. We will explain.

Sanctioned in 1945 as a post-war development measure by Governor Casey of Bengal; the last but one British Governor of the Province, the plan has suffered in public estimation from its tendency towards wastefulness. "Work on the scheme was started soon after it was sanctioned, and by the middle of 1947, when the Province was divided, a sum of Rupees 50 lakhs had either been expended or irrevocable liability had been incurred," to quote from an *aide-memoire* sent to a member of our staff who went to Haringhata on a visit on the 17th May last as member of the West Bengal Rural Welfare Society.

The new West Bengal Government had to review the project which they did late in 1948 when the work of its active implementation was resumed. An area of about 7,550 Bighas of land, "mostly highland," has been acquired. It had been depopulated by malaria and has remained so since 1840 when the "Jessore fever" broke out; there were only about 400 families in the area; there are water-sheets in it which showed that the old bed of the river known here as Jamuna is within the area. In the Chandmari area nearer Kanchrapara the Jamuna shows herself again, and we think canalisation should be able to renovate the whole area and make it flourish as of old. We have heard that Sree Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratisthan when called upon to advise on the Haringhata plan, suggested this drainage *cum* irrigation project.

The entire area of land for the farm, was taken possession of by the end of August 1949 and arrangements made for growing fodder and improved types of paddy, jute, wheat and gram. Nearly 24 hundred maunds of paddy seed, 70 maunds of jute seed, 122 maunds of wheat seed, besides a quantity of gram which remain to be thrashed have thus become available for supply to cultivators through the Department of Agriculture of West Bengal. The present strength of the cattle is 263 cows and their 220 calves and 50 buffaloes; nearly 32 maunds of milk is produced daily which is being distributed to the T. B. Hospital at Kanchrapara and other hospitals in Calcutta.

The poultry Section which started with a foundation flock of some 250 hens and cocks in April 1949 has attained a strength of over 2000.

All the future lies before Haringhata. The vast area acquired for this Milk Town "is primarily meant for producing the food which will be required for feeding the animals kept there. But, in addition to that, it is also to serve as a seed farm to multiply seeds of improved types, recommended by the Department of Agriculture, West Bengal, for supply to villagers. It will also furnish valuable data regarding the economics of mechanised farming under the system of mixed farming which is to be practised."

In the *aide-memoire* sent us we are not given the present financial position of the whole scheme. But we

are glad to be informed that "the income derived from the sale of milk and paddy exceeded the cost of producing these items as the following figures would show: Milk produced 4732½ maunds; cost of production Rs. 1,36,883; income derived Rs. 1,73,881. Paddy and paddy straw 2411 and 3616 maunds respectively—cost of production Rs. 16,175; income derived Rs. 28,328.

The animals appeared healthy; the calves have shared the general improvement unlike those kept by the *gowalas* who just kill them—about 30,000 every year in Calcutta. The State in West Bengal has a responsibility in this matter. The Haringhata plan should enable it to tackle this deliberate killing of calves at which social conscience has developed a habit of indifference.

The "Tarai Battle"

In the Magazine Section of the Allahabad *Leader* dated April 2, 1950, appeared an enthralling report of the "Tarai Battle" sent by its special representative at Lucknow — a battle against Nature from whom an "old world" has been wrested and "made new." "The lower lands of the Tarai below the city of the hills, Nainital, the thickly-verdant slopes and the forests of the Bhabhar are already smiling. Yonder, miles away but in the same district, Kashipur territory is in the making."

"The Tarai—mile after mile of this type of wet land, where water seeps in the moment it falls — had been lying waste between the Kumaon Hills on the north and Bareilly district on the south for centuries. This vast forest of Elephant grass (some call it Tiger grass) with thick strong blades rising to 20 feet, wild vegetation and trees of all sizes, had been there, dreaded by man but infested with beasts of all kinds: tiger, panther, wild elephant, wolf, deer, snakes and birds of all species. Not far away, roamed the man-eaters of the Kumaon Hills which have made history. On the north, the Tarai ends where the Bhabhar begins, while the Bhabhar itself ends where the beautiful hills of the Kumaon begin."

"And today the Tarai is a new world. The deadly mosquito is not there now. Actually, I slept soundly the nights I spent there, heaving a sigh of relief that I was away from Lucknow where the mosquito continues to be a menace. The tiger, the panther and the wild elephant have not all been killed. They do not roam the reclaimed area but have moved to the adjacent forests. All over the area there are now the golden wheat fields, beautiful villages of modern hutments, lovely roads and schools. There is a modern dairy farm distributing milk and butter. The climate, which had been malarious is now exhilarating, the wet forests cleared allowing the sun to spray his disease-killing rays. The rejuvenating breeze of the Kumaon hills is now able to sweep the area. And everywhere it is all scrupulously clean and orderly, reminding one of the ranches and farms of the Americas."

"Both under the Rajas and during the British regime fitful attempts were made to resurrect this area. But the actual work was started only on January 4, 1947, by the Pant Ministry in a bold, determined bid to go in for fields and pastures new—for food and shelter

for men and cattle. The 'war' was declared; a major battle to win about 160 miles of this dreary Tarai in five years."

"The campaign started from the Kicha end bordering on Bareilly district. And during the past three years what has been done is a miracle. Nearly 75 miles of the target has been covered. Of this, according to the agronomical technique of maintaining balance, 50 per cent of the area has been brought under the plough, 30 per cent left for pasture and 20 per cent left for the forests."

"The saga of clearing this vast tract of jungles by a determined army of labourers helped by powerful bulldozers and other machinery, laying of the roads and pathways and breaking the land with the tractors is known. Also known is the anti-malaria campaign by the W.H.O. team and the Colonisation Department team."

"One of the main endeavours now is to resettle in the area the displaced families of the Punjab registered in the U.P. Of the 15,000 acres which have so far been brought under cultivation, 8,000 acres have been given to the displaced persons and the rest to ex-service men. Each part of the broken area is first kept as a State farm and then handed over to the D.P.'s, following selection by a board, on a rental basis."

"A vigorous housing programme is also on. Houses are built in groups, each group constituting a 'village.' Each house costs about Rs. 2,500 and the family has to repay the cost in instalments in 25 years. So far 16 villages have been built and nine of them are occupied by D. P.'s."

"A visit to some of the villages was an eye-opener. Three of these villages in that out-of-the-way colony are electrified. Water supply for the villages is from the tube-wells, and the power needed for pumping water is utilised to provide lighting. All the remaining villages are to be electrified soon. Drainage and sanitation arrangements are quite satisfactory. This is a lesson in village development for the rest of the country."

"In order to provide educational facilities for children six primary schools are running and four more have been sanctioned. A middle school is necessary. At one place a hospital with nurses' quarters is going up and is almost ready. Some co-operative societies selling most of the daily necessities are functioning."

"On the financial side the work has been already showing results. Some statistics will tell the story. The land has been found well suited for wheat, gram, peas, barley and oats. In the first year, 1947, only sugarcane was grown. As more land was broken up, more acres were cultivated. During 1948-49, 5,623 acres were sown for the *Kharif* and 3,594 acres for the *rabi*. *Kharif* acreage rose to 10,726 and *rabi* to 4,288 last year. This year the acreage under *Kharif* will be 20,000 acres and that under *rabi* will be 10,000. The *rabi* crop on the fields—wheat, gram, peas, barley and oats—is rich. The scheme is thus serving its original purpose—food-drive—successfully."

"The rainfall in the area is more than sufficient. It gets 60 inches rain in the July-September months. There are plenty of streams springing out of the area. The soil

is very moist. The task, in fact, was to reduce the moisture, to lower the sub-soil water level which has been lowered to six feet from two by moving down the forest and making the sun do the job."

The writer then takes us to another area in the Nainital district. "The 'Operations Jungles' battle has started where the wet Tarai and the porous Bhabhar areas meet. Known as the North Kashipur Colonisation Scheme, the campaign is to cover 37,000 acres, about 60 square miles, comprising three blocks of land: Sanwaldeh and Dhella villages 7 and 11 miles from Ramnagar, Garhi Inderjit and a number of villages to the north and east of Kashipur and thirdly, the Garhi Negi and villages to the north-west of Kashipur. The entire area occupies the north centre of the Kashipur sub-division in Nainital District. It is bound on the north by Chulkia Bhabhar, on the east by the Kosi river, on the south by the main Tarai road and on the west by the Jaspur reserved forest and three other villages."

"Though this area has also to be reclaimed—cleared of the tall grass and broken and rid of the deadly mosquito I would call the operations resurrection, not reclamation. The tract and the neighbourhood abounds in rich history."

"Near-about the present town, lived the Pandavas while in exile. It was then known as Viratnagar. The great Dronacharya was here and gave military training to the Pandavas during their stay. There is a temple of Drona and a big Mela is held there on Ramnavami Day."

"Emperor Akbar used to attach considerable importance to the area. Even today stand some of the bridges built by him. It is said, Kashipur used to yield more revenue than Banaras."

"But the area around Kashipur town began to die out early enough and about the beginning of this century the black influenza epidemic and Sultana Daku, the notorious dacoit, who operated here and in the Tarai, completed the ruin. The tract soon became depopulated, either because of the fell diseases or due to the depredations of the dacoit."

"It is this tract where the operations have now begun under the leadership of Mr. A. D. Mukherjee. Here, as in the Tarai, the first task was to fight the malaria. The Indian Research Fund Association anti-malaria unit under Dr. M. Pakrasi has been functioning there. In July 1949, the spleen rate which shows the incidence of malaria in the area was 59.8 and it fell to 37.4 in October."

"Bulldozers and tractors are now working at full blast. The Central Tractor Organisation launched the operations on January 20 this year and has broken over 5,300 acres of the land."

"Now will begin the follow-up harrowing operations on the broken area, while the land breaking operations will continue in the remaining part. The efforts are to put the broken area under *Kharif* by the end of June."

"Side by side with breaking the lands, main roads, and feeder roads are also laid. Houses are also to go up. Sixteen villages, each of 60 to 80 houses, are sought to be put up."

"Sufficient land is being left to the locals, who are anyway raising a hue and cry against the breaking up of the wasteland, arguing that the pastures for their cattle would be gone. But the place for most of these cattle is the concentration camp at Rishikesh run by Mira Behn. It is time that a healthy and scientific outlook is developed regarding decrepit cattle."

The story told above reflects credit on the Uttar Pradesh Government, on the officers charged with the responsibility for resurrecting a world. There are other areas in Bharat waiting for these healing activities. Only the men with vision and energy have to appear. The story is a challenge to the other States.

"Pivot of Asia"

Publicists of the United States have inherited the position of advisers on international affairs which was once held by those from Britain. Opposing them are the Soviet interpreters of world events, and we are left with the choice between these sets of "experts." In things big and small we are not sure of the facts so entangled do they become in their rival interpretations. Take for instance, the recent happenings in China, the effective control established by the Chinese Communists over her economic and political destiny. India has established diplomatic relations with this new China; the United States has not. With all the wealth of information served us by the United States Information Service, we cannot say that we are nearer understanding the reason or reasons which led the great Republic to retire from the Asian mainland and fight rear-guard actions against the rising strength of communism, drawing its inspiration and strength from the Soviet Union. China has thus become the cock-pit of Asian affairs, and her south-western province of Sinkiang has been characterized as the "Pivot of Asia."

This is the title of a book recently published from the pen of Owen Lattimore, Adviser to the U.S.A. State Department, that is, its Foreign Office. Mr. Lattimore was for a while editor of the magazine, *Pacific Affairs*, an invaluable mine of information on developments on the Pacific region; he was for a year or two political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek during the height of the war on the Far East following Japan's declaration of war on the United States and Britain. He passed recently through India on his grand tour through Asia, and students of international affairs in our country had occasion to get his appreciation of the factors that played such a decided part in China's most recent history. Our readers will, therefore, be interested in this new book, which has been summarized by the Press Trust of India from New York. We publish it below :

Mr. Lattimore's thesis is that a new centre of gravity now forming in Inner Asia has, in terms of power-politics, two outstanding characteristics, accessibility for the kind of power at Russia's disposal and inaccessibility for American power.

"In terms of ideology, it is a whirlpool in which meet political currents flowing from China, Russia, India and the Muslim Middle East."

Mr. Lattimore sees Russia and China as the "two great federative States similar to each other in their Communist orientation, but not identical with each other in their domestic interests." He predicts that China's new Communist Government will have more authority in Sinkiang than any Chinese Government for many decades, "the gathering momentum of Soviet prestige is enhanced by the withdrawal of other Powers that were once great in Inner Asia."

"With British power withdrawn from India neither India nor Pakistan has the kind of power that can project its influence as deeply into Inner Asia as what Britain once did."

Saying that the Sinkiang of the future was "likely to follow the Soviet model to a considerable extent." Mr. Lattimore adds, "Sinkiang, in its pivotal position in the heart of Asia, will most rapidly transmit to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran the news that passes from mouth to mouth where few people read or hear the radio—news of the meaning in their lives of the great political changes in China. Sinkiang has become in fact a pivot around which revolve politics and power and the fate of men."

Mr. Lattimore's opinion is of great value to us, provided of course his knowledge and understanding of the New China is at least as profound as his ignorance about India and Pakistan. This ignorance about matters relating to India specially is no particular characteristic of Mr. Lattimore. It is common to most U.S.A. Pundits.

Freedom Fight in Asia

The Anglo-Saxon Powers, the United States and the "Commonwealth" that Britain represents, have chosen to recognize the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China as their weapon to fight a last-ditch fight against Soviet pretensions. On the contrary, the Communist regime in China, Indo-China's immediate neighbour, has recognized Dr. Ho Chi Minh as the *de facto* ruler of Vietnam. India has refused to toe the Anglo-American line in spite of heavy pressure. In this attitude she will have the support of almost all Asian peoples. Even French public men are found condemning the imperialist game of their present rulers, claiming to be Socialists.

M. Lambert Saravane, overseas independent deputy representing French India, strongly attacked the Franco-Vietnamese agreements 'because they were made with Bao Dai.' He was addressing the French National Assembly.

'I doubt whether these agreements will have the approval of the Vietnamese people, and I am sure Bao Dai never had the authorities that the French Government gave him.'

'Contrary to what this Government seemed to believe, there is no monarchist tradition in Asia, especially in Vietnam. If some monarchist tradition still exists in Japan and England, it is because these monarchies evolved.'

'I cannot say the same regarding Bao Dai who does not represent the Vietnamese people. We have been told by the French Government that Ho Chi Minh is a Communist. I tell you that in Asiatic countries one cannot separate Communist party action from that of the nationalist parties.'

Sydney Conference

Seven Commonwealth Nations assembled at Sydney have agreed to spend £8 millions to aid South and South-East Asia as soon as possible. Mr. Spender, Australian Minister for External Affairs, said, "We have now come to a successful conclusion of our deliberations, which is an indication of the importance attached by commonwealth countries to the welfare and stability of the area of South-East Asia. Great emphasis should be placed on the extraordinary agreement we have reached on all the major matters before us."

The final communique, issued by the Commonwealth Consultative Committee, said it was decided to recommend that a Commonwealth technical assistance scheme for South and South-East Asia be inaugurated within the next few months. The total amount of assistance involved would be £8 millions over a period of three years.

The Committee recommended that a Commonwealth bureau be set up at Colombo to co-ordinate the work.

It further recommended that a formal approach be made to Governments of non-Commonwealth countries in South and South-East Asia, informing them of the Committee's deliberations and the course of action contemplated.

These Governments should be informed that their full association in the enterprise would be welcomed by Commonwealth Governments, the communique added.

The Committee recommended that each country to benefit from the aid should prepare by September 1, 1950, a realistic and comprehensive statement of its economic situation and development programme.

These statements should be considered at meetings of Commonwealth Governments in London later that month, it added.

The Committee decided that the most effective method of tackling the vast and intricate problems facing the peoples of South and South-East Asia and of meeting their urgent need for economic development would be to start immediately a programme based on action by the Governments represented at the conference.

While the Committee recognized that there was already a considerable flow of technical assistance through private and Government channels to the area concerned, and that valuable assistance had already been received from the U.N., the specialized agencies and their regional organizations, it was considered that their existing resources in the area required to be supplemented immediately.

The Committee recommended that development of Asian areas should proceed by progressive stages under a plan covering a period of six years, added the communique.

According to informed sources here, the sum of £23 millions has been mentioned as the total on commitments over six years, but that is to be determined at the suggested London conference.

The £8 millions for technical assistance over a three-year period is understood to be an emergency measure for immediate aid, according to these sources.

When the conference reached agreement late tonight,

sooner than had been expected, it decided to hold an open session immediately instead of tomorrow, as announced earlier.

It was stated that, under the compromise agreement, the fund for technical assistance to South-East Asian countries would operate immediately. But the Australian proposals on short-term credits for certain countries (to which Britain objected) would be deferred for consideration by the conference in London.

These proposals would enable countries to build up emergency stocks of food and drugs and also to supply these commodities without payment to countries in desperate need of them.

Work of the Sydney Conference

Broadcasting from Sydney, on May 21, Lord Macdonald, leader of the British delegation, summed up the work of the Sydney Conference. He said, "The second World War has meant devastation in many areas. All of us have learned by bitter experience that both victor and vanquished are losers. This has been very evident in South and South-East Asia. In addition, the people living in this area suffered long before the war a very low standard of living. Their lives were spent in penury, poverty and privation.

"The effective handling of this economic development is not only vital to South and South-East Asia, but it is no less vital to world economy. The peoples of all countries are gradually awakening to the realisation that poverty and penury in one area is a positive peril to prosperity in all the other areas. We all, from personal and family experience, know how vitally important is the standard of living: housing, education and social welfare are serious problems the world over.

"Lack of educational and scientific skill and lack of funds that would enable them to deal with prevailing conditions has been their main problem, let alone the giving of any consideration to planning for the future. The U.K. has long-standing ties with countries in this area. We have shouldered heavy responsibilities in recent years. We have been privileged and proud to lead some of the countries in the area to self-government and independence.

"We know that political freedom is a great achievement. But we also know that political freedom unaccompanied by economic freedom and good economic planning is not likely to give lasting satisfaction. Those benefits can only be secured by planning. Planning is seldom an easy task; it can be a very difficult one. Since the war we in the U.K. have had a continuous experience of planning. It has been planning for the future at a time when the present is far from certain and is causing much uneasiness.

"Few countries know better than the United Kingdom how trying and difficult it can be. But we knew as a people that it was either plan or perish. That is equally true of South and South-East Asia. The people in this area are faced with the same alternatives—plan or perish. We all know, however, that if a man is starving or without a roof over his head then it is more important for him to

be given blankets, food, clothing and shelter without any delay. He is not in a position to wait for long consideration to be given to some far-reaching plan. The aid must be immediate. But we are all fully aware that to concentrate overmuch on a hand to mouth policy may have serious consequences and may result in bringing about a crisis without some plan for the future. It will be a drift from one emergency to another emergency, from crisis to crisis, and we shall never be able to extricate ourselves from such a harassing position.

"The conference is over. Its immediate task is completed. But there remains much to be done by the peoples and Governments of the countries they represented if their work is to bear a rich and bountiful harvest. Much stress has been laid that this conference was purely an economic conference, a conference to deal with food, drink, clothing and shelter. That is quite true. But it was to deal with this economic problem by democratic methods — and that is something we cannot afford to overlook, as is becoming clearer and clearer throughout the world. It is essential that we find a way of dealing with man's physical problems that will at the same time safeguard and promote his intellectual, moral and spiritual development. No economic policy, however successful it may be in the narrow economic sense, will be adequate to meet the needs of mankind if it does so at the expense of neglecting, dwarfing or endangering the intellectual, moral and spiritual aspects of life."

These are words that are true in the fullest sense from the ethical and the realistic point of view. But they are futile while the "*Herrenvolk*" mentality remains in the West.

Primary Education Expansion in U. P.

The Primary Education Expansion Scheme in U. P. completed its third year in March last during which period 11,148 new schools were opened in the rural areas and 4000 school buildings were completed, 906 in the Banaras-Gorakhpur region, 882 in the Bareilly-Kumaon region, 775 in the Lucknow-Faizabad region, 694 in the Meerut-Agra region and 649 in the Allahabad-Jhansi region. One of the poorest districts of the State, Garhwal has constructed the largest number of school buildings. The cultural revival of the countryside has been taken up on a mass scale by the mobile training squads which have been training teachers for Government Primary Schools under the Education Expansion Scheme.

The basic schools in U. P. are now concentrating on production and sale of school articles and it is hoped that a good percentage of expenditure on primary schools would in future be met out of the sale-proceeds of these articles. This plan is also expected to lead to a greater efficiency in the craft work in the basic schools.

The Self-help Squad Scheme of the Director of Education is reported to have evoked an enthusiastic reception in the schools. According to reports re-

ceived boys and girls, young and old, and teachers vie with each other in making the scheme a success. At Rae Bareilly, the Principal and other members of the staff of the Gandhi Intermediate College constructed a pucca floor of the staff room themselves and their example was followed by the students who constructed another pucca floor.

Interests of British Subjects in India

In the House of Commons on May 18, Mr. Eric Fletcher asked how many British subjects had been repatriated from India at the expense of His Majesty's Government since August 1947 through "the failure of Indian firms to observe contracts made in India".

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Gordon-Walker, replied that he was aware of two such cases.

Mr. Norman Bower then asked the Minister if he was aware of the hardship caused to British subjects who were members of the non-Secretary of State Services in India and had resigned their appointments on the transfer of power owing to the change in their conditions of service by reason of the fact that they had been granted no compensation for the loss of their careers; and if he would not place them on the same basis as former members of the Secretary of State Services as regards payment of compensation.

Mr. Gordon-Walker: The officers concerned were appointed by the Central or Provincial Governments of India, and their conditions of service were regulated by those Governments. Many have remained at their posts; and those who resigned did so of their own accord. They were not dismissed; indeed, the continuation of their existing conditions of service was guaranteed before the independence of India and Pakistan by party leaders. This guarantee was announced to the House by the Prime Minister on July 10, 1947, during the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill. In November, 1948, the Governments of India and Pakistan introduced proportionate pension schemes for Europeans of non-Asian domicile who might hereafter wish to retire prematurely, on the understanding that compensation would not be payable in addition. This condition was fair and reasonable, since the employing Governments did not wish to dispense with the services of the officers but were, nevertheless, giving them the option of retirement and it was accepted by the United Kingdom Government. Some officers had already resigned, and so forfeited their claim to a pension or gratuity from the employing Government. In suitable cases they have been given a grant at the expense of the United Kingdom revenues, towards off-setting this loss. His Majesty's Government can see no reason for giving them, in addition, compensation for the loss of career, as the Governments concerned were desirous of retaining their services.

Third World Health Assembly

The third annual World Health Assembly of the World Health Organisation (WHO), opened at the headquarters of the Organisation in the Palais des Nations at Geneva on May 8, 1950. On the opening day, India's Health Minister Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was unanimously elected President for the year.

The 1951 programme is planned to follow the main lines of activities undertaken in 1950. It will centre on the six priority health campaigns—for the reduction of the incidence of malaria, tuberculosis and venereal diseases, and the improvement of levels of nutrition, maternal and child health and environmental hygiene—which were originally laid down under a recommendation of the first World Health Assembly held at Geneva from June 24 to July 24, 1948.

Activities on a more limited scale have been undertaken in the fields of mental health, leprosy, epidemic control, public health administration, alcoholism and drug addiction. The special projects to be undertaken within the framework of the proposed U.N. programme of technical assistance for the economic development of under-developed areas, which are to be financed by the \$10,624,410 special supplementary budget voted by the second World Health Assembly at Rome in June 1949, include campaigns against cholera, bilharziasis, malaria and other tropical diseases.

All these international campaigns are planned and co-ordinated at WHO headquarters by expert advisory committees and carried out primarily by field demonstration teams which complete specific programmes of disease control and train local personnel to continue these services on a permanent basis. Their work is supplemented by the provision of expert consultant services, fellowships, a distribution scheme for medical literature and supplies, and epidemiological and other information and research facilities, which provide an effective measure of assistance to governments in the development of national health services.

The Programme and Budget for 1951 not only outlines the work which WHO hopes to accomplish during that year but also indicates the general long-term policy of the Organization. A recommendation for a four-year programme covering the years 1952-56, which is based on a policy of increasing decentralization of WHO's work insofar as is practicable, was drawn up by the Executive Board. While WHO headquarters will continue to be responsible for the global planning of programmes and the maintenance of statutory international services, authority for the implementation of such plans is being transferred to the Regional Offices where general schemes can be adapted to local needs and conditions.

Three Regional Offices are already in operation, at New Delhi for South-East Asia, at Alexandria for the Eastern Mediterranean, and at Washington for the Eastern Hemisphere.

Such statutory international services as biological standardization, the unification of pharmacopoeias and epidemiological intelligence continue to be organized from

WHO Headquarters. Reports on the results achieved under these three important technical programmes are to be submitted to the Third World Health Assembly. The international standards which have been established for 41 biological products, including certain vaccines, vitamins, penicillin and streptomycin, will be proposed for official recognition throughout the world.

The first edition of an International Pharmacopoeia, establishing a unified system of nomenclature for drugs, which was completed by a seven-man Expert Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. C. H. Hampshire, Secretary of the British Pharmacopoeia Commission, will also be submitted for approval.

Regular daily broadcasts from Geneva reporting the latest official information on epidemic diseases and quarantine measures, which are subsequently confirmed in the Weekly Epidemiological Bulletin, have been established, to notify public health authorities all over the world of the incidence and spread of pestilential diseases.

The text of a new Regulation on Epidemic Control in international trade and travel, drafted and approved by an Expert Committee meeting in Geneva in December 1949, has been completed for submission to governments and interested international agencies. The Regulation lays down measures for individual and collective protection (by means of vaccination, disinfection, etc.), against the introduction and dissemination of disease, and establishes a system of official certification that such measures have been adequately carried out. Its main provisions relate to the five "treaty diseases" (plague, cholera, smallpox, yellow fever and typhus) and relapsing fever.

The Regulation is to unify and supersede the numerous Sanitary Conventions now in force, which have been out-dated both by recent medical and scientific discoveries and the rapid development of international air traffic, which has profoundly altered the world sanitary situation insofar as epidemics spread at the pace of travel. The new Regulation is intended to ensure maximum security with the minimum of hindrance to international traffic.

The Special Influenza Laboratory of the Medical Research Council in Hampstead, London, acts as a World Influenza Centre which was established by WHO as a protection against a recurrence of an influenza epidemic similar to that of 1918.

The centre collects and distributes information on any epidemics which may occur, identifies the viruses responsible for these outbreaks and takes part in the training of personnel from countries that at present lack qualified workers. National influenza centres set up in 27 countries work in collaboration with the world centre in London.

Britain and Malaya

This Archipelago is next door to us across the Bay of Bengal. And the anarchy that has been prevailing there since the end of the Asian phase of the Second World War of the 20th century, August, 1945, has put a question mark to Britain's policy in Malaya. There are about 7 lakh Indians there, the majority of them from the South Indian States; and their safety creates a special

interest for Bharat in this strip of territory thrust like a sword into the Indian Ocean. It is necessary for us, therefore, to get hold of the many issues that disturb the peace of Malaya. The following appreciations sent out from London on April 9 last from two of Britain's leading newspapers help us to understand these; the Malaya struggle is not the creation of communists; it is inspired by the feelings that had led us to fight against British imperialism.

Malaya brings to the forefront the British Asian policy. *Bombers from Britain rain death on jungle hide-outs.* This is the typical headline in the British Press which clearly reflects what is now happening in Malaya where—in spite of *R.A.F.'s biggest blitz on bandits*—the Labour Government spokesmen were bitterly cross-questioned in the House of Commons.

The insurgents in Malaya are termed as "bandits" by the British Press and Government spokesmen: Lincoln bombers recently flown out from Britain, Spitfires, Brigands, Tempests and Dakotas roared low over the jungle in a three-hour attack on guerrilla hide-outs and brought to a fiery climax the "anti-bandit month" which officially ended on April Fool's Day.

A letter from a planter's wife was read by Mr. L. D. Gammans, Conservative M.P. in the Commons, during a debate on the Malayan situation this week. "We sleep with a Sten gun under our bed and a revolver in bed, and if we go anywhere at all the last things to go into the car are the gun and the baby's rattle. The baby appears to be attempting to cut her teeth on a revolver."

Mr. Gammans, like the Government and the rubber and tin share-holder, attached great importance to British hold on Malaya, because she is one of the great dollar-earners for Britain. Malaya's British Police Commissioner, Gray, who was in Palestine during Britain's mandatory period, admitted to the British Press correspondents that "the overall position has not improved during the past month." Mr. Gammans described the situation as "fantastic" because three or four thousand "ill-clad bandits were challenging, with impunity, very nearly a division of British troops and 40,000 or 50,000 police;" "the situation was getting worse instead of better." He claimed that the "anti-bandit month" results were disappointing in the extreme, and, on the whole, "the bandits have killed nearly twice as many people of the security forces" as the British forces killed—"77 members of the security forces as against 38 bandits."

Commenting on the appointment of Sir Harold Briggs to co-ordinate the security forces, Mr. Gammans said, "We wanted in Malaya not a co-ordinator, but a Supreme Commander and six months' martial law." He made the screaming front-page heading in the *Evening News* last Thursday, when he asked, "Had any approach been made for help to Australia and New Zealand if Singapore fell, Australia and New Zealand would be in the most deadly peril.... There was a limit to what the planters and tin-miners could stand. It was not much good talking about closing dollar gaps if we lost Malaya."

The Times editorially admitted that the Malayan "guerrillas" had greatly frustrated the recent mobilisation of the civil population against them "in the so-called 'anti-bandit month'."

"Fulfilment of Prophecies"

In an issue of the *Indian Messenger*, weekly organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, was published the following under the above heading :

"We are indebted to our esteemed friend Sree Jnan Chandra Banerjee of Allahabad for bringing out at this opportune moment the following very valuable information, in the form of a booklet, about our great Religious Teacher and Social Reformer of Modern India, Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen.

In his speech at Liverpool (England) in June 1870, Brahmananda said, ".....The great object of my visit in England is to excite, as far as possible, the interest of the English public in the political, social and moral condition of my country.... I hope and trust that merciful God.... will give you wisdom and strength, faith and piety, enough to rule over our race properly; if not, India will not long be in your hands. *You will be forced to leave India to herself, and we shall do our business in the best way we can.*"

Miss Collet, whose biography of Raja Ram Mohun Roy is a classic in the line, had called him "the tribune and prophet of New India standing up for his people's political rights." About 40 years previous to Keshub Chandra Sen, this "prophet" had made the declaration that came true on August 15, 1947 :

"Supposing that hundred years hence the native character becomes elevated from the constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit and inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society?"

"Seeds of Doom"

Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, a Vice-President of Britain's Liberal Party, had certain caustic things to say on the racial policy of South Africa pursued with consistency since when the interlopers from Europe made their way there with the help of guns and cannons. She neatly characterized this policy as sowing the "seeds of doom" for the white people, attacking in turn the four racial groups—Bantu, Indian, coloured and the English-speaking European in "a country with about two million whites and nine million other races." She accused South Africa's Prime Minister, Dr. Daniel Malan, as "rolling out a carpet for communists to step on;" of "causing grave disharmony in our Commonwealth and seriously injuring its good name in the eyes of the world." Recent Bills, such as the Group Areas Bill, intended to keep down the non-white, and other measures of daily pin-prick constitute "an invitation to communism; they are creating a seed-bed in which communism can grow and flourish."

British Conservative Party

The present leader of the British Conservative Party, Winston Churchill, has had a colourful career. Son of Randolph Churchill of the house of Marlborough he lispd in politics when Liberalism under Gladstone ruled over public opinion in Britain. Subaltern in India, a war correspondent during the Boer War which first demonstrated Britain's weakness as a great Power, Winston entered the House of Commons as a Conservative Party member. When the Liberal Party staged a comeback under Campbell-Bannerman, this scion of Marlborough felt impelled to change political colours. And it must have been during these days that he had uttered the blistering words quoted below describing the Conservative

Party which he leads today. Labour Party researchers have rescued these from oblivion.

"The tyranny of a wealth-fed party machine; sentiment by the bucketful; patriotism and imperialism by the imperial pint; an open hand at the public exchequer and an open door at the public house; dear food for the million, cheap labor for the millionaire. That is the policy which the Tory Party offers you."

United States' Destiny

There is a phrase current in the literature of the United States—"manifest destiny"—which denoted that their people had grown conscious of their strength as leaders of the modern world. Bertrand Russell in his book on the "Future of the Industrial Civilization," written sometime after the first World War, said that the possession of such great powers as the United States did would be a great incentive to the extension of the great Republic's influence over the far spaces of the world. Today that prophecy is near fulfilment, and with a view to enable our readers to appreciate the genesis of its growth, we quote from the book entitled *The Rise of American Civilization* written by Charles and Mary Beard, two of the best interpreters of America's history. The quotation is from page 488 of this book, published before the Hoover regime (1928-32).

"With the growing economic surplus from years of fine harvests and successful exploitation of industry ran an increasing pressure for foreign markets and investments. With the age of exuberant culture and a gilded prosperity came the aspirations and opportunities of an Imperial America. And once America was fairly out upon the imperial course, all the interests and ambitions usually associated with that form of human activity, centering in the Captain's quarters in the upper sphere of politics, conspired in a cumulative fashion to hold the ship of State steadily in the chosen way. McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge occupied the presidency in succession, according to the chronology and accidents of politics, without making any sensational changes in the sailing charts throughout the years of their service."

Nari Siksha Samiti

In the Baisakh issue of the *Prabasi* has appeared an illustrated article written by Sree Devendra Nath Mitra on this 30-year-old institution that has pioneered many an activity in the spread of women's education in Bengal. Founded by Lady Abala Bose, wife of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose, with the late Krishna Prasad Basak as her fellow-worker, the Nari Siksha Samiti has been silently working towards extending the facilities of modern education for women over Bengal's rural areas; literacy, industrial training, maternity and child welfare—these have been certain of the subjects tackled by the Samiti. The experiences gained thereby is a valuable asset which the new India of the free should be eager to utilize. The State of Bharat has here an institution for the planning of better life, and we have been noticing with no small anxiety how its bureaucracy has not been able to get over the habit of expecting everybody to approach it with petitions and prayers. We had expected that our

new ministers would go forward more than half way to enlist the help of experienced workers seasoned to the nation's service.

Manindra Nath Samaddar

We are grieved to hear of the untimely death at 30 years of Manindra Nath Samaddar, editor of the *Bihar Herald* of Bankipore. Son of the noted historian Jogindra Nath Samaddar of Patna University, Manindra Nath inherited traditions of literary life from his father and the *Bihar Herald* came into his hands with its own difficulties. This paper had a noble history of public service to its credit. Started about seventy years back by the late Guruprasad Sen, a Bengalee lawyer who was the upholder of every progressive movement in the country, and the guide, philosopher and friend of Bihar Zamindars, the *Bihar Herald* was the organ of the Congress in its infancy.

But with the rise of Bihar provincialism evil days overtook it. The Bengali citizens and residents of Bihar became aliens in it and the *Bihar Herald* had to fight in their defence; it was an uphill fight when Manindra Nath took charge of it. He tried his best. But the times appeared to be against him. The Bengalis in Bihar did not support the paper to the best of their ability. And Manindra Nath during his last days, was found preaching the various interpretations of the Radicalism of M. N. Roy.

Debendra Nath Bhattacharya

Death has claimed another leader of the Bengali community of Midnapore in the person of Debendra Nath Bhattacharya. He will be remembered as the adviser to the Jhargram Raj, whose present head Sree Narasingha Malladeo has grown under his inspiration and made proper use of his wealth. Under his guidance Jhargram became a centre of great educational and cultural activities, amongst them the Calcutta University's Agricultural College.

Satish Chandra Dutta

The death at 76 of this leader of the Sylhet Bar marks the close of an epoch. When he joined the Bar, the Swadeshi movement was on and he plunged into it as a colleague of Sashindra Chandra Singha in the conduct of the *Sylhet Chronicle*, the terror of the Fuller regime, during the years when Sir Bamfylde Fuller was engaged in trying to dragoon the East Bengal Hindu into the acceptance of the Curzonian partition of Bengal. That set the pattern of life for Satish Chandra.

He was a man of retiring disposition, a student of constitutional affairs. He was for a short while a member of the Central Assembly at the fag end of the Montagu-Chelmsford dispensation. But as he had not subscribed to all the complexities of the "Congress leadership," he did not receive its nomination at the 1937 election.

THE NEHRU-LIAQUAT ALI PACT One More "Let Down" for the Hindus

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason."

—MARK ANTONY in *Julius Caesar*.

It is now more than a month-and-a-half since the signing of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact; and it is perhaps not such a grievous loss as it may seem at first sight that I am writing on it after the lapse of so many weeks. The suggestion, however, that I must have harboured the queer notion that, in this case as in others, distance would lend enchantment to the view is too far-fetched to merit even a moment's consideration. There are some views to which no amount of distance can, in my humble opinion, lend any enchantment, unless, indeed, we wish to attach a meaning to that word which it normally does not possess. There are several causes for this undue delay on my part, one of them being concerned with my inherent reluctance to set to work on it until the delivery of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's epoch-making speech on the floor of our august Parliament explaining the various reasons that prompted him to resign from the Cabinet of which he had been such a shining ornament for so long.

DR. SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

I am an ardent admirer of Dr. Mookerjee and I had no doubt whatsoever that his speech would do ample justice both to himself and to the occasion: nor, fortunately, did the event belie my expectation. I cannot, in this context, help recalling to my mind another very significant speech of his—that, namely, which he delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on September 17, 1943, during a debate on the fast-deteriorating food-situation in that eastern bastion of Pakistan-to-be. Those were the days of the disastrous "Bengal Muddle" when people, by the hundreds and thousands, could be seen dropping down dead on the streets of Calcutta and its environs out of sheer starvation; and his scathing indictment of the Government of Bengal was reminiscent of the historic impeachment of Warren Hastings by Burke and Sheridan in the Mother of Parliaments a century or so ago. He said :

"My first charge against Government is that its policy of procurement from within and without has been open to grave objection. The Ministry started with its reckless propaganda that there was no shortage of food-grains in Bengal and that hoarding was primarily responsible for the misery of the people. Today the Minister stands disillusioned and he admits that there is an acute shortage of food-grains. Meanwhile he has wasted valuable time and pursued a policy based on wrong data during the last five months."

My readers may be remembering his beautiful peroration :

"We do not want food to be made the plaything of politics. It is not Nature's hand alone that is giving Bengal a death-blow. *Political maladministration lies at the root of the present catastrophe and no lasting solution can come until India is economically and politically free.*" (My italics).

BRITISH REACTION TO THAT HEART-RENDING DEATH-PARADE

The British were still in India at the time, and the Viceroy and his illustrious coadjutors were watching that heart-rending death-parade from New Delhi in the same marvellously detached fashion as our (the then) Secretary of State, Mr. Leopold S. Amery, was scrutinising it from Whitehall. The latter, indeed, when questioned in the House of Commons as to what solution he had to offer in the matter, replied with supreme unconcern, with superb nonchalance, that it was an out-and-out provincial affair and that, as such, he could not be expected to do anything about it. Earlier, of course, he had asserted, in ringing tones, that there was no food problem in India at all and that, in sober truth, Indians had been over-eating to that extent that there was practically nothing left in the larder for them to consume any more! *In other words, they had sown the wind of Babylonian orgies and had (justly enough!) begun to reap the whirlwind of unprecedented starvation!*

ANOTHER REASON

There was another reason for my pronounced delay. From what I know of Indian politics (new style) I have, regrettably, come to the conclusion that it never pays to rush to print pell-mell. The Pact—except in certain very limited circles—was being thunderously acclaimed (as, in fact, any performance of our beloved Prime Minister was, and is, bound to be) and, in sheer self-protection, I resolved to wait until the plaster ceased falling from the ceiling. I still vividly remember the pathetic *contretemps* in which an eminent editor of a popular Congress daily in Bombay was involved during the Cabinet Mission parleys in New Delhi in 1946. The time had at last arrived for what was known as the "Grouping System" to be discussed in full by the Congress Working Committee, and one fine afternoon a laconic message found its way on to the tape announcing that the Congress High Command had, after careful deliberation, decided to reject it lock, stock, and barrel. That, of course, was indubitably the right decision for that High Command to have taken in the circumstances, and it warmed the cockles of the eminent editor's heart as, evidently, nothing else had done for months on end. The consequence was that he, there and then, composed a stinging editorial on the Cabinet Mission's proposal as also a striking eulogy on the inherent soundness of the Congress leaders' decision.

THE CONTRETEMPS

After some hours, however, another message came from New Delhi totally contradicting the earlier one and intimating to all and sundry the Congress's unquestioned acceptance of that system. But meanwhile, to the eternal

amusement of the Comic Muse, that stinging editorial had been printed and thousands of readers had perused it with considerable delight. The next morning the editor had to eat his words, to consume his own smoke, and to put as brave a face on the unsavoury episode as he could. I need hardly mention that I had no wish to fall into the same error as that eminent editor of a popular Bombay Congress daily. The pitfalls of Indian Journalism are many and varied and I have always contrived to keep a wary eye on them. We may, if we please, "greet the unseen with a cheer", as the poet has exhorted us to do, but certainly not any Congress decision unless we have abundant factual evidence of its durability.

THE "CURTAIN-RAISER" TO THE PACT

The "curtain-raiser" to the Pact was excruciatingly interesting. I happened to be in New Delhi throughout March and could have foretold, to a decimal point, the shape of things to come. The Hindu Mahasabha had arranged a meeting of its Working Committee as well as of its All-India Committee in New Delhi for the last week of March, and it should be carefully noted by any impartial observer that that arrangement had been made *months before*: nor could anyone have foreseen at that distance of time that that particular week would witness the arrival in the capital of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan for the discussion of all outstanding questions between India and Pakistan with his opposite number here, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But, of course, this important detail could not be expected to weigh with the authorities the least little bit in their consuming anxiety to convince the Pakistan Premier that they were determined to create the proper "climate" for his reception at *any cost*. From the very beginning the Gandhian Congress has been "agin" the Hindu Mahasabha: nor has it ever missed any opportunity of coming down upon the latter "like a thousand of bricks," in the phrase that Mr. Somerset Maugham has made familiar to us. The Hindu Mahasabha has never been a "communal" organisation in the same sense in which the Muslim League has always been: nor, for that matter, in the sense in which the Congress itself—for all its vaunted "secularism"—has been ever since that ill-fated day when it wedded itself to an *unending* policy of appeasement towards the Muslims as a community, and, as a natural corollary, to that policy, finally vivisected our beloved Motherland by way of an ultimate sop to that intransigent minority.

EXPLODING A MYTH

I am not, let me explain, a member of the Hindu Mahasabha: though, if I were, I should decidedly not feel myself called upon to apologise to anybody for being one. I am a "Hindu" all right, a Hindu "to the manner born," and I have never hesitated to take up the cudgels on behalf of that pre-eminently downtrodden race: downtrodden in the first instance by the Muslims, in the second by the British, and in the third by the present Congress hierarchy: downtrodden by the last in the name of a purious "secularism" which, when stripped of all its frills and sub-below, will be found to be no more than a convenient cloak for hiding the most rabid anti-Hinduism

imaginable. I can devote an entire article to this theme because the time, in my opinion, has come for someone to explode the myth—the hoary myth—about the Congress's determination to hold the scales strictly even as between the two communities, the Hindu and the Muslim.

The present-day Congress knows little, and cares less, for such an exemplary impartiality as this preposterously tall claim is calculated to suggest. In the precious name of "secularism" it has been doing its damndest to favour the Muslims—at every step—at the expense of the poor Hindus; and this, let us remind ourselves, *even after the partitioning of the country on the basis of the pernicious "two-nation" theory and giving away the Muslims their "separate homeland!"* But, apparently, what is sauce for the Muslim goose is not sauce for the Hindu gander, and though Pakistan is a hundred per cent Muslim State (*thanks to the last-minute treachery of this same Congress*) by no manner of means, it would seem, should the poor Hindus hanker in their heart of hearts for a "separate homeland" for themselves and a hundred per cent "*Hindu State*," that would be "communalism" in *excelsis*, "*communalism*" with a stamping iron heel!

"SECULARISM" MY LEFT FOOT!

The Congress's conception of "secularism," then, is to pander ignominiously to the *worst* passions of the Muslims and to "raise Cain," as it were, at the slightest hint of a *quid pro quo* from the Hindu side. The truth of the matter is that the Congress leaders know fully well that, *next* to the Muslim Leaguers themselves, *they* are the communalists *par excellence*, the communalists with "knobs on." To exercise this ghost of communalism they must needs have a whipping-boy; and that whipping-boy for them is the Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress is now in power and can, therefore, afford to ride rough-shod over the Hindus and their interests. But let it never forget that the taint of communalism attaches to *itself* and *not a whit* to the Mahasabha, which is our only *truly* "national" organisation inasmuch as it flatly refused to abandon its cherished ideal of the priceless unity of our country at the first whiff of the grapes of wrath of Muslim irredentists—backed by the "leonine violence" of their British masters. What I should like to point out is that, if we wish to persist in this exciting game of name-calling, we must endeavour to preserve the decencies of debate and stick to facts instead of running after fancies, however alluring they may be. There is such a thing as trying to fool all the people all the time; and though, in the first flush of victory, our friends of the Congress persuasion may laugh to scorn such a prophecy, the day may not be far distant when *even* the Hindu worm will turn (and turn in no uncertain fashion) against their appalling and outrageous *zabberdust*.

THE SARDAR WIELDS THE "RAJ-DANDA"

Resuming the thread of my discourse the arrival of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in New Delhi coincided with the arrival of Dr. N. B. Khare there, and that was the signal for our valiant Sardar to bring his famous "Raj-danda" into operation. Dr. Khare and Prof. Deshpande and

Mahant Digvijayanath were externed from New Delhi within twenty-four hours. The office-bearers of the Sabha all over the country were rounded up in a few days, and the Congress hierarchy, having, in a manner of speaking, presented the heads of the more prominent leaders of that organisation on a charger to Mr. Liaquat Ali, began to heave a profound sigh of relief that thereafter they could conduct negotiations with him and his associates in the political vacuum thus created! Creating a desert and calling it peace is nothing to this! Externments and internments of the Hindu Mahasabha sympathisers were the order of the day and the way was thus paved for the establishment of "secularism" in our green and pleasant land without let or hindrance.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S WARNING

If there had been any misgiving previously about where the Congress's bias lay there can, I trust, be none now. At the slightest provocation it has been coming down on the Mahasabha with the heaviest of hands. The British, even in their heyday, had never, I dare to suggest, been so ruthless towards the Congress as the Congress has been towards the Mahasabha ever since it assumed the reins of office. The Congress will do well to remember that it will not always be in power. Its prestige is already in the mud. One of its own ex-Presidents, the indefatigable Acharya Kripalani, has issued a stern warning which the Congress High Command will ignore only at their own peril. Inaugurating the Seventh Champaran District Political Conference on the evening of April 30 at Betia he had the courage to prophesy:

"The Congress organisation will disappear and the Congress Governments will have an unnatural death if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue."

He proceeded:

"We have been flouting Gandhiji's advice and we have seen how much bloodshed has been caused on account of the acceptance of the division of our country on a religious basis. Our leaders chose this against his will and advice."

CHANGE IN POLITICAL VALUES

Our rulers are now bending up every mental as well as corporal agent of theirs to the Herculean task of persuading us that the highest form of patriotism today is not only to reconcile ourselves, as best as we may, to the ridiculous concept of a partitioned Motherland but even (*horresco reference*) to regard any hankering after a re-union of the sundered parts as irrefragable evidence of moral degradation and spiritual atrophy! There is no question but that political values are changing with "supersonic" speed in "India (that is Bharat)" and that before long we may be urged by our superiors to launch a furious crusade in favour of a *further* instalment of partition to convince "world opinion" that we are rapidly shedding our "narrow-mindedness" and are learning to think of our problems, not in our customary parochial spirit, but with an eye directed towards the "international context," if not, indeed, towards the interplanetary! Acharya Kripalani, however, is not an accursed Hindu Mahasabhaite like Dr. Khare and the rest, but a towering personality in the Congress hierarchy; and I can but hope

that his words will not be treated by them with the same lordly contempt with which they have consistently been treating even the most friendly advice emanating from less trusted quarters.

THE LAST NAIL

I have no doubt that the systematic harassment of the Mahasabha leaders without a particle of excuse on the occasion of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to New Delhi will prove to be the last nail driven into the coffin of Congress rule as well as of its so-called "secularism." It is not surprising that that highly patriotic son of Bengal, Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra, had been led to exclaim in Parliament some time ago: "Your 'secularism' will yet bring about the ruin of your country." That well-meant warning, of course, was greeted with derisive laughter by the vast majority of our worthy legislators. But he laughs best who laughs last, and those who are the darlings of the populace now may well become the targets of their hate ere many summers pass.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth, e'er gave,
Awaits alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

A LONE VOICE

I need offer no apology to anyone for having devoted so much of my space to a spirited criticism of "the powers-that-be" for their total lack of any sense of proportion in their dealings with the Mahasabha. Journalism in our country is in a sorry plight today and journalists are only too willing to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage—in the present instance, for a few smiles from the high and the mighty. Not one of our major dailies or weeklies has had the courage to take the Government to task for their unimaginably callous behaviour towards their rivals. On the contrary, they have even gone out of their way to shower nauseating encomiums on its members for thus striving to stifle the voice of the representatives of the majority community. It is all, I suppose, in the day's work. But, even so, a lone journalist may be permitted to champion the under-dog's cause, and to champion it with every ounce of his energy. It may not, to be sure, amount to much. But who knows that the stone the builders have rejected may not, eventually, turn out to be the corner-stone?

"OTHELLO'S OCCUPATION IS GONE!"

I commenced this article with the confession that I decided to delay writing it until I had read the epoch-making speech of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on the floor of our august Parliament explaining the various reasons that prompted him to resign from the Cabinet of which he had been such a shining ornament for so long; and now that I have read it I feel that there is little left for me to write about. "Othello's occupation is gone!" I have been murmuring to myself. Dr. Mookerjee has cut the ground from under the feet of every opposition journalist. He has marshalled his arguments as few of us could have hoped to do, and the thunderous applause that greeted him at the close of his speech was but the

measure of its outstanding excellence. With the minimum of fuss he contrived to knock the Government's case into a cocked hat. No wonder the Prime Minister answered that he had nothing to say when the Speaker asked him, as soon as Dr. Mookerjee sat down, whether he would care to reply to the Honorable Member's statement.

In what follows I shall endeavour to touch only on those points that have not been touched upon by others, or touched upon by them only perfunctorily.

SELF-REVEALING

No amount of "inspired" propaganda will avail to convince us that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact is not a convenient surrender on the part of India to Pakistan and the most outrageous surrender to date. A press correspondent, it was reported, asked Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan at the Palam air-port when he was enplaning for Karachi whether he was satisfied with the Pact. His reply was characteristic: he said that he would not have appended his signature to it if he had not been satisfied that it was advantageous to Pakistan. That reply clinches the issue: Pakistan is the *only* beneficiary from it. Pandit Nehru, as usual, was no match for Mr. Liaquat Ali. The Nawabzada once more "pulled a fast one" over the Pandit and it is not surprising that his face, far from being "tickled o'er with the pale cast of thought," was wreathed in smiles on the eve of his departure from New Delhi. Neither Pakistan nor its Prime Minister, it is evident, need have a moment's anxiety so long as they can be certain (1) that both the U.K. and the U.S. will befriend them in every emergency and (2) that those at the helm of affairs in our own country will also do the same when pushed into a corner. Pakistan is the foster-child alike of the U.K. and the U.S., and it was created by them in order that it might be a perpetual thorn in India's flesh. These twin truths have been brought home to us on innumerable occasions since the much-boasted "Independence Day," and if we have not profited by those bitter experiences the fault, undoubtedly, lies in ourselves, not in our stars.

THE AMERICANS HAVE A POP AT IT !

It is, perhaps, not so widely known as it should be, but there is ample reason to believe that there is more in the Pact than meet the eye. For instance, *The New York Times* correspondent in Karachi, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, sent a message to his paper from his place of assignation to the effect that, but for the last-minute efforts of the two American Ambassadors in our sub-continent, the Pact would not have materialised and that the two countries would, without question, have drifted into a disastrous war. That he tilts the scales heavily on the side of Pakistan is, of course, only to be expected. It is becoming increasingly clear, with the passing of days, that, in the eyes of these Westerners Pakistan can do no wrong, nor India anything *but* wrong. The point that emerges from that "write-up" of this American correspondent is that India had been straining at the leash, as it were, for an invasion of East Bengal for some months past and that it was only the intervention of the American Ambassador in Karachi, Mr. Avra Warren (recently

transferred from Finland), that saved Pakistan for the Western Allies. The story of this American intervention has not, up to the moment of going to press, been contradicted by our Government. Ever since the Kashmir affair was taken over by the U.N.O. some funny things have been happening behind the scenes in regard to that issue, and we cannot wholly discount the rumour that some equally funny things have been happening behind the scenes in regard to other matters as well. That is the price we have been paying for our abnormal sensitivity to "world opinion," and we shall continue to pay it if we do not learn, even at this admittedly late hour, to stand on our own legs and to put "world opinion" in its place. Mr. Sulzberger's message, however, is very intriguing. Perhaps we are not quite as "sovereign" and "independent" as the ignorant public has been led to believe by our rulers during these two-and-a-half years: perhaps, after all, we had been "sold a pup" by the wily British in that memorable August of 1947 !

MR. LIAQUAT ALI GETS A WAY WITH IT

The Pakistan Premier had another reason for self-satisfaction. Notwithstanding the veritable hell that his co-religionists in East Bengal had let loose on the minority community there in February and March he had been able to get a way with the story, first put out by him before his Delhi visit, and later repeated by him after that visit, that it was the Hindus in West Bengal who started the mischief and that it was a lively appreciation of this salient fact by the authorities over here that made the latest Pact possible. Pandit Nehru (by no means a reticent politician) has again kept his own counsel. The inference is irresistible that, with the "broad-mindedness" that we have by now come to associate with him, he subscribes to this version of recent history. Did he not, for instance, declare, in his speech at Hazaribagh the other day, that, even if it could be maintained with any degree of plausibility that it was in East Bengal that the recent harrowing disturbances had originated, it was undeniable that, subsequently, there had been a flare-up in West Bengal also and that, therefore, he wondered where, precisely, the question of India's much-boasted moral superiority lay? It is, I suppose, a very insignificant point that the flare-up in West Bengal was the direct consequence of the *initial* flare-up in East Bengal and that aggression is one thing and retaliation quite another.

SAME YARDSTICK FOR AGGRESSOR AND AGGRESSED

But it is the Congress itself which first set the fashion of putting the two on the same footing, and now it ought not to complain if, presumably taking a leaf out of its own book, the United Nations Organisation also has been impelled to do the same with respect to the Kashmir issue which, let it be noted, we ourselves blissfully handed over to its tender mercies some time ago. It is (is it not ?) out of small acorns that giant oaks grow, and it has, perhaps, not yet been sufficiently realised by the public that the major responsibility for the most of our present ills must be laid—fairly and squarely—at the door of this abounding generosity on the part of the Congress in equating Hindu retaliation with Muslim

aggression. This has been nothing but an open invitation for the Muslims to do what they jolly well pleased with the Hindu minority in their midst. Nor, to be perfectly fair to them, have they been reluctant to take advantage of it: matters become wonderfully simplified for you, indeed, if you know before-hand that you are in no worse case (morally speaking) for kicking me in the first instance than I am for kicking you in return.

From equating the aggressor with the aggressee to reversing their respective positions altogether is but a step, and this, as I have shown above, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan—Pandit Nehru obliging—has taken.

UNILATERAL HONOURING OF PACTS

The upshot of all this is that we not only throw away, with gay abandon, every opportunity of putting Pakistan in the dock: we even meekly submit to Pakistan's putting us in the dock for the crimes committed by herself. No wonder that Dewan Chimanlal has been led to exclaim that, by signing this Pact, Pandit Nehru has risen to unbelievable moral heights: all the more so, evidently, because he signed it with his eyes open—that is, with the full knowledge of the dastardly cynical manner in which Pakistan has broken the preceding two Pacts. That naturally leads me on to another point. *We*, on our side, it appears, must strain every nerve to honour these Pacts, no matter whether Pakistan cares to honour them or not. Actually, we have been urged by our rulers to honour the Pacts in proportion to Pakistan's breaking them: because, forsooth, unless we do so we can never be in a strong moral position to bring pressure to bear on our loving neighbour to do the right thing by us. It has, however, not been explained adequately, by the authorities concerned, *how long* we should go on behaving like good boys in order that we may be morally qualified to bring the aforementioned pressure to bear upon our *vis-a-vis*. The danger in this argument is that even if we honour these Pacts in 99 cases out of a 100 we stand to lose our right to condemn Pakistan if, by any chance, we fail in our duty in the remaining hundredth. What follows? Only this, that *unless* we prove ourselves to be one hundred per cent good boys we cannot ask Pakistan to be even a one per cent good boy. My readers can readily understand to what absurdities this argument will lead us. This misfortune is that our Congress leaders take up all to be so many blithering idiots. Some of us at least have still our wits about us. That being so, our Congress leaders will do well to be a little more honest than they are and to tell us bluntly that the real reason for their continued tolerance of Pakistan's unmentionable tergiversations is sheer cowardice and not any wonderful saintliness on their part.

PANDIT NEHRU'S "OTHER METHODS"

That no question of saintliness is involved here but only a question of cowardice — naked and unashamed — becomes apparent when we recollect that on more than one occasion recently our beloved Prime Minister had been compelled to threaten Pakistan that, unless she

behaved herself, he and his Government would be obliged to employ "other methods" to remedy the grievances of the Hindu minority in East Bengal. Coming from such a quarter that threat heartened the people of Bengal considerably and there was a temporary subsidence of their dissatisfaction with New Delhi's halting approach to their problems. It soon transpired, however, that that threat was only an empty one: the Hindu trek from East Bengal was unabated and still those "other methods" were not in evidence. The conclusion was unavoidable that that phrase was just a temporary expedient to throw the Bengal refugees off their guard; and finding that it served its purpose New Delhi went to sleep again.

It was roused from that slumber soon—but not by the Bengali refugees. The person responsible for that rousing was none other than our beloved Panditji's new friend, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. He drew the attention of the world to that threat of Pandit Nehru and asserted that that was a clarion call to Indians to put on war-paint and to march into East Bengal. The sequel to that is interesting. Pandit Nehru staged an instant climb-down. He explained that his phrase, "other methods", meant only "other peaceful methods". Being such a peaceful man by nature he could, I suggest, have added that word, "peaceful", at the very beginning and saved everyone concerned a lot of unnecessary botheration. In retrospect, the two tangible results of the expression were that while giving false hopes to the poor Bengali refugees it put India in the wrong with the outside world. In the context in which it was used it clearly pointed to some war-like methods, because *all* "peaceful" methods had already been exhausted. By employing it Pandit Nehru placed himself in an extremely awkward situation. The best that he could have done was to have remained silent. The trek of the Hindus from East Bengal continues even after nearly seven weeks of the signing of the Pact; and since that is the crucial test of the Pact it can be said to have miserably failed — so far as Pakistan is concerned: we, on our side, however, began implementing it the very next day -- if not the very next minute.

ONE MORE PARTITION ?

Since the present Pact is all that has resulted from months of unceasing palaver we may be pardoned for thinking that when Pandit Nehru spoke of "other methods" in connection with the East Bengal troubles he, obviously, meant nothing else but the Pact in question. And the most significant thing about the Pact itself is that, in spite of the partition of the country and in spite of the "purely secular" nature of our new State, the age-old minorities question has been revived in all its pristine glory. I suppose the end, in this case at least, justifies the means; and since the existence of religious minorities has again been recognised it is not unreasonable to expect, in the fullness of time, *one more partition*, the 40 millions of Muslims still living in India being given another "Stan" of their own, as indeed, Chaudhari Khaliq-uz-Zaman suggested a short while ago.

The wheel, then, will come full circle.

POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

There seems to exist in the minds of some people some confusion about the real position and powers of the President under the new Constitution of India. Apart from what occasionally appears in the Press on this subject, recently I had an opportunity, at a certain function, of listening to an interesting discourse by an eminent Calcutta lawyer, on the question of the powers of the Indian President. The view this gentleman took of the question appeared to be, to borrow an expression of Mailland¹ used in another connexion, "the traditional lawyer's view"—too technical and legalistic, and therefore, as it happens in constitutional matters, very untrue to fact. Such a strictly legal attitude was only natural for a lawyer to take as, generally speaking, it is rather difficult for the lawyer as such to go beyond the letter of the law on a subject. But in regard to constitutional questions we must, as Begehot did in his *English Constitution*, make a resolute effort, to quote the words of Lord Balfour, "to penetrate the legal forms and ceremonial hangings" before we can reach the core of the administrative system of a country. That is to say, we must penetrate "through external forms to administrative realities"—through "outward shows" to "inner realities."

Indeed, the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone. It is, as Mr. Amery² has stated in reference to the British Constitution, "a blend of formal law, precedent, and tradition." And what Mai and³ has called "rules of constitutional morality, or the customs or the conventions" of a Constitution, make up a substantial part of it. Let us, for instance, take the case of the British Constitution on which our Constitution has been practically modelled so far as the structure of our Central Executive and its relation to our Parliament are concerned. (According to Sidney Low,⁴

"The British Constitution is partly law and partly history, and partly ethics, and partly custom, and partly the result of the various influences which are moulding and transforming the whole structure of society, from year to year and one might almost say, from hour to hour.")

And according to Viscount Bryce,⁵ it is, like the Constitution of the Roman State,

"A mass of precedents, carried in men's memories or recoded in writing, of dicta of lawyers or statesmen, of customs, usages, understandings and beliefs bearing upon the methods of Government, together with a certain number of statutes, some of them containing matters of petty detail, others relating to private just as much as to public law, nearly all of them presupposing and mixed up with precedents and customs, and all of them covered with a parasitic growth of legal decisions and political habits, apart from which the statutes would be almost unworkable, or at any rate quite different in their working from what they really are."

We are not, therefore, surprised when Dicey⁶ says that

"The whole province of the so-called 'constitutional law' (of England) is a sort of maze in which the wanderer is perplexed by unreality, by antiquarianism, and by conventionalism."

Indeed, there is so much of divergence between theory and fact—between the formal and the actual elements—in the Constitution of England that if any student of the Constitution confines his studies only to the formal law of the Constitution, then his study will be totally incomplete and he will form a very erroneous idea about the Constitution and its working. He will, for example, learn from (Blackstone's *Commentaries*, that)

"The executive part of Government . . . is wisely placed in a single hand by the British Constitution for the sake of unanimity, strength, and dispatch. Were it placed in many hands, it would be subject to many wills: many wills, if disunited and drawing different ways, create weakness in a Government . . . The King of England is, therefore, not only the chief, but properly the sole, magistrate of the nation; all others acting by commission from, and in due subordination to, him . . . The King is considered in domestic affairs . . . as the fountain of justice, and general conservator of the peace of the Kingdom, etc."

Again, Lord Brougham⁷ will tell our enterprising student⁸:

"The whole executive power (in England) is lodged in the Sovereign; all appointments to offices in the Army and Navy; all movements and disposition of those forces; all negotiation and treaty; the power to form or to break alliances; all nomination to offices, whether held for life or during pleasure; all superintendence over the administration of the civil and the criminal law; all confirmation or remission of sentences; all disbursements of the sums voted by Parliament; all are in the absolute and exclusive possession of the Crown."

1. See his *Constitutional History of England*, 1941, p. 415.

2. See his Introduction to Bagehot's *English Constitution* (ed.).

3. See his *Thoughts on the Constitution*, p. 1.

4. See his *Constitutional History of England*, p. 398.

5. See his *Governance of England*, pp. 4-5.

6. See his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, 156-57.

7. See Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 8th Ed., p. 7.

8. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

9. See Sidney Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58.

10. The extract is from Brougham's *British Constitution*.

Further, our friend will also learn from Gladstone*:

"The Sovereign in England is the symbol of the nation's unity, and the apex of the social structure; (the maker (with advice) of the laws; the supreme governor of the Church; the fountain of justice; the sole source of honour; the person to whom all military, all naval, all civil service is rendered. (The Sovereign owns very large properties; receives and holds, in law, the entire revenue of the State; appoints and dismisses ministers; makes treaties; pardons crime, or abates its punishment; wages war or concludes peace; summons and dissolves the Parliament; exercises these vast powers for the most part without any specified restraint of law; and yet enjoys in regard to these and every other function an absolute immunity from consequences.")

Lastly, Bagehot¹¹ will tell him:

"It would very much surprise people if they were only told how many things the Queen¹² could do without consulting Parliament. . . . Not to mention other things, (she) could disband the army (by law she cannot engage more than a certain number of men, but she is not obliged to engage any men); she could dismiss all the officers, from the General Commanding-in-Chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our bits of war and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany. She could make every citizen in the United Kingdom, male or female, a peer; she could make every parish in the United Kingdom a 'University'; she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word, the Queen could by prerogative upset all the action of civil government within the government, could disgrace the nation by a bad war or peace, and could, by disbanding our forces, whether land or sea, leave us defenceless against foreign nations."

These extracts indicate some of the legal powers of the Crown even today. They also show that in law the Crown is at the head of the Executive in England. But what is the actual position? As Dicey¹³ has shown:

"The executive of England is in fact placed in the hands of a Committee called the Cabinet," and "if there be one person in whose single hand the power of the State is placed, that one person is not the King but the chairman of the committee, known as the Prime Minister."

Or, as Bagehot has put it in another way, "the ancient theory holds that the Queen is the executive," but the real fact is that the Prime Minister is "the principal executive of the British Constitution, and the sovereign a cog in the mechanism."

Further, "in theory the King still selects the Ministers of State who are still known as 'His

Majesty's Servants,'" but "even in the choice of the Prime Minister the Crown is restricted within narrow limits, and in regard to other political appointments the Prime Minister is all-powerful."¹⁴

Thus, although in the eye of the law the executive authority of the Crown is, as Lowell¹⁵ has observed, "very wide, far wider than that of the chief magistrate in many countries," yet the fact is that even what is known as the royal prerogative "is no longer used in accordance with the personal wishes of the sovereign."

"By a gradual process," Lowell continues, "its authority has come more and more under the control of his ministers, until it is now almost entirely in the hands of the Cabinet, which is responsible to Parliament, and through Parliament to the nation. The Cabinet is today the mainspring of the whole political system."

Let us again take the case of what is "popularly called, or miscalled," (the royal veto on legislation in England—I mean the right of the King to withhold his assent from a Bill passed by Parliament. The theory is that the King still retains, as Maitland¹⁶ has stated, "the power of refusing to legislate"; that "a statute is still very really and truly the King's act"; that "a statute is enacted by the King, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same"; and that "without the King's assent, no bill can become law." The fact, however, is that this royal veto, although "legally unimpaired," has "become obsolete in practice," and can no longer be exercised except on the advice of the Ministry of the day in certain special circumstances.¹⁷) The last occasion on which the royal assent was withheld, was in 1707, when "Queen Anne refused her assent to a bill for settling the militia in Scotland."¹⁸ (The convention has since been well established that the Crown must, whatever might be the position in law, ordinarily "assent to any bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, or by the House of Commons under the Parliament Act,¹⁹ 1911.") And Bagehot²⁰ went so far as to remark that the Queen had no legislative veto.

"She must sign her own death-warrant if the two Houses (of Parliament) unanimously send it up to her. It is a fiction of the past to ascribe to her legislative power. She has long ceased to have any."

I shall give one more illustration of divergence between theory and fact in the English Constitution

14. See Marcet, *English Political Institutions*, 1938, p. 17.

15. See his *Governments of England*, Vol. I, p. 23-24.

16. Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 and 422-23.

17. See Lowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; also Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-23.

18. See Erskine May, *Parliamentary Practice*, p. 395.

19. See Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 25; also Keira, *Constitutional Law* (Ridge's Constitutional Law of England), 1916, p. 5.

20. Bagehot, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

* See Sidney Low, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

11. See his *English Constitution*, Oxford, 1945, pp. 28-29.

12. When Bagehot wrote his *English Constitution* Queen Victoria was the actual occupant of the throne in England.

13. Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

We all know the constitutional position which the Cabinet and the Prime Minister, "the most characteristic," according to Marriott, "of all English political institutions," have long held in England in relation to the Crown and Parliament. But we also know that "like the Prime Minister himself, the Cabinet," as Berriedale Keith²¹ has said, "was until recently not recognised as a body either by the common or statute law." (As Maitland²² has put it, the law of England did not recognise them—knew nothing about them. They were certainly not illegal institutions; they were rather "extra-legal" institutions.* The existence of the Cabinet received statutory recognition only in the Ministers of the Crown Act,²³ 1937. Even then reference in this Act to the Cabinet is, as Mr. Amery²⁴ has said, only "oblique". Its constitutional position "rests on convention,"²⁵ and Gladstone's description²⁶ of it that

"It lives and acts simply by understanding, without a single line of written law or constitution to determine its relations to the Monarch, or to the Parliament, or to the nations; or the relations of its members to one another, or to their Head,"

is essentially true even now. Similarly, the power of the Prime Minister as such also rests, as Keith²⁷ has shown, "on no statute." If, in view of all this, any lawyer argued that the Cabinet and the Prime Minister of England had not played, or could not have played, any important role in the working of the English Constitution before their existence, position and powers received any legal recognition, his argument would not, to say the least, be in consonance with facts. It might appear valid in law, but would be quite in conflict with reality. As Gladstone very rightly said in regard to the position of the Prime Minister:

21. See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

22. See Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 and 462-404.

23. Maitland also observed in reference to the British Cabinet:—"This certainly is a most curious state of things, that the law should not recognise what we are apt to consider an organ of the state and only in importance to the parliament."—See Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

24. This Act also recognised the existence of the Prime Minister for the purposes of his salary and pension.

25. According to Mr. I. S. Amery (*Thoughts on the Constitution*, footnote 1), the existence of the Prime Minister "was mentioned for the first time in a statute when the Chequers Trust was constituted" in 1917. It is true that "the Prime Minister was referred" as Mr. H. A. L. Fisher has shown, "precedence next after the Archbishop of Canterbury" by a royal warrant, dated December 21, 1915, but that this warrant did not constitute any office of Prime Minister. It only granted "precedence to the person holding a particular position." See Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 396, footnote 6.

26. See Amery, *op. cit.*, p. 1, footnote 1.

27. See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

28. Quoted by Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

29. See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

30. See *Gleanings*, i, 244; also Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 88; also Sidney Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

"Nowhere in the wide world does so great a substance cast so small a shadow; nowhere is there a man who has so much power, with so little to show for it in the way of formal title or prerogative." P. 11

I have so far referred at length to some salient features of the English Constitution. It may be reasonably asked, what is the bearing of all this on the subject-matter of my paper this afternoon, namely, the position of the Indian President? The bearing is very obvious. The system of government we have today at the Centre under the new Constitution of India is, so far as the question of the relation of the Executive to the Legislature is concerned, definitely what is characterised in Political Science as the Cabinet, or the Parliamentary, system of government.²⁸ It has been modelled upon the system of government obtaining in England today. (The position of our President is, and was really intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, analogous to that of the Crown in the English Constitution. Like the Crown in England and I may say, like the French Presidency under the Third and Fourth Republics, but unlike the American Presidency—our Presidency is practically "a convenient working hypothesis,"²⁹ and our President is the ceremonial Head of our quasi-federal parliamentary democracy.) *

"There is certainly no such thing," says Sidney Low,³⁰ "as the English monarchy, as it is represented in the statutes, in the courts of law, and in proclamations, orders in council and formal documents in general. The government of this country" is not that of a semi-divine despot. The Sovereign who is the hereditary and ceremonial head of a parliamentary democracy has many privileges and attributes of the highest importance; but the tremendous powers, technically ascribed to him, he does not possess. They belong to a convenient myth, which is called the Crown. . . . What it comes to, in effect, is that most of the prerogatives, theoretically belonging to the Crown, are in reality exercised by the Committee of Parliament which is supposed to represent the nation," that is to say, by the Cabinet.

Mutatis mutandis, these observations equally apply to the position of our President in relation to his Council of Ministers. Like the King of England—and I may also say, like the President of France under the Third and Fourth Republics—our President is the constitutional Head of our governmental system—its titular chief executive and its "dignified" part; whereas our Council of Ministers at the Centre

28. As Frederic Ogg and Orman Ray have rightly stated (*Introduction to American Government*, 9th Edition, p. 373), "the two terms are used interchangeably, according as one is viewing the system primarily from the side of the executive or from that of the legislature."

29. See Sidney Low, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

30. See *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

31. *I.e.*, England.

ters who will be willing to adopt his policy and assume responsibility for it. But this new Council may not be able, as is very likely in the particular circumstances, to command the confidence of the House of the People. This means a constitutional crisis with serious administrative implications. The President, however, may, on the advice of his new Council, certainly go the length of dissolving the House of the People and ordering a general election. But what will happen if the verdict of the electorate goes against the policy of the President and that of his new Council of Ministers? This will then mean that his Council of Ministers will still fail to command the confidence of the majority of the House of the People, and that the latter may pass a vote of want of confidence in the Council. If, after all this, the President is foolish enough to retain the Council of Ministers in office, the House of the People may, as a protest against this, refuse to grant necessary supplies in respect of the votable items of Central expenditure. This will mean a complete deadlock and a consequential paralysis in the Central Administration. Besides, a President who will deliberately disregard the traditional maxims of the parliamentary system of Government and thus violate the spirit of our Constitution, will seriously run the risk of impeachment and removal from office, as provided for in the Constitution. And it should be remembered here that this impeachment business would not be a regular judicial trial in a Court of Law, but really a political affair in a Legislature. And that means much. Indeed, the President of India is not, cannot be, and was not either intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, a dictator or an autocrat in any circumstances, as some people erroneously think. He is simply the constitutional head of a Democracy formed on parliamentary lines.

It may be asked: Have we got the traditions of the parliamentary system of government in our country? To this my reply is: Yes, we have. We had, before the 15th of August, 1947, become, to a considerable extent, familiar with the working of the parliamentary system of government in this country ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. And on the 15th of August, 1947, when India became a Dominion, the principles of the parliamentary form of government were fully and definitely established in our country, and the Governor-General of India became, as in any other Dominion, a purely constitutional Head of the Government of India. (As Prime Minister Attlee stated in the House of Commons in connexion with the Indian Independence Bill, 1947, as constitutional Governor-General, he was

to act on the advice of his Ministers in all matters. This state of things continued till the inauguration of the present constitution of India.) In a sense, the President succeeded, so far as the question of the relationship between the "dignified" part and the "efficient" part of our constitutional machinery is concerned, to the traditions set up by the Governor-General of the Dominion of India. He is the Head of our State: but his Prime Minister is the Head of our Central Government. He stands, to borrow Professor Ernest Barker's language used in another connexion, immune, like the British Monarch, "from criticism, from challenge, and from dispute." "Responsibility, criticism, challenge and the danger of dismissal," are, as in the case of England, transferred to his Prime Minister.⁴⁰

(In conclusion, I should like to say that, although our President will not have any real power, he will certainly not be merely a "magnificent cipher" in our constitutional system. He will surely exercise a considerable influence over the course of our administration. This influence will be derived, partly from his position as the elected Head of our State, and as the Supreme Commander of our Defence Forces, and partly from his being the symbol of our national unity. His influence will be really great if, added to these, he has a sterling character and a magnetic personality, and a record of devoted service to our country. Further, he will have, like the British Monarch, a right to early information about the state of affairs in the country; the right to be consulted; the right to encourage and the right to warn.⁴¹ And this will also mean a good deal. But influence is one thing, and power is another. Even then, if his influence is to be really wholesome and effective, he must be "above the play of party," must forget all his past political affiliations if he had any and thus free himself from all party ties, avoid all "meddlesome obstructiveness," always act with a "complete constitutional rectitude and impartiality," and play the role of "a dignified emollient," in our constitutional mechanism. And this neutrality will be his chief source of strength and influence.) Let us sincerely hope and trust that our first President will set up, by his political conduct, an exemplary standard as the constitutional head of the Indian Republic.*

⁴⁰. See Barker's *Essays on Government*, pp. 3-4.

⁴¹. See Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 157; also Bagehot, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

* A paper read at the Legal Conference held in the University of Calcutta on 29th April, 1950, under the auspices of the University Law College Union and under the presidency of the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court.

THIS HALF CENTURY

By S. JAGAPATHY

AMID the dazzle-razzle of the day's headlines Old Father Time pokes in and says, that he has stolen over us a half-century. This perpetual batsman never gets out. No vicious bodyline ball can bowl him for he is quick on his feet. Sections of the crowd may sometimes think that he is not playing the game but at least he always plays out time.

Time to take stock since he trudged up the turn of this century — this century that has been called the common man's. This common man was born about 50 years ago. Trying to balance the budget at mid-century closing of accounts he finds it as hard as his own little budget always has been.

He wonders whether it has been half a century, half a century onward into the valley of death—gazing at banners about the hydrogen bomb. For the common man is a decent fellow who likes to live up to a hundred years. He feels rather awkward when a thing they call the hydrogen bomb is thrust under his nose. But the common man is not a pessimist. He believes in himself.

Surveying the scene he recounts this past—these fifty years of hectic human life on this planet. Like a hungry boy shown a half-open dish he would very much like to know what is yet hid.

Cynics may have a field-day this mid-century. They have had more than they would have asked for to form the unconscious raw material of their trade. Two wars and wars and a sandwiched "peace in our time." They have seen the League of Nations go down the rabbit-hole feeling like Alice curiöser and curiöser. They have seen the United Nations Organisation arise and wondered whether it was a Disney phantasia. The world rate of staticide has been high. They may say, "From A we have come to H. We do not know when we shall be at the X Y Z of civilization." They have still left a half century to lose their faith in.

At any rate this has been a half century of superlatives. It contained events and currents and things and men like the greatest global total war — the greatest batsman — greatest economic revolutions — fastest human flight — biggest booms and busts — most selling books — worst bombs made — highest man climbed on mountains — lowest he dived undersea—tallest structures reared — best drugs discovered — biggest lies told — to pick at random from its repertoire. But has it seen the greatest poetry written or loveliest pictures painted or the best music composed or loftiest thoughts thought? Not quite easy to answer. Perhaps what they call a matter of opinion. You may quiz yourselves and add more to this most inexhaustive list of superlatives.

Fifty years ago the world scene was rather much made-to-order. Russia was under the decadent Czars and America rampant with the trust tycoons. India was under the frockcoated fry of the council chambers of Calcutta. The British Empire was "happy and glorious" and the sun had never set over it. China was under the teacup royalty of old Peiping.

Europe was uneasy with an armed peace. Germany was bristling under the militant Kaiser. School-books

spoke of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires and atlases printed statenames like Serbia and Montenegro on patches of colour. Britain (Eire inclusive) was like an Edwardian piece of jewellery. European royalty drove in coaches and spoke in whispers.

Asia was asleep with colonial stupor. Only Japan had begun to be very much alive and was kicking the Russian Imperial Navy. South-East Asia was the Dutch East Indies and the British and the French owned territories. The Middle East was too much in purdah. A vague Russian peril hung over the Karakhorams.

Rhinoceroses and Boers and indentured labourers and giraffes made weird drama in the Dark Continent. South America was a good field for earthquake and assassination. There were not too many headlines about the land down under Australia.

And then came revolutions and wars and revolutions and wars and revolutions and all along intermittent evolution.

Sun Yat-sen in China smashed the tea-cups. He raised the banner of his New Life movement and clipped the pigtailed of the mandarins. Came Chiang Kai-shek and set the Koumingtang vase in Nanking. Twice Japan hit China and China winced. The crowded shacks of Shanghai flared with incendiaries and millions of Chinese grovelled in the dust for grains of rice. Mao Tse-tung took his patient army on a long route march to the North like a Great Wall moving vertically. War ended the world over but not for China. The moving Great Wall closed in and in horizontally until nothing was left of Koumingtang China but the island of Formosa like the grin of the vanished Cheshire cat. The tea-cups were smashed and the vase is broken but the willow-pattern plate of Chinese life remains. Only a red star has come over its quaint landscape.

Lenin in Russia smashed the thrones of the mighty. He upset the "best laid schemes of mice and men." A new star that was blood-red, simmered on the horizons of oppressed humanity. Two men followed it. Trotsky and Stalin. It led one to Mexico and assassination and the other up the steps of the Kremlin from where it now quite looks the ladder has been kicked down. Meanwhile millions followed the star. In the Eurasian spread of its own country workers and peasants hammered and sickled and built the Soviet Union. They "put magic into the word planning." Other nations lined up either led by their people's leaders or lashed to by other people's leader's followers. The ranks have swelled but not kept step. The star has shed a strange glow over this half century.

Gandhi in India smashed the greatest shackle of the mind of man. Man put by the appendage of a tail but has not yet hung out certain traits of his mind dating back to the days when he hunted for food and fought for life. Gandhi would that he do it here and now whatever odds. Whether he was asking for too much only Old Father Time may say.

Gandhi and Nehru smashed the British Raj over

ndia. It crumbled before the little loin-cloth-clad figure riding this half century like a Colossus baring his chest to bayonets and bullets and his heart to human conscience. Millions stirred at his word and many followed the light from his eyes. He has shot out of this half century as its rightest, bravest, whitest star.

The Indian National Congress was the national omnibus. Many travelled in it with tickets, many without. The communists and the socialists had boarded it hoping it would keep to the left of the road when freedom came. The nation's greatest hour came in 1942 when an unarmed people defied the mightiest empire in history. Meanwhile the communists had deserted the bus. Subhas Chandra Bose made the deathless epic of the Indian National Army. Freedom came. A battered, shattered freedom. And with it social and economic turmoil. The Moslem League with unparalleled doggedness in an unnecessary cause had conjured up a new nation on the map. Nehru with good and true hands has launched the middle of the road Republic within a Commonwealth. The bus has been often meandering to the wrong side. Meanwhile the socialists have alighted preferring to move on foot.

All Asia too had been breaking camp. Attaturk made modern Turkey. The rise of Japan and her acclimating fall was an interesting graph. The plaster of colonialism cracked in places. National freedom registered an imperfect sweep over South-East Asia. A trap-door sprang open in the Near East and Israel popped out. The Middle East had stirred. Meanwhile millions of Asians wait for the square-meal day and the modern industrial age with health and education. All is not yet well in troubled mid-century Asia.

The isolationist United States stopped—as was said of her—wanting to interfere in every continent except the one under discussion. She interfered in the continent under discussion in 1914. Moving into the World War the U.S. moved into the other hemisphere in many ways seen and unseen for good and bad. The half-century witnessed the rise of the dollar capitalism inside the U.S. with more booms and busts. Also the rise of technocracy and econometrics. Roosevelt came and the F.V.A. and the New Deal and a new high of American civilization and world expectations. Then came the rhiphian total war and the United States rubbed shoulders with Russia. And then superbombs and the European Recovery Programme. The mid-century U.S. rubs frontiers with the U.S.S.R. over the open places of the earth and in the secret places of the minds of men.

World War I came in Europe. The frontiers sagged and states disappeared. Europe was redrawn at Versailles but it was a Europe of empty faith and emptier cupboards. Neither Wilson's fourteen points nor Lloyd George's silken oratory mattered much. Out of this Europe rose Hitler and Mussolini and Fascist Spain. Out of the peaceful Black Forest rose the Swastika and under the azure Italian sky marched the Fascist. Inter-war Europe was in a bad mess.

World War II came. Once again the frontiers

sagged and the states disappeared. The drone of air-war was heard over half the earth. Planes and ships and tanks and guns and men locked together in the deadliest combat history offers. The world-wide war killed millions of men and hundreds of ideas. From the battle of Britain under "the Churchill" which was her "finest hour" and the total war of the U.S.S.R. to the battle of Germany and from the unilateral battle of Pearl Harbour to the fateful hour when a U.S. superfortressman cried, "Bomb Away" over Hiroshima—is a long story in this half-century. A hundred thousand human beings lay dead or as good as dead in that "ashed" city and scientists wondered whether it was the beginning or the end.

Peace "broke out." The triumvirate of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill fell apart like a three-legged stool kicked downstairs. Out of war and peace came the only hope, U.N.O.

Cold war came. The frontiers were still a zigzag on maps and minds. The mid-century witnesses two worlds with many concentric and eccentric wheels within wheels in the place of Wendell Wilkie's One.

This half century made much change in the mind of man and in his way of life. Freud and Jung and Einstein and Lenin and Gandhi have stirred him amongst others. The rich pool of world literature has been stirred by names like Shaw and Wells in England or Tagore in India amongst hosts of others. In every field of science from architecture to medicine and zoology there have been unsung achievements whose heroes are legion. The new economics at least in Britain, land of evolution, challenges the theories of communism as well as capitalism. The spadework of Marx and Darwin who did a great job in the preceding century has been reinforced in many ways in Europe, Russia, America and elsewhere.

The petrol-engine turned transport turtle and led to today's high-powered cadillacs. Airplanes have led to jet-propulsion and supersonic flight. Radar and rockets, vitamins and penicillin emerged out of war and peace. Radio and vidoo and the cinematograph film have struck incredible new horizons in man's window on the world.

While all this and much more have been achieved they have not yet been brought to many millions. The cumulation of it all has been the greatest unseen, silent revolution in modern times going on the world over in this great half-century.

Artificial thrones have toppled down littering this half-century in profusion. Sceptres and crowns of men and ideas have tumbled down as never before. Through all this the toil and tears and blood and love and hope and laughter of human beings have moved the common men of this half-century in ever so many ways to try to make it their own. From the razor's edge of this mid-century from where they can survey this past and face the future, doubtless the common men of earth holding on to what is true and good and free and beautiful as best they could from amongst a babel of banners, hitch their wagon to the star of Old Father Time and move on into the second half of this twentieth century.

HAROLD LASKI DISCUSSES INDIAN PROBLEMS

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

I HAD been looking forward to meeting Prof. Harold Laski soon after our arrival in London. Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, the Director of the London School of Economics, and the uncle of Mira Ben (Miss Slade) was kind enough to invite us and Prof. Laski to lunch with him so that we might have the opportunity of discussing some problems with the Professor at leisure.

As soon as Prof. Laski knew that I was an educationist, running several colleges in India, he expressed his views about the type of education that should be imparted to Indian young men after the attainment of political independence. "You must not now send your young men to us in the London School of Economics. Instead of studying Economics and Politics, they should be trained in technology, engineering, medicine, veterinary science and other technical subjects, so that they might be helpful in building up a new India on sound and stable foundations." "There is plenty of talent in India," added the Professor. "The main task of your leaders is to find the talent and not to allow it to run to waste. The young men, in turn, should learn to serve the country and not merely seek jobs and careers. They should realise that he who seeks happiness loses it, and he who loses himself in service finds it."

"Don't you think that partition of India was a great disaster?" — I asked.

"Partition of a country is always bad; but I think the division of India had become inevitable under the existing circumstances. The main important problem for you was to see that the British went out of India first. This would have been considerably delayed if partition had not been agreed upon by the Congress and the Muslim League."

Prof. Laski went on: "It was ultimately the transparent sincerity of Lord Pethick-Lawrence which convinced Gandhi and the Congress that the British Government had finally decided to transfer power to the Indian people. This would have been impossible if the Labour Party had not been in power. The Cripps Mission had failed because Lord Linlithgow did not want to be reduced to a figurehead, and Churchill backed him from London. But the Labour Government sent their finest man to India with the firm determination of transferring political power to its leaders within the shortest possible time."

"What future do you visualise for India and Pakistan?" — was my next question.

"I am sure," remarked Prof. Laski, "both India and Pakistan have a bright future. They can again become one, if only New Delhi continues to maintain her balance and leave all the mistakes to the lot of Pakistan. Once the Muslim minorities lose fear and feel a real sense of security, the tension between the two Dominions would disappear, and many ways and means could then be found for closer co-operation and co-ordination. But to achieve

this ultimate objective, the orthodox Hindu mind must not be allowed to dominate Indian Politics."

Our conversation, then, turned to the need for well-organised democratic parties in India. "Political parties on healthy lines are necessary for making democracy a success," observed the learned Professor. ("Without effective Opposition, democracy degenerates into One-party rule.") Even the Labour Party in England has committed certain mistakes because the present Opposition in the British Parliament is so 'silly.' (India should be able to develop new political parties on non-communal basis before the next general elections.) For example, you can have a Kisan Party representing the peasants, and a Conservative Party representing the capitalists and the landlords. The Socialist Party is already in existence and may be allowed to grow along constructive channels."

"What do you think about the new Indian Constitution?" — enquired I.

("I think it is too complicated," replied Prof. Laski. "I believe in simple constitutions. (The admixture of British, American and Australian constitutions may not work well in India. At any rate, the chances of success are much better if India follows conventions more than the written laws. Rigid constitutions do not make for elasticity in the political organisation of a country.)"

"Do you agree with Mahatma Gandhi's ideas regarding decentralisation?" — I asked.

"I am, certainly, in favour of decentralization because centralization leads to the atrophy of mankind," answered Prof. Laski. "But," continued the Professor, "some industries have to be on a large scale and therefore, centralized."

"Gandhiji also conceded the need for such industries," I said. "But he insisted that these large-scale key industries should be owned and managed by the State."

"I agree with this view entirely," observed Prof. Laski. "The key industries should never be left into private hands."

The Professor paused for a few seconds and, then, continued:

("Gandhi was a curious mixture of the old and the new; he was the Mystic of the past and the Prophet of the future.) I am in general agreement with many of his ideas; but I could never accept his views regarding birth-control. I think India to-day is in dire need of birth-control to check her rapidly growing population."

"What should be the top-priority in India's economic planning?" — I asked Prof. Laski.

"In India, I think the main problem to-day is to fill the bellies," remarked the Professor, "because empty bellies do not make for high thinking." "I want to devote the rest of my life to this important work."

"It will be very useful if you could reduce your definite ideas to writing in regard to the increased production of food in India," I said.

"Yes, I am submitting a Memorandum about this problem to Pandit Nehru," stated Prof. Laski.

"Do you think the Labour Party will return to power in England at the next general elections?"—I asked.

"I am sure it will again be in a position to form the Government, although it might lose about thirty seats to the Conservatives." "The English people are very unlikely to return the Conservatives to power because they cannot afford to forget the experience of inter-war years specially with regard to unemployment. Churchill, by his short-sighted policies, is disrupting the Conservative party from within. The Communists always enter an organisation which they ultimately desire to break up. In this sense, at least, Churchill could be called a Communist." Prof. Laski's last remark evoked spontaneous laughter.

"How is the Communist Party getting on in England?" — was my next query.

"The Communist Party of Britain is not liked by Stalin either," smiled the Professor. "Stalin said that he could not think much of a party which had been able to capture only two seats in the Parliament during the last 20 years."

"What about the Communist Party in India?"—enquired Prof. Laski.

"It does succeed in creating occasional trouble in some parts of the country, specially in Bengal and Hyderabad. But I do not think it will be able to make much headway in India because it has not been able to win the confidence of the masses," I replied.

"If you really desire to check the tide of Communism in India," stated Prof. Laski, "you must get rid of your capitalists who behave as our businessmen in England behaved a hundred years ago."

Kashmir was the last topic of our discussion. Prof. Laski had very definite and rather pungent views about the problem. He remarked :

"I think India has no case in Kashmir. Pakistan was foolish enough to attack Kashmir; but India behaved equally foolishly by defending it. Kashmir is predominantly a Muslim State, and the result of a fair plebiscite ought to be a foregone conclusion."

One may or may not agree with Prof. Laski's views on Indian problems. But they, certainly, deserve our serious consideration.*

* Prof. Harold Laski passed away on March 24, 1950.

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MINERALS FROM THE SEA

By PROF. K. B. SWAMY,
Banaras Hindu University

MINERALS and ores as we generally know are mined from the earth's crust and metals are extracted from these minerals and ores by a process of concentration and smelting. But some minerals are also obtained from the sea. The beach sands of Travancore, for example, yield two important minerals, ilmenite and monazite, in commercial quantities. Tin ore cassiterite is mined from under the sea in Cornwall, at a depth of about 700 feet but it is not from the sea itself. The bottom of the seas and oceans, particularly within a few hundreds of miles all along the coasts contain sediments and fine muds having been deposited by the rivers which continually carried the denudation products of the earth's crust both in solution and in suspension. And it is not unlikely that in the future years to come, when the grass-root deposits get exhausted, man will search and win minerals from these sediments lying on the ocean beds. Already the geophysical methods for locating hidden and deeply buried mineral deposits are being rapidly and widely applied all over the world.

Sea water itself is a potential source for several minerals. Although the quantity of any one constituent of the earth's crust in a thousand parts of sea water is infinitely small and in fact many are only detectable by the most refined methods known to the chemist, there is so much ocean in the world that it contains on the whole many millions of tons of even the very rarest constituent. Since time immemorial, sea water is one of the two main

sources for obtaining common salt. The other source being from large deposits of rock salt resulting from the drying up of inland seas in past geological ages. We have the example of the Salt Range in West Punjab (Pakistan) and Mandi State (India) where huge deposits of rock salt, gypsum and limestone occur. At Stassfurt in Germany the sea dried up entirely leaving the deposits of both the salt and a mixture of potassium and magnesium chlorides, sulphates and bromides. The salinity (total salts per 1000 parts of sea water) of the oceans varies considerably in different places and at different depths. For example, in the southern parts of the Indian Ocean it is a minimum of 33.01 parts whereas in the middle of the North Atlantic it is a maximum of 37.37 parts.

Today three other important substances, besides common salt, namely potash, bromine and magnesium salts are being extracted in considerable quantities from the sea. The Palestine Potash Company is manufacturing these three minerals from the Dead Sea in Palestine, by evaporating the waters of the Dead Sea in flat pans with the heat of the sun. It has been calculated that the Dead Sea contains :

Potassium Chloride — 2×10^9 tons.
Sodium Chloride — 11.9×10^9 tons.
Calcium Chloride — 6×10^9 tons.
Magnesium Chloride — 22×10^9 tons.
Magnesium Bromide — 0.98×10^9 tons.

Potash and borax are also obtained from the brines

of Searles Marsh in California and of Saldura Marsh in Utah.

In the course of manufacture of the salts from the Dead Sea, the water is drawn from a depth of 175 feet, where the concentration of the salts has been found to be greater than the surface waters, and it is subjected to fractional evaporation in natural pans which have an impervious clay bottom. First common salt crystallises and then the impure artificial carnallite (a double salt of potassium and magnesium chlorides) and finally the magnesium chloride crystallises. The mother liquors go to the bromine producing plant. By an ingenious application of the solid-liquid equilibrium of the salts concerned, highly purified potassium chloride is finally obtained. Nearly one lakh tons of this salt are produced annually by the Potash Company of Palestine.

Potassium salts are of vital importance in the chemical industries both for the manufacture of explosives and fertilisers.

The concentration of bromine in the Dead Sea is about 4800 gms. per cubic metre while the end liquors of potassium chloride and magnesium chloride have a concentration as high as 14,000 gms. of bromine per cubic metre. Major portion of the world's bromine production is required for the manufacture of ethylene dibromide which is used as a constituent of tetra-ethyl lead fluid.

Magnesium is the third constituent of the Dead Sea which is being extracted to the tune of nearly 100,000 tons annually. It is largely used in the light metal industry i.e., in the construction of aeroplanes and also in the manufacture of incendiary bombs and other fireworks.

Certain minerals such as phosphates reach the sea either from sewage or by the leaching out of cultivated lands. It has been calculated that the sewage from five million people is equivalent to 17,000 tons of rock phosphate in a year and that the population of Great Britain discards a sewage yearly the equivalent of 150,000 tons of rock phosphate most of which reaches the sea. And in America the annual loss of phosphate from all sources to the sea has been estimated to be equivalent of 11 million tons of rock phosphate. The world consumes nearly 18 million tons of rock phosphate annually. There

is thus ample evidence that phosphate is accumulating in the sea or somewhere concentrated and deposited on the sea floor. In fact it is known that fish from sea contain greater amount of phosphates in their flesh than the fresh water fish. It is for the industrial chemist to extract these small concentrations in relatively large volumes of water and make it a commercial success.

Some plants and animals have the natural power of concentrating certain ingredients found in the sea water. Iodine is present to the extent of 0.001 per cent in sea water whereas the deep sea weed such as *Laminaria* contains 0.5 per cent. Kelp or *Varech* has been used for the commercial extraction of iodine. Also certain species are said to contain up to 8 per cent of iodine. The bath sponges contain this element in the organic state as di-iodo-tyrosine.

The oyster is known to concentrate copper and a large quantity of copper, manganese, lead, aluminium and titanium reach the sea annually through river waters.

The holothurian or the sea slug found off the Cornish coast of England is known to have the power of concentrating vanadium in its structure.

Gold is also known to be present in sea water in minute quantities and has in fact at one time been extracted at the bromine plant in Palestine but was found to be uneconomical.

The sea corals are mainly composed of calcium carbonates and are an important source for obtaining lime.

Probably many experiments are being carried out throughout the world to extract various other minerals from the sea water. A day may come when more minerals and salts in large quantities will be obtained from the sea water. To this we look to the research Chemist and the Chemical Engineer to make it a practical proposition. In India we have a vast coast-line and it is worth carrying our researches and investigations to determine the various constituents and their quantities present in the sea water at different places and at different depths. Also investigation of the beach sands all along the coast and of the sediments lying at the sea bottom would no doubt give valuable information and data for future exploitation of minerals from the sea.



OSLO AND THE OSLO FJORD

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (Ind.)

This city is our own
So safely here embedded,
A flower among ridges sown
With skies, now high and blue,
Now foggy—grey of hue,
With Parliament and Royal Palace,
And Akershus old but adored,
In the ripple of the Fjord.

Lyrist Vogt writes thus of Oslo, his native town. This is a strange world—where is safety now?

ful islands, surrounded by forest-clad mountains. There appear wide expanses of wooded country and



1. Oslo



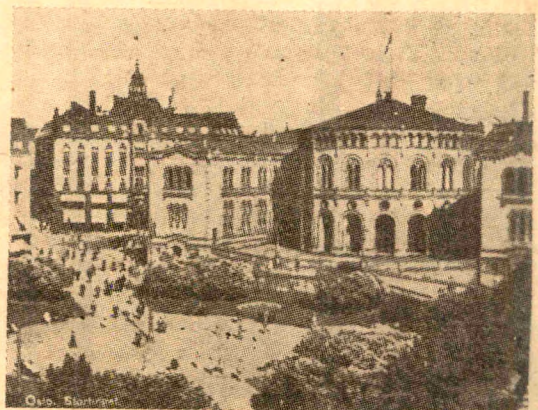
4. University, Oslo

By taking the Electric Railway, Holmenkollen, situated at a considerable height above and distance from the town, is reached in 20 minutes time. A good view of the town opens out in a splendid

radiating valleys to the North, East and West of the city, where in cosy cabins, the town people repair for rest, recreation and amusements of outdoor life and sports.



2. Karl Johan Street, Oslo



6. Parliament, Oslo

position on a broad valley on the magnificent branching Fjord in the South with groups of beauti-

The famous street, Karl Johan runs in a straight line through the town, West to East—from the Royal

alace to the Eastern Station (for Stockholm and Bergen) at the head of the Eastern head of the Fjord, below Oslo. Fjords are described as narrow arms of

Theatre opposite to it, the Parliament further along and so on. The underground station for the Electric Railway is to the adjacent West of the Theatre. The



7. Town Hall, Oslo



10. People's Theatre, Oslo



8. Fortress Akershus, Oslo



11. Museum, Oslo



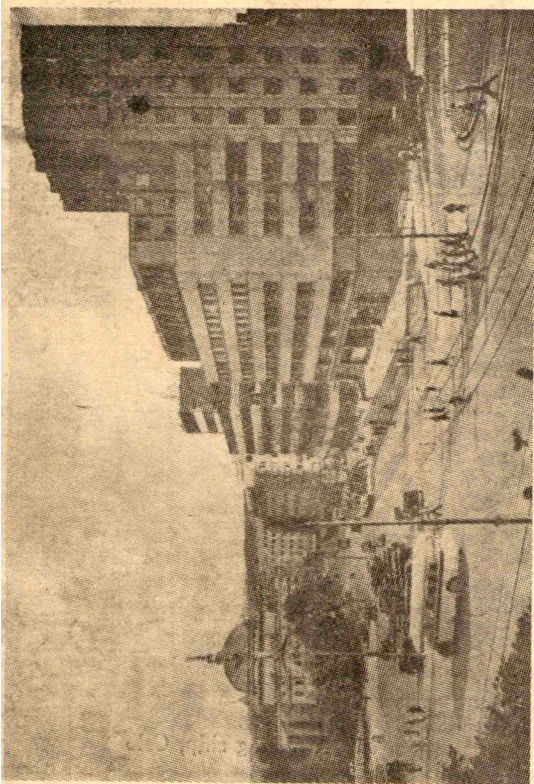
9. Ekeberg Hill, Oslo



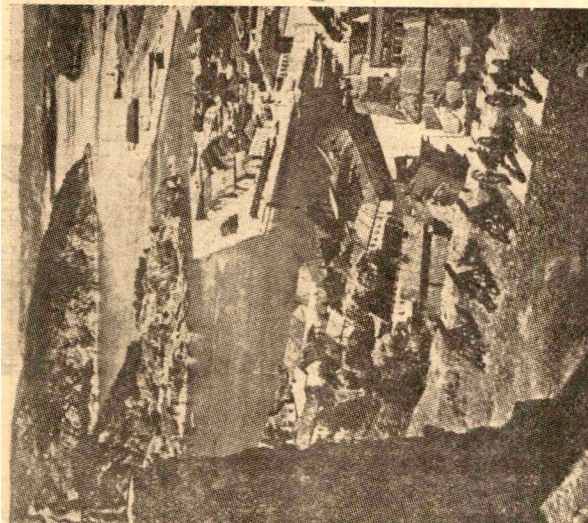
12. A Square, Oslo

the sea running and branching inland in various lengths and widths. Important buildings stand on the Karl Johan Street—the University, National

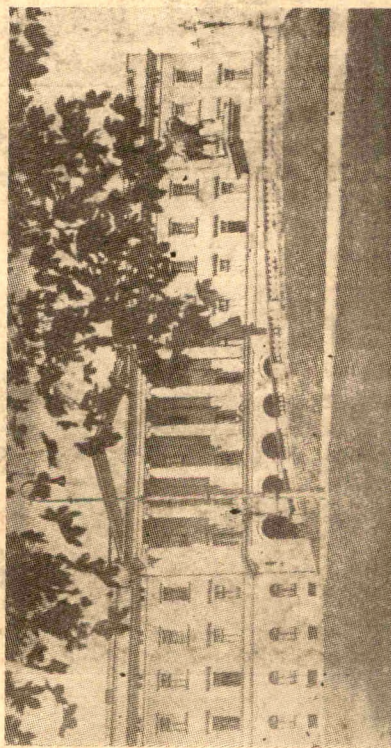
National Art Gallery having a rich collection and the Historical Museum containing the rich finds of the Oseburg Ship (below) amongst other old collections,



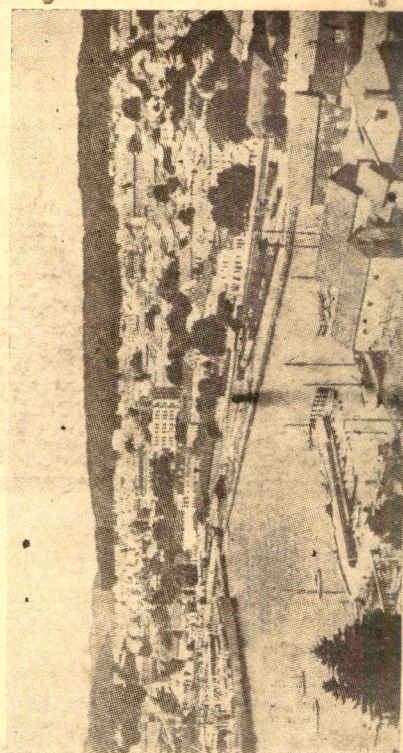
5. National Theatre, Oslo



22. Halden, Norway

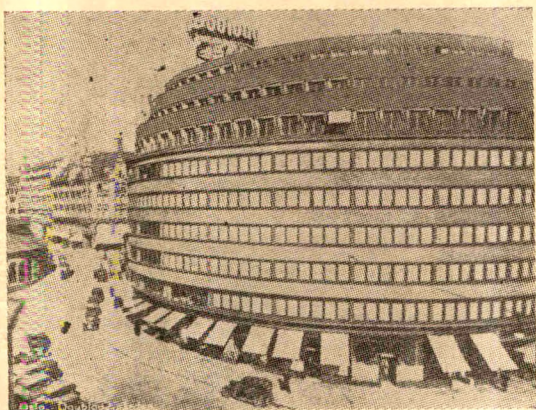


3. Royal Palace, Oslo



18. Larvik, Norway

lie to the North of the University building, while the Monumental Town Hall stands to the South of the National Theatre proudly at the main head of the Fjord, below Oslo. The Western station for the



13. A modern building, Oslo



14. A Square, Oslo



15. A modern building, Oslo

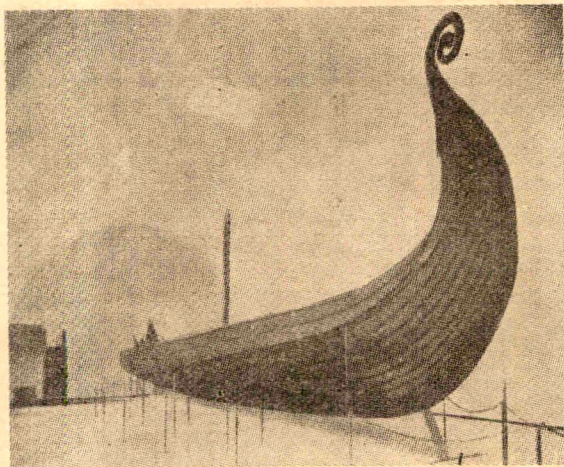
South is to the West of the City Hall. A little below, is the old fortress of Akershus which was supposed to give protection to the City built near it by King

Christian IV in 1624, when the old city founded in 1060, at the foot-hills of Ekeberg Hill to the East was destroyed by fire. In our school days, we used to read Christiania as the Capital of Norway, but in 1925, the ancient name of Oslo was revived. To the North of Karl Johan Street, in a small compass, lie many lofty Churches, as well as the Public Library, the People's Theatre, the Artist's Home, the Museum of Industrial Arts, the Society for Domestic Industries and the graves of Ibsen and Bjornsen. In the town,



16. Oslo coast—white sands

the stages of Ibsen and Bjornsen have attracted special attention and the theatres and performances exercise a great sway over the public and secure the unreserved approval of foreigners. To the North of the town, Holmenkollen, mentioned already, is a Ski-jumping centre and below it in a Museum at Frog-

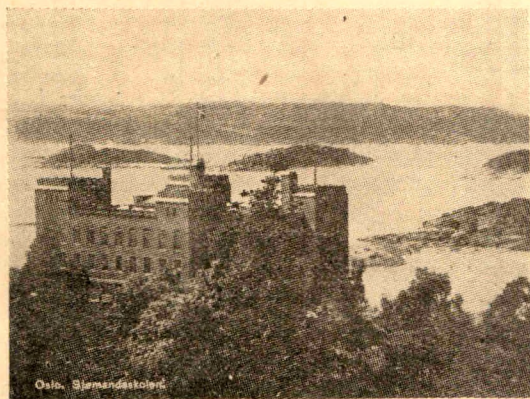


17. A Viking ship, Oslo

narstzen have been kept the various relics of Nansen and Amundsen, the Arctic explorers. A few Squares, Roads, Estates and Buildings that adorn the modern Metropolis, are shown in figs. 12-15.

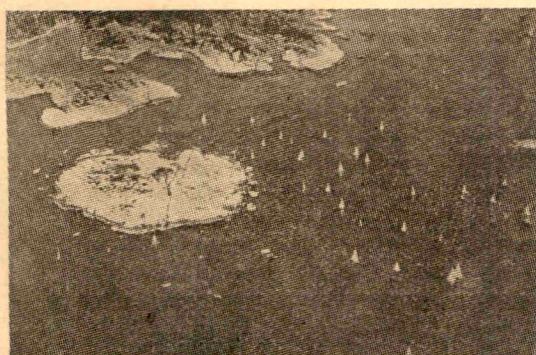
The Oslo Fjord during the summer time presents unique scenes of warm white sand, smooth bare rocks,

glaring sun, glittering sea-water under a clear blue sky, in—what strikes one most—peace and rest. Communications from the Capital to the sea-side resorts are very good. There are regular steamship services, motor buses and railway trains.



19. Navigation School, Oslo

To the west side of the Fjord, in the Bygdoy Peninsula, there are the Folk Museum, with a collection of antiquities, polar ship *Fram*, and collection of Viking ships, the most celebrated being that from Oseberg, in which a famous queen of early days was buried, giving a unique insight into the conditions during the Viking period. Clothes, ornaments, a large four-wheeled cart, sledges, etc., have been so found.

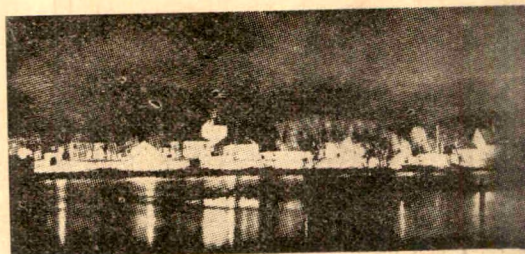


21. Hango, Norway

Further below on the western side of the Fjord, lies the City of Larvik with a past history on the hill at the head of the Fjord of the same name, with the beech forests as a background. There are roads, west, north and east from Nervik. Christiansand, on the extreme south of Norway, is an important port. While there are steamship services connecting the place with England, continent and America, there is railway connection and motor services, both along the coasts and inland north to the scenic mountain region in the interior.

On the eastern side of the Fjord, below Oslo, lies

the imposing School of Navigation with Gamlebyen, the old town, beyond, until we come to Frederikstad, (south-east of Oslo, on the banks of the glorious broad waters of the Glomma), now an industrial town grown about an old fortress city, a mixture of the

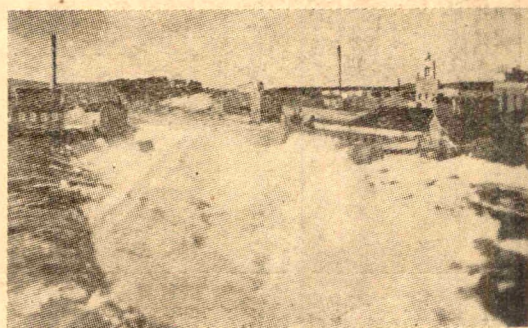


20. Frederikstad, Norway

old and new, in charming harmony. Timber has for centuries been floating down the Glomma, from distant forests to the sea for use in saw-mills and export timber trade. Nearby Hango is a beautiful yachting centre.

Halden, a little below, used to be the frontier fortified gateway of the country. It is undoubtedly the grandest and most beautiful fortress in Norway, and has taken a prominent part in the long history of struggle of past ages, in warding off attacks on the country. So was it in the front line of the late struggles.

Sarpsborg, in between, on the Glomma is a very old city, now grown into a modern industrial town,



23. Sarpsborg, Norway

the Borregard plant having 3 paper and 4 cellulose factories.

The whole coast of Norway is an intricate maze of islets and skerries (isolated rocks and reefs in the sea), where small fishing villages of white wooden houses lie hidden away in Bays and Sounds, each house standing on its lump of bare rock. Inland country is furrowed by a number of valleys that groove their way up, from the coast towards the mountains in the interior, and is studded with lakes in great numbers, just as the sea contains innumerable islands.

EAST AFRICAN ASIAN WOMEN ORGANISE A Unique 'Get-Together' of Asian and African Women

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

With the Conference of East African Asian women which is being held in Nairobi on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of April the first fruits of the efforts made by Dr. (Mrs.) Nalini Devi Pant to bring together all Asian women in these territories on a non-communal, non-political platform can be said to come to fruition.



A leader of the African women awaits the arrival of the visiting Asian women

It was in the month of November 1949 that after considerable persuasion and canvassing a meeting was held at Dr. (Mrs.) Nalini Devi Pant's residence in Nairobi of about a hundred women drawn from all the communities amongst Asians to consider the possibility of organising an Asian Women's Association in Nairobi. The response was very encouraging and a small committee was appointed to draw up details of aims and objects as well as the Constitution of such an organisation.

In this meeting were present the Presidents and Secretaries of almost all the Women's organisations in Nairobi. Because it need not be thought that there

were no Women's Organisations in East Africa before this particular attempt was made, such organisations had existed all over the country but unfortunately almost all of them are communal or sectional. Even those started on non-communal basis like the Bhagini Samaj in Nairobi and elsewhere have gradually been deserted by certain communities and have come to be mainly sectional.

A number of meetings were held by the Preliminary Committee appointed in the first meeting and a Constitution drafted aims and objects settled which were approved in a meeting which decided to establish an Asian Women's Association in Nairobi to start with on non-communal and non-political lines.

The aims and objects of this Association are :

- (i) To bring together all Asian women in East African territories on a non-political and non-communal common platform ;
- (ii) To promote the social, educational and economic welfare of Asian women in this country ;
- (iii) To undertake such activities as will bring Asian Women's Organisations in East Africa to the level of similar organisations elsewhere ;
- (iv) To undertake the formation and co-ordination of similar organisations elsewhere in East Africa ;
- (v) To assist in bringing about closer contact and understanding between Asian women and women of other races in East Africa.

At the same time the following Working Committee were elected :

President : Dr. (Mrs.) Nalinidevi Pant, M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S.

Vice-President : Miss Benjamin.

Treasurer : Mrs. Kulsum Eboo Pirbhai.

Organiser : Mrs. Yamunadevi Shahane.

Secretary : Mrs. Monica Isobel Nazareth, B.A., LL.B.

Joint Secretary : Mrs. Savitri Bhaskare.

Members : Mrs. Lalitaben Desai, Mrs. Damayanti-ben Adalja, Mrs. Sherbanu Nathoo, Mrs. Nargis Dhanjee, Mrs. Shantidevi Sharma.

It will be noticed that the Working Committee consists of representatives from all communities and religions. It is all the more remarkable as this Committee was elected without canvassing in an open meeting where the predominant element were Hindu ladies. The election results therefore are themselves

a great encouragement to the originators of the idea and proof that at least our women can be persuaded to think non-communally if an opportunity were given them. The President of this Working Committee as well as the Association is Dr. (Mrs.) Nalinidevi Pant, a Hindu; the Vice-President is Miss Benjamin, a U.P. Christian; the Secretaries are Mrs. Nazareth, a Goan and Mrs. Bhaskare, a Mahratta Christian while the Treasurer is Mrs. Eboo, a Muslim of high standing and an office-bearer of the Muslim Women's Association. It may be noted here that the first patron of the Association, paying shs. 1,000, is also a Muslim, Mrs. Kassam Kanji. The Association has since enrolled more patrons from different communities.

Mrs. Yamunadevi Shahane, with her indefatigable energy, has been moving continuously to organise the Association and has succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of every Women's Association in the city.

It was decided by the Association later to call an East African Women's Conference in Nairobi with a view to organising, if possible, a territory-wise Central Organisation which can co-ordinate and guide the activities of Asian Women all over the country. The original plan was to hold the Conference during the Charter ceremony in Nairobi and request Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester to inaugurate it. Unfortunately Her Royal Highness had all her programme already fixed and could find no time for this purpose.

A feature of this Association has been the accommodation made in the Constitution for allowing non-Asians to join it as Associate Members and it is understood that already some European and African women have done so.

While the organisation for the Conference has been going on these three months, the local Association has already undertaken certain activities. The first problem was how to create an interest in the day-to-day working of the Association, bring women from different walks of life together, to create a spirit of comradeship among them and also teach them to bring them nearer to women of other races.

The organisation of this Association had created great curiosity among the European and African women and advantage was taken of this to organise a visit of the members of the Association to the African Teachers' Training Centre at Githunguri about 25 miles off Nairobi. This visit proved a success beyond all expectations. About 150 Asian women went to Githunguri and were surprised and pleased to find nearly 6,000 African women assembled to welcome them. It was an extraordinary sight and those who saw it will never forget the experience. It was the

first time that the women of the two races had come together in such friendly manner and in such large numbers. The Asian women under the guidance of Dr. (Mrs.) Pant joined the games and dances of the African women, performed their own folk-dances and games and invited the African women to join them and it is reported that the whole sight was a most stimulating one and warmed the hearts of those who firmly believe in the fundamental unity of humanity. A feature of this visit was the gifts of maize and fruit lovingly brought by the women for their guests. These were literally in thousands and it was a job to bring them back to Nairobi.

This was the first time that women of both races had come together in such numbers. It was a unique occasion for everyone and especially the African women who had never seen Asian women's games, dances, etc.

The Association has, besides, held meetings at which doctors, social workers, etc., have been called to discuss their particular subjects and it is understood that gradually it will take in hand problems connected with women's welfare, and co-operate with Government and Municipality in certain matters.

One of the encouraging development has been the taking over by the Association of the Sandford Institute. This is a Railway Institute which conducts a Nursery School as well as a Women's Club, has a building of its own and promises to be a very good beginning of the Association's work, as it is entirely non-communal and non-racial.

The Association has already contacted the East African Women's League which is a European organisation as well as the African Women's League; its members have been visiting African locations and establishing contacts with African women and there are promising signs that under the auspices of the Association the women of the three races would gradually come together to tackle problems which are particularly precious to women and children.

The present membership of the Association is 400 drawn from all communities.

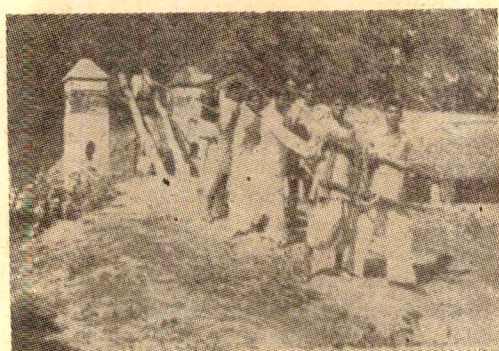
At the ensuing Conference in the third week of April, the Association has planned a very ambitious programme. There will be an exhibition of Women's arts and crafts, a demonstration of physical drill in which more than 200 girls will take part, musical and drama shows and discussions on education, health and allied questions. The Conference is being presided over by a prominent social worker from Mombasa, Mrs. Sondhi.

Nairobi, April 10, 1950.

U. P. STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENTS

By AN OBSERVER

WITH the four-fold object of teaching the students of the State the virtue of self-reliance, providing them with healthy hobbies to utilize their superfluous energies, inculcating in them a sense of discipline and re-kindling in them the fire of patriotism, the Department of Education, U. P., which under the present Ministry of Education, has built for itself an enviable position, recently undertook the execution of Grow-More-Food and Self-help Squads schemes. Now, if the State has assumed the unchallenged role of leadership in the sphere of educational reconstruction and reform, to the Department goes the credit of executing the various schemes launched by Government with characteristic missionary zeal.



Pupil-teachers of a Basic School in Lucknow pulling out water from a well for irrigating a field

In the course of his message issued by Dr. Sampurnanand on September 24, 1949, the Hon'ble Minister for Education said :

"Every piece of land in the possession of an educational institution that is not actually required as a play-ground or utilized for some other equally essential purpose should be brought under the plough."

Supplementing the message Shri S. K. Ghosh, Director of Education, U. P., said :

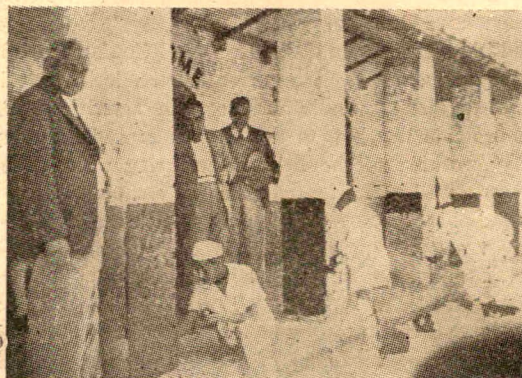
"Down the centuries, in times of crises, the urge for national service was created and sustained by our Gurus. Will our fraternity, inheritors of such magnificent traditions, prove unequal to the task? Let us be up and doing."

The message and the appeal went home. Students and teachers of both the sexes vied with one another in "growing two blades of grass where one grew before"; every inch of available space in schools and colleges was brought under the plough. Incidentally, the young ones came to realize the dignity of manual labour and their hearts beat in unison with the Kisans. A great victory—on the food front—had been won.

But "reward for work is more work." Came January 26, 1950, the day of the inauguration of Indian Republic. The Hon'ble Minister for Education in a special message issued to the students on the occasion, exhorted them to celebrate the day as a sacred Day of Dedication. The Director of Education in the course of his appeal to the students and teachers of the State on the occasion, said :

"Henceforth 'Self-Help' shall be our slogan. Let us form Self-help Squads and donate a few hours of our spare time . . . Was it an empty boast when we proclaimed to the world through our national song of *Bande Mataram* that our motherland with crores of children and twice the number of hands to serve her cannot be called a helpless mother? By our deeds alone shall we be tested."

And so thousands of students and teachers all over the State took a pledge of service through self-help and forthwith they began to translate their solemn resolve into practice. And what a wonderful amount of work they did! Repairing of school buildings, white-washing and cleaning them; building of pucca boundary walls; preparing *tat patties* for children to sit on; attending on patients in hospitals and in their homes; taking practical steps to liquidate mass illiteracy; banishing ignorance and superstition from the neighbourhood; teaching the ignorant the elementary principles of health and hygiene; spreading the light of learning all round—these and allied



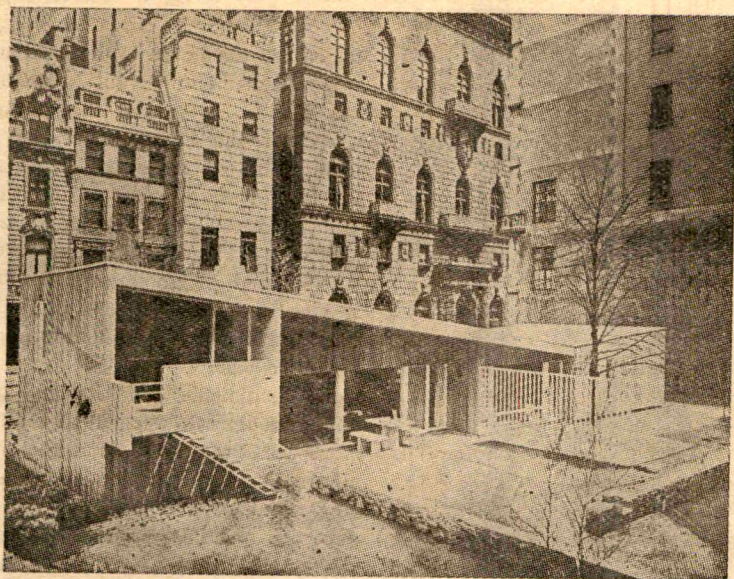
Students of a primary school in Meerut white-washing their school-building and painting pillars with coal-tar

things our boys and girls, students as well as teachers, have done during these few months. We may face the future with confidence now. To quote the last sentence of the moving Republic Day Appeal of Shri S. K. Ghosh, Director of Education, "With songs on their lips and shovels in their hands, the students will fashion the New India of our dreams."

HOUSE FOR THE GROWING FAMILY

In a corner of the sculpture garden at New York's Museum of Modern Art, almost overshadowed by the monumental facades of a half dozen neighboring brown-stone houses, stands a small house whose purity

parents' room. This is an excellent arrangement since, when children are young, the parents must be near them, but as they grow older and the house is expanded, privacy is a prime objective.

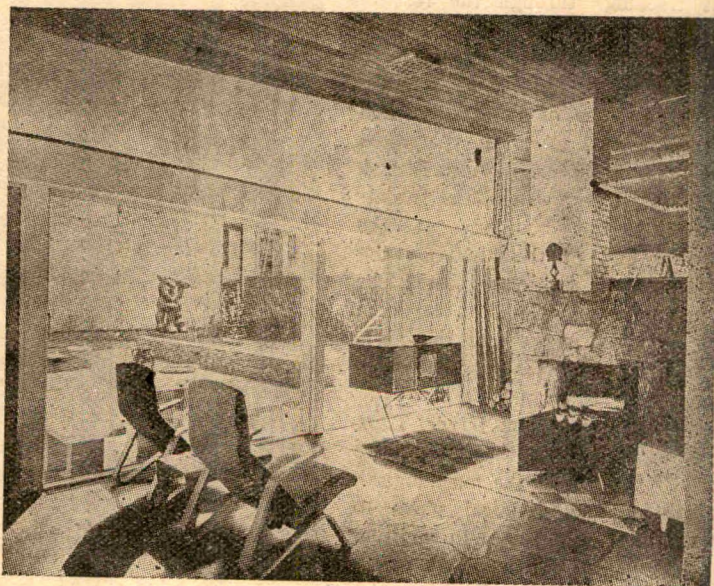


Newest project of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City is the house for a growing family, designed by the internationally known architect, Marcel Breuer

An outstanding characteristic of the design, and one which is linked with its expansion, is the "butterfly" pitch of the roof. Two planes, a short one over the children's wing and a longer one over the living room and parents' quarters, slope downward toward the center. This arrangement allows space for the two-story section at the highest end. In addition, it eliminates the necessity for gutters and drains at the edge of the roof. A single drain at the center passes down through the house (beside the bathroom plumbing stack), thus eliminating the winter problem of frozen pipes. The sloping ceiling adds a sense of interior spaciousness. Few partitions meet the ceiling and thus one never gets the feeling of being enclosed in a tight, rectangular box. Even the second floor parents' suite is left open, adding much to the spaciousness of both living room

of line and precision of detail place it among the best contemporary architecture in the United States. It is the Museum's newest project: a house designed by the internationally known architect, Marcel Breuer, specifically to the Museum's qualifications. The problem given to Mr. Breuer by the Museum was to produce "a moderately priced house for a man who works in a large city and commutes to a so called 'dormitory town' on its outskirts where he lives with his family." Accordingly, Mr. Breuer has planned the house for children and for servantless living. Even more important, he has made it an expansible structure which can follow the two major phases of typical family life.

As seen at the Museum, the house is in its final form with children's bed-room wing at one end of the living quarters and parents' suite atop a garage-storage area at the other. In its earlier phase, the house is minus parents' suite and garage, one of the subsequent children's bedrooms serving as the



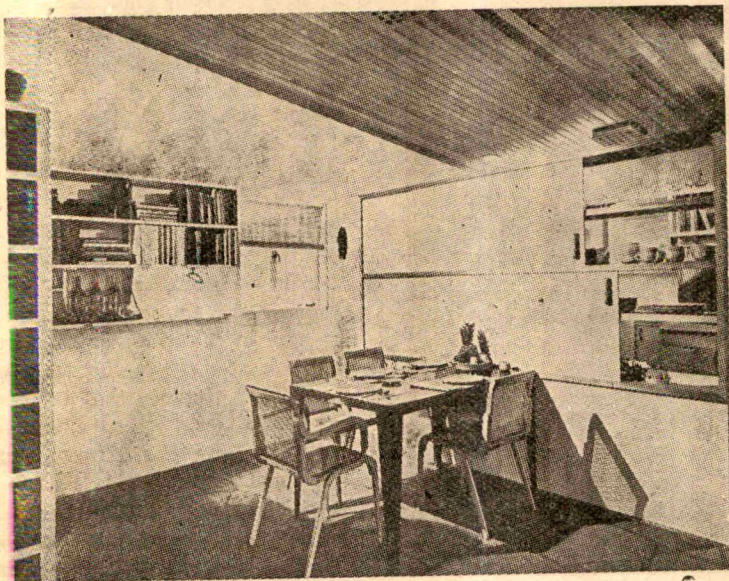
A view of the living area of the living-dining room of the house

and bedroom except when the curtain is drawn for privacy.

The plan of this house bespeaks a family man, fully aware of the every-day problems connected

with raising children. One of the most important features is the utility room which should perhaps be renamed the "mud room." Direct access from the out-of-doors makes it the logical place for removing

trim; and the difficult up-slant of exterior boarding above the window which prevents rain-rotting of the exposed end. Also typical of Breuer's meticulous concern for detail is the steel angle used under the copper flashing to assure a straight, clean roof line.

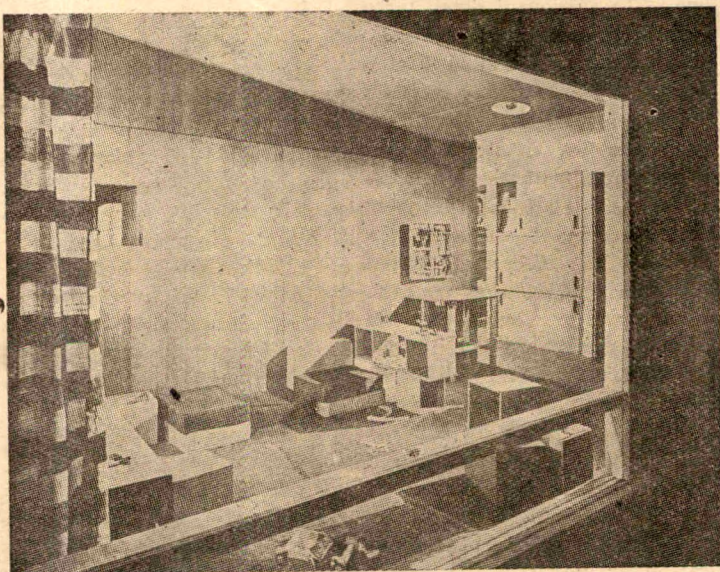


The dining space in the living room of the house is separated from kitchen by sliding panels

galoshes and snowy playsuits without tracking through the rest of the house. The location of the playroom next to the child's bedroom is another excellent arrangement. In case of illness, one bed can be moved in to the playroom and quarantine easily established. As the family grows and the parents move into the bedroom at the opposite end of the house, the children gain a private suite. The former parents' room can be used for overnight guests and the playroom becomes a party room where youngsters can entertain without disturbing mother and father. Thus, it becomes obvious that this house actually has one of the most logical, thoughtful and practical plans to be found in any home. In addition it displays a trimness and cleanliness seldom encountered in even the best contemporary design.

Breuer is perhaps best known for his exquisite detailing and this house, like his others, shows a craftsman's concern for fine joinery. It is apparent in the precise joints of wall and ceiling trim; flagstone floor and window sill; upper sash and interior wall

Because the house is designed for a family without servants, Breuer has made the kitchen the control center of the home. It is conveniently located for direct access to utility and service yard on one side and dining-living room on the other. A view panel between kitchen and playroom, commanding a view through to the adjoining play yard, allows the housewife to supervise children both indoors and out. Equipment in kitchen and utility room is designed to reduce housework to a minimum. For instance, accommodation for handling and storing of dishes has been provided within easy reach of the dish-washing machine. An added amenity is the fact that the utility room can double as a bedroom for night sitters or occasional help.



A children's play area adjoins the children's rooms

In commissioning this house, the Museum wished to demonstrate "how much good living and good design can be purchased for how many dollars." As the Museum explains, this is not a minimum house. Homes of comparable size can certainly be had

for less money. But few, if any of them, include the meticulous planning and the almost abstract beauty of design found here.—From *Architectural Forum*.

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EAST-WEST PHILOSOPHERS' CONFERENCE

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

II

METAPHYSICS

Three rather clear-cut differences of metaphysical outlook have emerged from discussion of basic philosophical topics. First, Buddhist and Vedantic philosophers emphasize an ultimate reality largely inaccessible to the categories of ordinary logical discourse. According to Non-dualistic Vedanta, it is absolutely unconditioned and non-relational, though it is the ground for the appearance of the phenomenal universe. The relation between the Absolute and the relative universe is that between the desert and a mirage, or a rope and the snake which is erroneously super-imposed upon it. The field of finite existence is to some extent neglected in the East and, as in Non-dualistic Vedanta, denied any independent and metaphysical status. Vedanta contends that the only reality that is permanent and eternal is Brahman. Brahman, through *maya*, appears as the universe, like the rope appearing as the snake. The universe seen as independent of Brahman is unreal. But a knower of truth realizes as Brahman what the ignorant see as the universe. The universe, when its true nature is known, is nothing but Brahman, just as the illusory snake is nothing but the rope. Even the apparent reality of the universe is the result of Brahman's being its substratum. The reality or "being" of Brahman shines through the unreal names and forms of the manifold and endows them with the stamp of reality. The Chinese and Western tendency emphasizes the independent status of nature and the individual. This also is admitted by several systems of Indian thought.

Second, Chinese Neo-Confucianism and Western naturalism do not see any need for the recognition of an absolute or self-sufficient being transcending nature. Vedanta strongly urges the recognition and postulation of such a necessary being. Its reality is directly revealed in experience. Further, though the Absolute transcends time, space, and causality, yet proximity in space and succession in time and the phenomena of a universe governed by the law of cause and effect cannot be understood without the postulation of an Absolute, just as the connection between the discrete and disparate pictures of a movie-

reel cannot be perceived to give an unbroken continuity without the unrelated screen upon which they are projected.

Third, it seems to be true that Eastern thought has rarely insisted on such a sharp distinction of the purely theoretical modes of investigation from the practical as has that of the West. Vedantists regard true knowledge and true experience to be simultaneous and non-different.

Some of the basic metaphysical similarities between East and West may be mentioned as follows:

(1) Both agree that metaphysics aims at knowing reality, and that this can be accomplished through reason or intuition or both. Some conceptions and modes of reality are held in common. Metaphysics aims at reliable knowledge or direct experience of fundamental modes of being.

(2) One important mode of reality is the realm of finite, changing existence. The changing world of common experience (including man) must be accepted as real in some sense. Non-dualistic Vedanta denies the modes of reality. Brahman, or the Absolute, is above change and causation. The changing world of common experience is super-imposed upon it through *avidya*, or cosmic ignorance. It persists as long as *avidya* lasts. But Vedanta accepts the empirical reality of the universe and individual beings, and formulates its cosmology, psychology, ethics, etc., in order to enable the individual to realize that Brahman is the only reality and that the individual is nothing but Brahman.

(3) There is something more ultimate than man, which includes, completes, or explains the commonly experienced facts of finite existence. Vedanta emphasizes that as Brahman is the ultimate ground and substratum of everything, by the knowing of Brahman everything is known. When one knows clay, one knows everything that is made of clay; names and forms are superimposed, through *avidya*, to serve a practical purpose of life. Most members of the Conference agreed that there exists some factor in the universe to which human life

and value are subordinate and to which religious experiences and devotion, and the spiritual activities of man, may with reason be directed.

(4) Human nature includes a physical aspect which links man to other animals and to the realm of inorganic nature. Vedanta says that this physical aspect is not an essential part of the soul, but falsely superimposed upon it. It cannot, however, be neglected or denied as long as individuality is taken to be real.

(5) Human nature also includes another aspect, through which an individual person may become noetically identified with or otherwise related to other entities and himself, and may voluntarily strive for ends that are not rationally understood and freely chosen. Vedanta contends that the spiritual aspect of man, which includes all beings, is the metaphysical basis of all human relationships. He cannot resist the urge of this universal self. According to Vedanta, the spirit or Atman is eternal, immortal, and uncaused. It seems that the Western naturalists do not accept this view of the spirit. According to them, the highest emergent phase of the evolutionary process, as at present understood, is the mind, which Vedanta regards as a fine form of matter. Vedanta says that evolution presupposes some sort of involution. If mind has evolved from matter, or spirit is to evolve at a future time, both mind and spirit are implicit in matter. The evolutionary process means the gradual removal of the obstructions that conceal the spirit and the greater manifestation of the latter. Evolution is not, as naturalism seems to suggest, just a change without purpose.

(6) In the human order, the individual person alone is the bearer of rational and spiritual faculties. The human group is not a super-individual organism containing its members within it as cells or subordinate organs. Exclusive social determinism is to be deprecated. The individual has the right to criticize and to participate actively in the reconstruction of the social order. According to Hinduism, society can never be a perfect organization. Its purpose is to enable the individual to realize values which transcend society itself. It should show the individual the way to ultimate freedom from the inevitable bondages of society. That should be the conscious aim of all social disciplines. In Hinduism a monk renounces society and society welcomes his renunciation as leading to his ultimate freedom.

(7) Perfection, goodness, value, and other similar terms refer to a reality independent of individual and cultural judgment or decree. According to Vedanta, no concepts of the relative world can adequately express reality. They are of the nature of shadows, as stated by Plato. No amount of relative goodness can give an idea of the goodness that constitutes reality. The finite mind can never understand the nature of the infinite. The experiences of dreaming and waking

are at different levels. But the highest manifestation of reality in the relative universe is through goodness, truth, and beauty.

(8) Human value or goodness lies in the concrete realization of human nature as a whole, that is, in its material, social, and spiritual phases. Vedanta says that real value or goodness lies in a man's realization of his non-dual, universal, eternal, and spiritual nature. That will be followed by the welfare of his total being.

(9) There are certain universal laws which must be followed if human nature is to be realized, and these do not depend on any arbitrary decree or decision. Vedanta lays down four disciplines or prerequisites for self-realization. They include moral and spiritual disciplines, universal in nature, based upon reason, and tested by experience.

(10) The basic natural needs of man are both material and spiritual, as arising from the different aspects of his nature. It is agreed by all the members of the Seminar that at the present time the West has much to learn from the East concerning the spiritual needs of man and their satisfaction, while the East has much to learn from the West concerning the material and social needs of man and their satisfaction. According to Vedanta, man is essentially spirit, and therefore material needs are not basic. But in the relative state his physical aspect must not be ignored. Hinduism is glad to accept from the West all the help of science and psychology to make a man's body and mind adequate instruments to help him in the ultimate realization of his spiritual nature.

In the opinion of the present writer the East-West Philosophers' Conference was a successful undertaking. Though no synthetic philosophy has emerged from its deliberations—and that could hardly be expected at this stage—yet the outcome of the Conference is full of suggestions which have created a spirit of tolerance and respect in the minds of the Eastern and Western philosophers for one another's philosophical traditions. As Dr. Moore pointed out more than once, the Hindu tradition, contrary to the popular notion, is not all metaphysics, without logic and ethics. Nor is the Chinese philosophy all ethics, devoid of metaphysics. It is also certainly not true that Western philosophy is gross materialism, having nothing to do with ethics and metaphysics. No great philosophical tradition can with impunity disregard the demands of metaphysics, ethics, or logic. It is true, however, that in a particular philosophical system special emphasis may be given to one of these three aspects of philosophy. The thoughtful delegates came away from the Conference with the feeling that all of us have been benefited by it and have learnt to respect the philosophical views of others. The Indian delegates confessed that they should emphasize the study of the scientific method and Western logic, especially in its modern development. The Western philosophers said that they would

certainly have to change their ideas about Indian philosophy, especially when teaching this subject in their colleges.

The major systems of Indian philosophy are idealistic. Their metaphysics aims at a supersensuous reality, the knowledge of which liberates a man from worldly bondage, destroys his suffering and gives him supreme bliss. Thus Indian philosophy may be said to have a close relationship with spirituality. Further, every Indian system of philosophy prescribes some form of *yogic* discipline in order that students may experience its truth. The methodology and ethics of Indian philosophy are based upon metaphysical theories. Without such a foundation ethics becomes a mere device to create harmony among the discordant elements in a shifting world. Some ethical principles should be universal and abiding. Likewise, methodology depending upon reason alone, without the help of contemplation and moral disciplines, is incapable of giving a direct experience of truth. Reason goes in a circle. At its best, reason indicates what reality may be, but it cannot say what it is. Only a direct personal experience not in conflict with reason can give certainty. All the major systems of Hindu philosophy accept the testimony of the competent seers of the past as evidence of the super-conscious reality. Such a standpoint is not irrelevant, as in every field of inquiry one must begin from scratch; it is especially so in the realm of super-sensuous truth. The necessity of moral disciplines is emphasized in Indian philosophy, as its purpose is practical as well as theoretical. The knowledge of reality must transform life.

One rather unfortunate feature of the Conference seems to have been that the idealistic tradition of Western philosophy was not adequately represented. The West, at the beginning of the modern epoch, disentangled itself from the influence of Judaeo-Christian theology, but today it is being dominated by the physical sciences and psychology. The philosophy of naturalism is conditioned by sense-perceptions and reasoning based upon them. The ethics of naturalism aims at creating a good society in which decent human relationships and balanced enjoyment of material amenities are prized. The kingdom of heaven, if such a thing is at all possible, should be created on earth. In it the Deity remains an unnecessary hypothesis and all blessings are to be enjoyed in the single span of this human life.

The Indian delegates appeared to have one advantage over their Western colleagues. They had a thorough knowledge of Western philosophical thought; but the Western philosophers did not show a consistent and clear-cut insight into Indian thought. They were vague about the significance of such concepts as Brahman, *maya*, *samadhi*, and *yoga*; about truth as opposed to mere opinion; about the status given to the relative world by non-dualistic Vedanta; about

pure consciousness, which, according to the Hindu view, is devoid of subject-object relationship; about the necessity of analysing the states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep in order to understand the total human experience, and about other important matters. Hindu philosophy should be taught more systematically in the American universities by competent Indian philosophers. The Conference has made useful recommendations about holding its deliberations every five years, instead of ten, and also about issuing some sort of periodical journal to continue the discussion of Eastern and Western thought.

The Vedas and the Upanishads contain the germs of Hindu philosophy. They were systematized, later on, by such thinkers as Gaudapada, Vyasa, Kapila, Jaimini, Gautama, Patanjali, and Sankara. About a thousand years ago India lost her political freedom. Since then she has not produced an original thinker worth the name and her philosophical tradition has been kept alive mainly by commentators and scholiasts. This period has been characterized by a slow process of intellectual stagnation, during which Hindu society has put up a defensive battle to preserve itself from aggressive foreign cultures.

Social ethics, which Western thinkers find lacking in Indian philosophy, has its foundation in the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, and other scriptural texts. It has been elaborated in the Mahabharata, the Manusamhita, and other Smriti treatises. It is true that India has not developed the social sciences as thoroughly as the West. This has been partly the result of the peculiar condition of Hindu society, which never encouraged aggressive individualism and intense class friction. But the Hindus forgot that society is a flexible institution and must adapt itself to the changing conditions of the times or stagnate. The leaders of Hindu society during the past centuries were not alert to the important changes that were sweeping over the world. Great discrepancies have arisen between the exalted Hindu metaphysical theories and the actual lamentable conditions in which the masses of the people live. This error must be rectified or Hindu philosophy will not receive the respect from the West which it deserves.

Transcendental metaphysical truths can be expressed, to a very large extent, in terms of universal reason. Intuition is not a supernatural faculty but a higher phase of thinking developed from reason through mental and spiritual disciplines. If it cannot justify itself before the bar of reason, it must be rejected. Today the scientific method and symbolic logic, as developed in the West, have been influencing our thought. The metaphysical theories of Hindu philosophy will have to be reinterpreted in such a way as to be comprehended by Western philosophers. In the view of the present writer, this can be done. Dr. Charles Moore remarked more than once that he did not find in the concepts of Brahman and *maya*, or in

the doctrine of rebirth, anything that is opposed to reason. In the opinion of Dr. Northrop, concepts by intuition do not necessarily conflict with concepts by postulation. In his theory of the "undifferentiated aesthetic continuum" the word "aesthetic" suggests the immediacy of experience, which is not arrived at by logical reasoning.

Science, religion, and philosophy have not yet found themselves to be congenial bedfellows. Yet seams of truth run through them all. Any one of them, by itself, may not completely satisfy man's aspiration to fathom the deep mysteries of life and the universe. Vedanta declares that science, religion, philosophy, and art are so many vistas that open on the infinite horizon of truth.

What sort of synthesis of Eastern and Western philosophy can really be valid? Professor E. A. Burtt suggested three alternatives: First, the synthesis of co-presents; that is to say, it might be held that one method is appropriate to one area of discourse, the other to another, and that there is no reason why two groups of investigation may not use the two methods. Second, combination; that is to say, one could develop a single method which combines both. The scientific method has been said to combine both induction (in the narrower sense) and deduction. It is claimed by some that Kant's transcendental method combines the methods of empiricism and rationalism. Third, supersession; that is to say, it might be held that true synthesis involves the development of an entirely new method totally unlike those with which the philosophers start, rendering each of them out-moded. Kant claimed that his method superseded the methods of empiricism and rationalism in this sense.

Cornelius Cruse suggested that no system, in the sense of homogeneous sameness, is either possible or to be desired. Orchestrated unity is the goal. It is not necessary to make mutual concessions for the sake of apparent harmony. What we need is a deep-going mutual understanding.

Perhaps one can visualize the conclusions of the various philosophical systems as the pieces of coloured stones in a mosaic. Each piece has its unique worth, which must be retained. But each can be cut and set in such a way as to express the central theme of the mosaic. What is this central theme which is the urge for all human aspiration and knowledge? In the view of the present writer, it is the ultimate unity of experience, realized in a transcendental experience and subsequently applied to all human thought and activity in the realms of ethics, aesthetics, politics, economics, science, and the rest. Non-dualistic Vedanta, as explained by Sankaracharya, reveals this unity.

The present writer pointed out at the concluding meeting of the East-West Philosophers' Conference, that the real issue was not between East and West, nor between Indian philosophy and Western philosophy,

but between non-dualistic Vedanta and the philosophical theories professed by the rest of the world. It is the philosophy of Non-dualism which provides the basis of a universal philosophy satisfying all opinions and viewpoints and eliminating the friction and disputations which generally arise on account of ignorance of ultimate reality.

Vedanta designates ultimate reality as Brahman, which is described as truth (*satyam*), goodness (*shivam*), and beauty (*sundaram*). Nature and the individual soul are one with Brahman. The non-dual Brahman alone exists. The apparent multiplicity is the result of *avidya*, or nescience, an inscrutable power inhering in Brahman and having no existence independent of Brahman. The concept of *avidya* is posited from the relative standpoint where one sees multiplicity and seeks its relationship with Brahman. From the absolute standpoint multiplicity is non-existent, and so also *avidya*. The implication of *avidya* is that it is absurd for the finite mind to try to find a relationship between the Absolute and the relative, as no such relationship really exists. Even when multiplicity is perceived, the non-dual Brahman alone exists in its completeness. What an ignorant person calls the individual soul and nature, are in reality Brahman, one, and without a second. The philosophy of Vedanta, based upon the oneness of existence, shows the way to the unilluminated to its realization.

Vedanta is not a theology. Brahman is not a dogma of religion, nor an incommunicable experience of mysticism. It is not an esoteric entity. Brahman is a metaphysical truth corroborated by reason and belonging to the universal experience of humanity. Being the very stuff of truth, goodness, and beauty, it does not conflict with the goals of science, the different philosophical systems, ethics, religion, or aesthetics, but points to their underlying unity.

The very perception of multiplicity is possible because of a unity in the perceiver. The organ of vision, being one, relatively speaking, is able to perceive the manifold external world. The mind, being one, again speaking relatively, is able to perceive changes in the organ of seeing. The states of the mind are perceived by consciousness, which is one, non-dual, and ultimate. If a perceiver of consciousness is to be assumed, it will be only another consciousness. This consciousness, the seer of seeing, the hearer of hearing, the thinker of thinking, the knower of knowing, is Brahman, the inmost essence of man, nature, and the Deity. When a general solution of the great riddle of the universe is sought, the key can only be found where alone the secret of nature lies open to us, that is to say, in our inmost self or consciousness. The original thinkers of Vedanta found it when they discovered our inmost individual being to be Brahman, the inmost being of universal nature and all its phenomena. Vedantists, by discovering the oneness of the subject and the object, seem to have

uttered the last word in man's philosophical thinking. Other thoughts are mere footnotes on this central truth—to borrow a famous remark of A. N. Whitehead with reference to Plato.

The discovering of a unity which explains diversity seems to be the goal to which the physical sciences are heading. A cosmic coherence is revealed to the intuition of scientists before experience and induction establish it as an actual reality. The doctrine that All is One breaks down the barrier between man and nature and may very well open a new vista of thought before reflective naturalists.

Vedanta speaks of reality from two levels of experience: the relative and the absolute. The universe perceived empirically cannot be denied. It is certainly true for him who believes in the reality of the ego and the physical universe. Such a man pursues what is called the "lower knowledge" in order to understand empirical phenomena. Science, theology, ethics, religion, and the rest belong to the lower knowledge. It is not to be deprecated, but is to be pursued assiduously till it culminates in the "higher knowledge," the knowledge of the Absolute. Vedanta does not explain away sense-experiences, but interprets them in the light of oneness.

Vedanta maintains the same attitude towards ethics as towards logic. The perceiver of oneness is beyond good and evil. As the Upanishad declares, the good and evil of the relative world do not touch him. "What does he," to quote the words of a Western writer on mysticism, "whose eyes see no gulf, whose ears but hear harmony, whose piety knows the still bond with Him who is the cause of all things—what does he know of the value of actions! The postulates of ethics, where he finds them fulfilled, are a matter of course to him; but where he finds them neglected, he feels no concern, for who knows but that such a lack at a given place and moment does not have a special meaning and impart a special blessing?" When the cosmic experiences are understood and assimilated in the light of oneness, the question of good and evil becomes meaningless, because everything that is and everything that happens is accepted as necessary, holy, and divine. The man established in oneness personally radiates love, charity, compassion and chastity.

In aesthetic values—as in ethical and religious—Vedanta plays a dual role. Brahman is the essence of

beauty. The beauty of the sun, moon, stars, fire, and lightning, as the Upanishad declares, is but a pale reflection of Brahman. The relative universe is an interplay of the infinite and the finite. The finite is a symbol of the infinite. But a finite perception, devoid of the infinite, self-sufficient and self-justified, is insignificant, non-existent. A Vedantist sees and praises beauty in nature as a token of the whole, the oneness. The sense-stimulus of natural beauty is accepted, and dissolved in contemplation, and there recreated as something else, which natural beauty expresses and signifies. Thus the experience of light, fire, a flower, water, or a star reveals something higher than their revelation to the mere senses. Aesthetic values, as such, are not prized; but when they express an ulterior essence they are appreciated. Vedanta makes use of all that the arts can furnish—pictures, rhythm, dance, music, sound, and the sense of words—to force the invisible into the visible, to make the fleeting permanent, to make the incredible credible. It accepts all expressions as symbols of the unity, as outer images of the inner vision.

Vedanta, though not a religion, is not in conflict with religion. It does not refute the personal God; it rather gives Him the reality He possesses. It makes Him rich and significant. The whole universe is the manifestation of the non-dual Brahman in time and space. The personal God is its highest manifestation. The next stage is the impersonal Absolute. Prayer, rituals, and devotion are necessary for the beginner in religion, in order to remove the impurity of his mind and make it one-pointed. Even the knower of Brahman can use the personal God as a symbol of the Absolute on the relative plane.

Non-dualism has been described by one of its early philosophers, Gaudapada, as free from strife (*avivada*) and contradictions (*aviviruddhva*). It is free from all disputations, having no real conflict with those who see multiplicity. Reality is one, but it can be viewed differently from different levels. Divergent opinions (*matam*) can be held of reality (*tattvam*) by science, religion, ethics, and aesthetics. When a person truly sees himself in all and all in himself, beholds unity in diversity and diversity in unity, how can he indulge in strife or disputes? A real Vedantist is at peace with himself and at peace with the universe.

(Concluded)



WILLIAM WORDSWORTH : POET AND PROPHET (1770-1850)

A Centenary Tribute

By PRINCIPAL H. SUNDER RAO, M.A.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH'S poetical career is, perhaps, one of the most amazing in the history of English poetry—amazing not only in respect of its length and prolixity, but also because of the inequality of its creative impulse. The poet of the soaring imagination and profound spiritual insight which he reveals himself to be in such poems as *The Tintern Abbey*, the *Immortality Ode*, the deeply-moving *Lucy* poems, and the exquisitely modelled *Sonnets*, became in the last forty years of his long career a dull recorder of stale pietistic dogmas, writing such insufferably trivial stuff as is scattered over the dry expanse of versified morality like his *Ecclesiastic Sonnets*. It is irrelevant to trace here the course or the causes of this poetic "anti-climax." It is enough for us, on the occasion of the centenary of the poet's death, to try to understand something of the abiding significance of his poetry and of the message he has delivered to the world. For today, Wordsworth's message is particularly relevant and is most urgently needed. The world is torn by strife and hatred and broken up by the rapidly growing inner dissonance in the human spirit, and the poet who affirmed that

By love, for here
Do we begin and end, all grandeur comes,
That gone, we are as dust—

has a significance for us which can never cease to be valid.

Wordsworth himself, early in his career, realised that the supreme function of the poet was to restore the spiritual equilibrium of man lost through "the getting and spending" of his inner resources, and to save him from the utter bankruptcy of the spirit which inevitably overtakes him in his hectic pursuit of worldliness. He felt no doubt or faltering in this respect and dedicated himself to this high mission with an insight and understanding that give to his utterance not only the sanctity of revelation but the peculiar magic of poetry which, as he himself said, is nothing but "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings." In the famous thirteenth book of the *Prelude*—the most perfect testament of a poet's inner life that has ever been written—Wordsworth gives expression to this lofty mission in an "aside" addressed to his life-long friend, Coleridge. The lines deserve quotation :

Dearest Friend,
Forgive me if I say that I, who long
Had harboured reverentially a thought
That poets, even as Prophets, each with each
Connected in a mighty scheme of truth,
Have each for his peculiar dower, a sense
By which he is enabled to perceive
Something unseen before: forgive me, Friend,
If I, the meanest of this band, had hope
That unto me had also been vouchsafed
An influx, that in some sort I possessed
A privilege, and that a work of mine,
Proceeding from the depth of untaught things,
Enduring and creative, might become
A power like one of Nature's.....

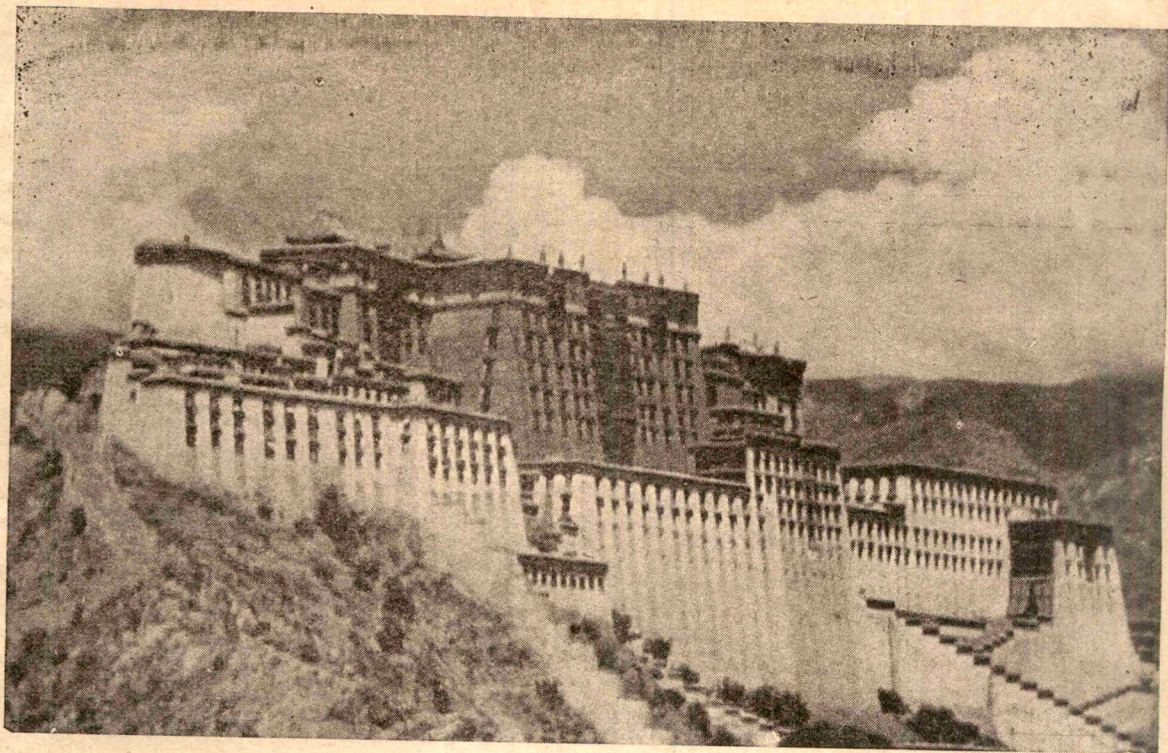
A power like one of Nature's! Perhaps this phrase gives us the clue to all the worship that he offered to Nature, conceiving of her sometimes as an invisible but mighty force that pervades and directs the universe, sometimes as the benevolent Mother and Teacher whose healing touch can give us peace and joy; oftentimes as the stern symbol of duty and law which "preserves even the stars from wrong." One of the most moving of his sonnets, *The world is too much with us*, describes in epitomised beauty the ravages that overtake the soul when deprived of the healing influences of Nature. The poet's lament "there is little in Nature that is ours" might well be the epitaph of our modern age—divorced from the life-succouring simplicities of thought, conduct and action which made the Pagans so much more creative and happy than we can ever be with all our boasted mastery over the forces of Nature. It is unfortunate that modern criticism has so assiduously taken pains to fit Wordsworth's attitude to Nature into some pre-conceived philosophical or psychological pattern or other, thus making the reader of his poetry lose his way to the heart of this inspired Nature-lover. It does not matter to the reader how and where the poet got the germ of his "creed" or how this so-called "Philosophy of Nature" (a monstrous phrase so liberally scattered over text-books) was developed. All that we have a right to say is that to the poet, Nature was a living Power, a source of peace, provided we cultivate "a seeing eye" and a heart "that watches and receives." Poem after poem speaks of this power of Nature. It can soothe the tortured spirit and fill it with nameless "apprehensions" :

The very shadows of the clouds
Have power to shake me as they pass.

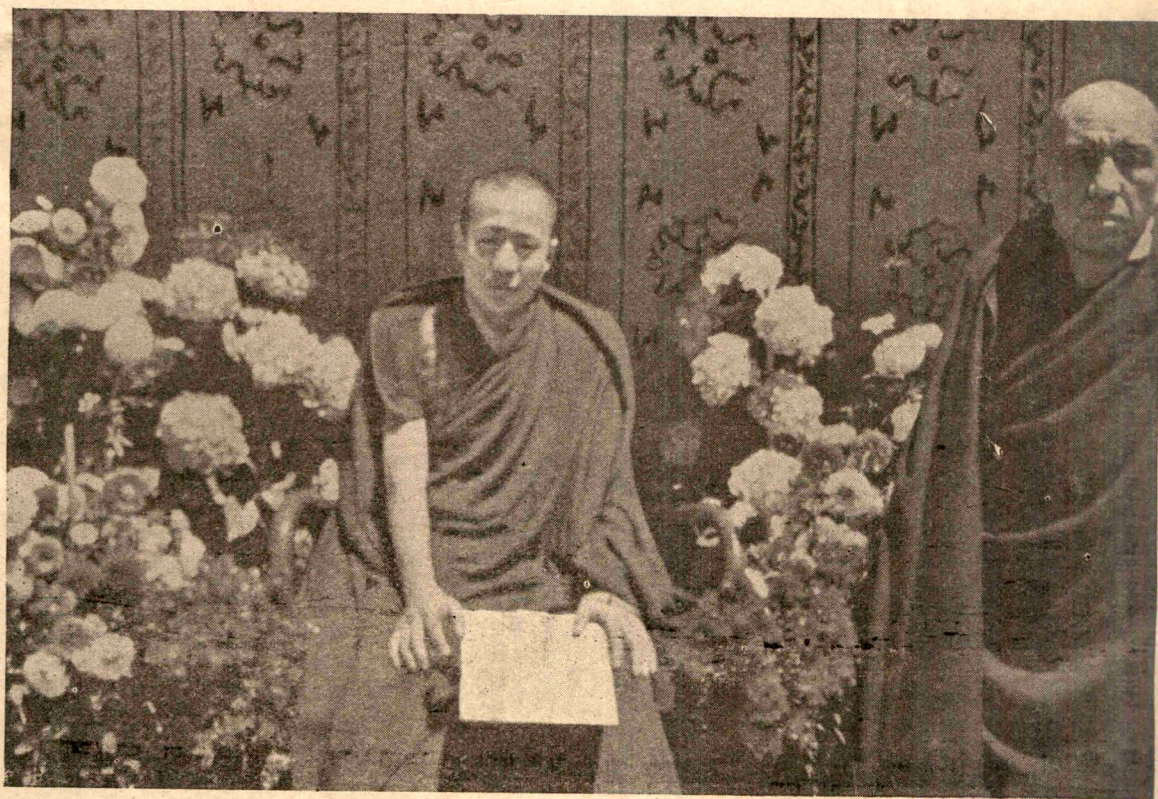
My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky.

To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.
His spirit could easily merge into oneness with "rocks, stones and trees," so that oftentimes he attained that bliss which only great seers have attained at rare moments in their lives, and he knew and experienced the beatitude of that Eternal Silence that soothes us in the midst of our "noisy years." With what exquisite beauty and power has he described that blissful state in the great passage of his *Tintern Abbey*!

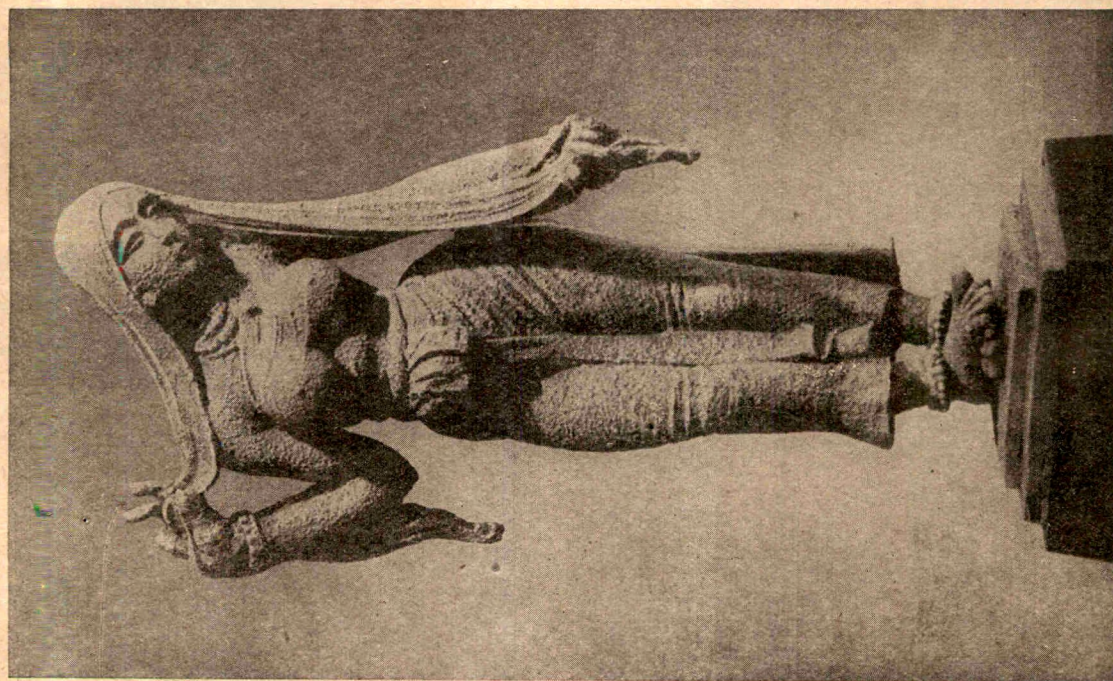
That blessed mood,
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened....
Until the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul :
While with an eye, made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.



Potala palace, Lhasa

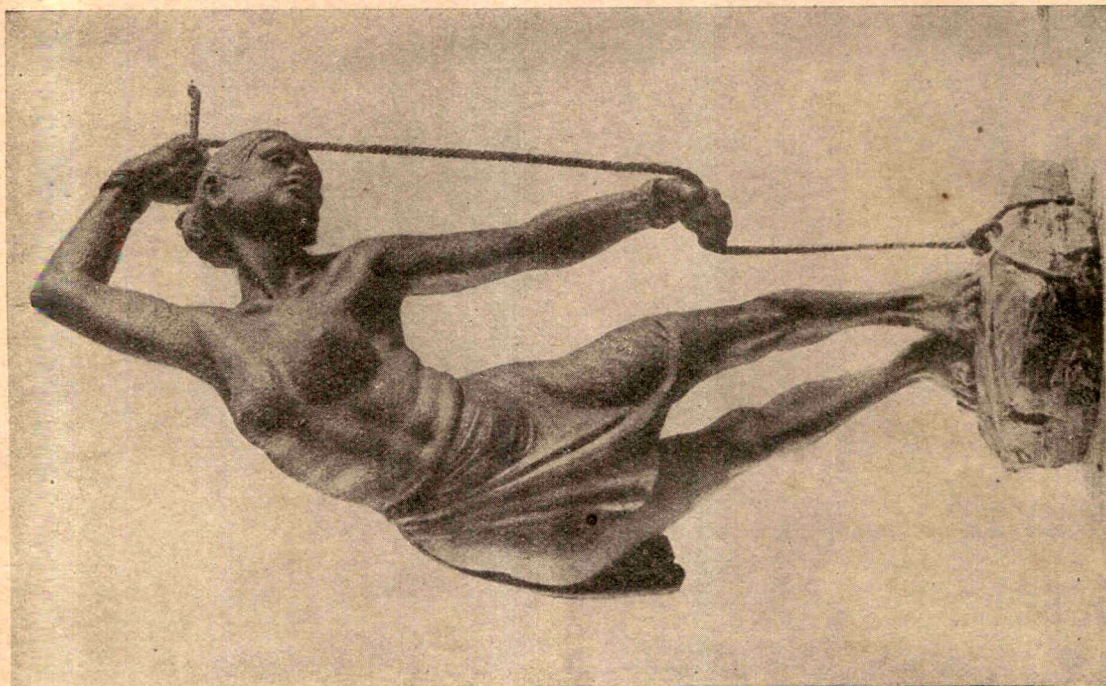


Dalai Lama and his regent



After bath

Sculptor—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



By the well

To "dissect" our own pet dogmas, out of inspired utterances such as this is a sin of the first magnitude. We can only feel humbled and hushed into awesome silence in the presence of such revelation of the infinite possibilities that stretch out before our mortal life. To realise these possibilities is, perhaps, one of the most urgent tasks that confront humanity at the present moral and spiritual crisis through which the world is passing. It is not as if Wordsworth is giving us any particular "technique" of mystical contemplation. He is merely describing what the individual can achieve in his own personal life by a steady pursuit of self-knowledge, for after all, we cannot have a sane world without men knowing the secrets of the inner life. To-day we are appalled by the increasing burden of "all this unintelligible world" which is thrown upon us by the mess we have made of those values which only self-knowledge can reveal. It is to this self-knowledge that Wordsworth's greater poems lead the thinking reader. The joys and achievements of the soul's serenity have receded too far beyond our comprehension in this age of so-called scientific advancement. The alignment of the individual's inner life to the growing complexities of our time, so as to achieve harmony and peace in the world, is a task that cannot be achieved by mere *technical* perfection of which we seem to be so proud. Wordsworth is a sure finger-post to the way that the seers of ancient India have pointed out in the onward pilgrimage of man to his cherished goal. No English poet has expressed with more authentic conviction and clearer comprehension than Wordsworth the dangers of this "soul's disintegration" brought on by the accumulated encrustations of greed, passion and lust for power which have imposed themselves on every aspect of our modern life. It is not a mere return to the crude primitiveness of a remoter age that Wordsworth pleads for. His exhortation to accept the simplicities of life implies a complete emancipation from the "heavy and weary weight" that modern civilisation throws upon the delicate and sensitive human spirit, warping and often breaking it. It is the simplicity of heart and mind and imagination that the poet advocates. The eternal symbol of this is the child in all its creative joy and pure zest for living. His *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* with all its seeming contradictions and difficulties of accurate and coherent interpretation, is yet one of the simplest and sublimest of English poems, because at the very centre of it, shining like a brilliant diamond in the midst of all the encrustations of earth and ore, there shines the star of illuminative faith—faith in the child's infinite love for life and his unsullied impulses, the lack of which has made our world a veritable "fen of stagnant waters," a world of tired adults stubbornly insensitive to all that is good, beautiful and true.

There is a school of critics that has succeeded in making Wordsworth a sort of philosophical doctrinaire, thus preventing the ordinary reader from drinking deep at the perennial well of the poet's amazingly simple attitude to life and nature. No poet has done so much to exalt the ordinary things of human life and invest them with beauty and significance as Wordsworth has done.

His love of the common man (that mythical being of modern political demagogues and self-styled economic saviours) was the result of a spontaneous recognition of that universal kinship which pervades the whole of life. If Wordsworth can be credited with a creed, it is implied in his own words that "all which we behold is full of blessings." He firmly clung to the conviction that the spirit "that rolls through all things" knows "no insulated spot" and that "from link to link it circulates, the soul of all the worlds." So he entered into the sorrows and joys of the ordinary men, women and children of his country and became the interpreter of the heroism and faith of these simple creatures who dwelt among the untrodden ways of the world. There is no poem more moving than *Michael*, more truly courageous in the faith it embodies than *The Leech-gatherer*, while the *Lucy* poems take us to the very heart of a simple village child. To the ultra-sophisticated generation of today which seems to have lost touch with the deeper springs of life and with all that is creative and joyous, many of these poems might appear to be the effusions of a "sickly" sentimentalist. This is the neo-philistinism of our "atom-age." To such people, the "philistines" of our time, poetry itself is an anathema, and to vast multitudes of our generation, the voice of poetry is quite inaudible, for poetry is a challenge to their self-complacent, sophisticated inanities which they miscall culture and civilisation. But a poet who can find grandeur in the beatings of the human heart and can with penetrative insight lay bare the sorrows and joys of the simple folk of his countryside and invest their obscure destinies with beauty and power, can be a greater influence "making for righteousness" than all the tribe of political reformers and queer economic idealists of whom this distracted planet is too full. To those who "peep and botanise upon their mothers' graves" the compassion and faith of Wordsworth would naturally be meaningless, for Wordsworth is essentially a poet of the human heart. "A poet!" he exclaims in one of his poems, "He hath put his heart to school." He hated the desolate logic of narrow intelligence which modern man has so exalted that he has brought the world almost to the edge of an irretrievable disaster. Wordsworth pleaded not so much for pure reason as for Imagination and "amplitude of mind", for in his view, Imagination is a greater power than mere Reason. Imagination, in other words, is "Reason in her most exalted mood". To him, therefore, the simple spectacle of the rainbow was more thrilling than all the dazzling pageantry of wealth and power with which man wants to surround himself, and the silent heroism of a poor leech-gatherer was more truly heroic than all the publicised glory of the earth's war-lords and professional politicians and philanthropists. The warbling of the skylark and the haunting strains of the Highland Reaper's simple melody meant more to him than all the sophisticated harmonies of music-halls. He deliberately avoided the spectacular and clung to the simple and even common-places:

The moving accident is not my trade;
To freeze the blood I have no ready arts;

'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts.
"Wordsworth," says Herbert Read, "is the first among the philosophic poets of our Romantic movement." But it is not the philosophy of the drawing-room, debating club, or sophisticated academies of learning that this simple son of the English Lake District embodies in his memorable poetry. It is a simple, direct, and "home-spun" philosophy—the philosophy of a man who

Leaving the tumultuous crowd,
....Cut across the reflex of the star;
and to whom every common object "did seem appalled in celestial light". On the hundredth anniversary of Wordsworth's death, it is our duty to liberate him from the restrictions of the many labels which unthinking criticism has heaped on his memory, and to think of him,

not as an abortive revolutionary, as a preacher of pietistic dogmas, or as a Platonist or what not, but as a poet first and foremost, delighting in the beauty of life around him and proclaiming in unforgettable poetry something of the perennial romance and significance of life's abiding simplicities. The best description of Wordsworth is perhaps to be found in his own lines from a poem, *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle* :

Love had he found in huts where poor men live;
His daily teachers had been wood and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

And finally, over his best poetry (for alas! he did not always write the best) there broods, as over the sea on the Calais beach, "the gentleness of heaven."

—:O:—

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By S. R. SARNA

AGRICULTURAL industry, if not managed with care, becomes a liability. Sowing, then, is a gamble with weather-gods. Obstacles to progress and prosperity appear to be more abundant than opportunities. The missing lynch-pin becomes a cause of worry, with no end in sight. The rural communities, under depression and despair, struggle hard but find no equilibrium. In these circumstances, there is every chance of low production and indebtedness, unrest and revolt. But there is a chance of relief, howsoever slight. That chance lies in reforms. Reforms by mutual help. Reforms by people for the people. And that is where co-operative movement comes in. And that is how co-operative movement came into being. In Switzerland, in Germany, in Russia, in every country, it happened so. It happened so in India, too.

How did the movement come to India? The official records place the credit on the doors of Sir Frederick Nicholson, Madras I.C.S., who was deputed in 1892 to study the theory and practice of agricultural and other land-banks in Europe and to suggest means by which a similar movement might be popularised in India. In 1895-97 he recommended the introduction of small village banks, with limited liability. But it also goes on records that, in 1892, a society was working in the District of Hoshiarpur, Punjab, successfully combining co-operative mortgage credit activities with land reclamation projects, under local leadership.

Villagers of Hoshiarpur may not have known the academic definition that

"A Co-operative Society is an association of persons, producers or consumers, with small means, who have come together voluntarily, to achieve a common purpose by reciprocal exchange of services, through a collective economic enterprise, working at their common risk."

Their inspiration was, instead, their ancestral legacy—"the Aryan cult of co-operation." The trade guilds and village Panchayats were flourishing in India, when Alexander was not born.

Between Alexander and Nicholson, invaders, foreign doctrines and strange communities arrived in India. But a strange destiny was at work. Invaders were reconciled. Communities settled and remained behind. Doctrines had to change form and were acclimatized. Co-operative movement, it came as a doctrine too, could not be spared. It had to change. It had to be re-formed and remodelled, according to Indian requirements. It had to absorb what India gave. The co-operative movement, of that part of it which came from the west, started with credit transactions. Better farming was yet to come. Better living was nowhere on the schedule. The first Co-operative Societies Act was passed, in 1904, on the model of Nicholson's suggestions, underlined by the Famine Commission. But it was soon realized that the change must be wholesale and sweeping, if the change had to come. Old customs were blocking the way. Illiteracy was blocking the way. The whole set-up was blocking the way. Above all, the farmer himself. And the chain had to be broken. So the Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 was passed. This Act introduced the non-credit activities, such as distributing and marketing of agricultural produce, and also provided for an effective control over and financing of the Union and Central Banks.

And then, in 1919, under the Government of India (Reforms) Act, the control and commitments of the Centre, so far as the co-operative movement was concerned, were transferred to the Provincial list. This decision brought the co-operatives nearer to the people. Numerous Societies for supply and distribution, for better living, for better farming, for better health, etc. sprang up in the whole country. From 1919 to 1939, Indian co-operatives passed rapidly from one enthusiasm to another. First, it was the village bank, then the credit operations, then the supply and marketing. Lastly, the village reconstruction and rural uplift. But the second world war came, then.

During the war, every type of economic activity had to undergo sweeping changes. The co-operative move-

ment also struggled hard to adjust to new circumstances. A new basis for further advance had to be sought. But it was not an easy affair. If the sales brought income by one hand, the purchases took it by the other. The agriculturist, along with others, was caught in the whirlpool of inflation. This was another chance for co-operative movement. The emphasis was shifted from small credit aspects to the multi-purpose responsibilities, the functions which are the ultimate objectives of co-operation. From September, 1939 to August 1947, the order of the day was work, more work, and still more work.

The comparative progress of the movement can be seen from the following table :

	1920-21	1938-39	1945-47
	At the end of first war.	At the beginning of second war.	Before Independence.
Societies	58,000	1,22,000	1,72,000
Membership	21,50,000	53,70,000	91,60,000

Working Capital Rs. 36,36,00,000, Rs. 106,47,00,000 Rs. 164,00,00,000. But this sketch will be incomplete if the work done by the co-operative movement is not narrated, in its proper perspective.

Better-living Societies have levelled and paved and swept the village lands, have promoted sanitation, have induced the villagers to improve his orthodox ways, have sunk, roofed and repaired the village drinking-wells, arranged the scientific preservation of manure and stopped waste on the farms. In Bengal 1000 anti-malaria Societies have done yeomen's service in clearing jungles, kerosination of village tanks and distribution of quinine. In the Punjab 1000 public health societies run dispensaries and first-aid posts. 2350 rural reconstruction societies in the Punjab work for eradication of social evils, discouragement of litigation, improvement of sanitation, education of women and child welfare. In Madras Presidency, during 1949, 940 village societies were engaged in the Prohibition Programme, 391 in Public Health activities, 412 in sanitation, 283 in village communications, 571 in education, and 205 in agricultural improvements.

Then comes better farming. For rural uplift, a better-farming Society is generally organised for a village or a group of villages, membership being open to all the residents of the area, who are either owners of land or tenants. Every member, on joining the Society, enters into an agreement that he will adopt such improved methods of agriculture as the Society may approve. On the whole, there are 2335 agricultural production societies, 9509 better-production Societies and 7690 Societies concerned with other agricultural activities. But, by far the most important feature of agricultural co-operatives is the consolidation of land-holdings. The extent of fragmentation, in rural communities, has become acute and uneconomic, hampering the programme of agricultural reforms. The reasons may be found in the widespread illiteracy, orthodox customs conservatism and extravagance and improvidence. The Banking Enquiry Commission, in their report, pointed out that the extent of an

average agricultural holding is 6 acres, average annual income is Rs. 42/- and the extent of total rural indebtedness is Rs. 900 crores. The remedy, of this anathema, had to be found. The remedy was found in consolidation of holdings. And the co-operative movement was to do it.

In the Punjab, 2000 such societies are engaged in this agricultural reformation. They have consolidated 1.5 million acres; sunk 1151 new wells and repaired 512 old wells in the consolidated area. In the Central Provinces, 1,133,000 acres split up into 2,433,000 plots, owned by nearly a lakh of permanent holders, were consolidated into 361,000 compact plots. In the United Provinces, 283 societies have pooled 75,058 acres into 17,647 compact blocks. This movement is becoming increasingly popular in Madras, Delhi, Baroda and Kashmir.

Business activities come last, but are not the least in importance. In Madras Presidency, food-grains worth Rs. 5.25 crores are being sold by Co-operative Societies. In Bombay Presidency the total value of business in food-grains distribution amounted to Rs. 2,900 lakhs, out of which private agencies claimed Rs. 1,615 lakhs and Co-operative Societies Rs. 1,234 lakhs. In C. P. there are nearly 760 private licensed agencies catering for the needs of 4.9 lakh card-holders of food supply; there were 630 Co-operative Societies catering for 5.4 lakh persons. In East Punjab there are 1914 Co-operative Societies distributing food-grains and other essential supplies to 4.5 lakh persons valued at Rs. 1.6 crores.

Remarkable success has been achieved by the Co-operative Societies in organising sugar-cane supply. The sugar belt of India comprises of U.P. and Bihar Provinces. In U.P., 1035 Societies and 94 Unions, having 7.7 crore members, covered 19,183 villages and supplied sugar-cane to factories in the neighbourhood of 11 crore maunds. In Bihar, the registered number of Co-operative Societies handling sugar-cane business, stands at 5,171 having 1,53,349 members. Sugar-cane cultivation in 85,283.95 acres, with improved varieties, is covered by these societies.

Another field, where co-operatives have flourished tremendously is milk supply business. 567 Co-operative Societies and Unions are engaged in milk distribution, having 39,871 members, the amount of business being Rs. 135 lakhs. 870 Ghee Societies transacted business amounting to Rs. 4 lakhs. In Bombay Presidency, cotton sale Societies have been an outstanding success. They grow cotton and get it ginned and pressed in mills owned by ginning and pressing Societies.

But this is not all. Still much has to be done.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the then Minister for Industry and Supply, moving the resolution on Industrial Policy on 7th April 1948, said :

"Independence is not an end in itself. It is but a means to an end. And that end obviously must include the creation of a Society in this great land of ours where equal opportunities shall prevail, where justice, social and economic, shall prevail, and where it will be possible for us by taking practical and effective measures, to put an end to the era of exploitation."

Yes, if the remote villager is to know what freedom means and what freedom brings, if the democracy is to extend from the political field to social and economic

fields, if the social justice is to be real and effective, the co-operative movement will furnish the key. It will open the "door into the future."

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RAMMED-EARTH BUILDING FOR REFUGEES

By S. K. KARR, B.Sc. ENGG. (U.S.A.), F.C.M.S.

IN recent times Bengal is being qualified as "Problem Province." For obvious reasons the British started considering the province as such from the beginning of the present century. In my opinion, this problem province has become all the more problematic with the inhuman butchery, torture, rape and abduction of women of the minority communities like the Buddhists, Hindus, etc. in East Pakistan with the consequent influx of refugees from East Bengal to West Bengal and Assam.

Apart from anything else, a problem of such a magnitude can not be efficiently and successfully tackled either by the Government, or by the public, or by the refugees themselves alone. The gravity of the problem demands an immediate as well as harmonious and all-out co-operation and co-ordination of all these three. It is for this reason, our Prime Minister and undisputed leader of the country has so very rightly declared that the refugee problem of Bengal should be tackled on war-footing. When a country is attacked by foreign power and its very independence is at stake, a tremendous spirit of co-operation, co-ordination and service for this noble cause grows up spontaneously in the minds of its inhabitants, and no amount of self-sacrifice is considered too great at that time. If such a spirit does not sprout up in the people of the province, irrespective of caste, creed, sex, social or official position, etc. a problem of such a magnitude, can not be tackled efficiently, and the result will be loss of millions of valuable human material in addition to indescribable distress to many millions more who will be unfortunate enough to survive. Mere idle criticism of the action of the Pakistan Government or that of ours will lead us nowhere. Stray killing of one or two innocent persons of the minority community in India is no remedy to it, but it deserves that the attention and activity of the general public are to be diverted from this to the constructive channels.

However, the problem has got more than one aspects of its own, and I intend to deal with only a small portion of one of its aspects from the engineering point of view.

The engineering profession of the province has got its special duty, responsibility and obligation in this critical time. It is for the engineers who will have to strain every nerve to find out not only job for these unfortunate brethren of ours but to have to find out shelters for them. Such shelters should be durable, permanent in nature, of low maintenance cost and at the same time very cheap and very quick to construct. Mon-

soon in the province is fast approaching and these ten millions of refugees must have shelters over their heads before long. This particular problem brooks no delay. However, the hygienic condition as well as suitability to the climatic condition of the province should not be lost sight of either for the sake of cheapness or for quick construction.

Earth is the most primitive of the building materials, utilized from time immemorial and perhaps with the dawn of civilization. When any kind of modern building materials, such as cement, steel, dressed stone, stone chips, bricks, etc. are very rarely available and are quite insufficient to meet the enormous need of the province, we can not think of rehabilitating these ten millions of refugees in houses built of such materials in course of a quarter of a century to come. Under the circumstances, necessity will force us to revert to Earth. It will entirely eliminate the question of its availability and will at the same time reduce the cost of the material for walling to nil.

The characteristic of earth, when studied, will prove, beyond doubt, its desirability for building construction purpose. Its high compressibility makes the structure monolithic which is fire-proof and termite-proof. Its very low permeability makes it damp-proof. It is proof against both heat and cold as its thermal conductivity is practically zero. Its compressive strength is 18 to 33 tons per cubic foot. This strength increases with age.

Before dealing with the suitability of a particular type of earth for the purpose, it will not be undesirable to deal with the chemical properties and structure, etc. of both clay and sand of which earth is composed of. Both sand and clay constitute aggregate of mineral particles which can be separated from each other by agitating the aggregate with water as will be described later. The difference between sand and clay depends chiefly in size and shape of their particles. Particles of sand are more or less of equal dimensions and are generally bigger than one-five-hundredth part of an inch, whereas clay owes its peculiar properties to what are mineralogically known as "clay minerals" with a grain size of less than one-twelfth thousand and five-hundredth part of an inch. Another difference between sand and clay lies in the percentage of silica they contain, sand is very rich in silica. Percentage of silica content, of course, varies for different sands. Clay has a complex mineral composition which is very difficult to investigate due to the very small size of

its particles as stated before. By X-Ray research on clay some clay minerals have been found out. These are hydrous aluminium silicate, sometimes with iron or magnesium replacing part of aluminium and with a small amount of alkalis. They occur in flat flake-shaped crystals which have a layer-lattice structure. Water is an important constituent and the plasticity of clay depends on it. The water forms thin films around the very small mineral particles of clay and fills the minute pore spaces. These films made of water which separate the mineral flakes, act as a lubricant between them and give plastic property to the clay. The water absorption capacity of the clay in turn depends on the flaky nature of clay minerals.

There are three separate groups of clay minerals viz. (1) Kaolinite, (2) Illite and (3) Montmorillonite.* Most of the clay constituents have the appearance of minute mica-flakes, but their physical properties are widely different. Two sand particles of equal grain size are very similar to each other, whereas, two clay fractions with equal grain size may have very little in common.

However, it is interesting to note that for the purpose of experiment two rammed earth walls were constructed near Denbury, Connecticut, U.S.A. in May 1944, for the purpose of making comparative test for hand and pneumatic ramming, as well as stabilized verneers. These walls were 1 ft. 6 ins. thick, 4 ft. 6 ins. long and 5 ft. 0 ins. high, one wall was of medium fair soil and the other one was given 5 per cent soil-cement verneer. The lower halves of both walls were rammed by hand, and the upper halves were rammed by a paving breaker run by compressed air. Both the walls stood the test of weathering effect of two years extremely well but the superiority of the pneumatic ramming became convincing. Samples of earth were taken from eight different places in the property to determine which was the best suited for ramming. These were over-dried, weighed out in quantities of pound each, and washed to remove all clay and silt very much

* (1) Kaolinite — $\text{Al}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_{10}(\text{OH})_2$ made up of alternate silicon and aluminium layers; each pair, $\text{Si}_2\text{O}_5(\text{OH})^2 + \text{Al}_2(\text{OH})_6$ with loss of water becomes $\text{Al}_2\text{Si}_2(\text{OH})_6$. It occurs in hexagonal flakes of minute size, and forms the greater part of kaoline (china clay) deposits.

(2) Illite : $\text{K}_x\text{Al}_4(\text{Si}_8-x\text{Al}_x)\text{O}_{20}(\text{OH})_4$, the value of x varying between 1.0 to 1.5, is built up of units comprising two silicon layers separated by an aluminium layer and forms into flaky crystal. Some of the silicon is replaced by aluminium and atoms of potassium are attached.

(3) Montmorillonite : $\text{Al}_4\text{Si}_2\text{O}_{20}(\text{OH})_4$. It has important base-exchange properties and is built up of three-layer units comprising two silicon layers separated by an aluminium layer. Some aluminium is usually replaced by magnesium or iron and small amounts of sodium or calcium are then attached. The alkali atoms (ions) when present, i.e., on the flat surface or around the edges of the flake are exchangeable, giving rise to high base-exchange capacity.

like panning for gold done by the local inhabitants residing by the bank of the Subarnarekha. The remaining sand was again dried and re-weighed to ascertain the sand-content percentage, which is one index of quality. Testing for colloidal content by the Hydrometer method as is done by the South Dakota State College Experiment Station, is more reliable. The best specimen contained 61 per cent sand. Compared with the experiment station's soil-chart, which showed earth with 75 per cent sand-content to be most satisfactory, it was concluded that the former was only medium fair for tamping, and because of its high compressibility stabilization would produce best results. This is done by pneumatic ramming.

Plastering and painting on rammed-earth walls are conveniently possible, but can be done without them when cost, as at the present circumstances, is of a primary consideration. Its maintenance cost is almost nil and needs no special or specialized attention after its construction is over. For this reason, this type of construction is termed in America as "once-over, all-over."

Outstanding examples of modern homes made of rammed-earth are to be found on two U.S. Government projects that were built within last 15 years by the architect Thomas Hibben. In 1936, he designed seven rammed-earth houses for the Farm Security Administration. These were built at Gardendale. In 1942, he completed several multiple dwellings near Alexandria, Va. (Federal Works Agency) by the use of pneumatic rammers. This was the first attempt towards the mass production of rammed-earth buildings, and was the outcome of progressive experimentation.

Buildings made of walls of well-mixed and puddled clay are a common thing in Bengal, not only in villages but also in small sub-divisional towns. Such buildings are found to remain quite habitable for over seventy-five years. Houses of this type are quite comfortable to live in and are not unhygienic. These buildings take over two and a half months to be completed for habitation. Buildings of rammed-earth wall rammed by manual labour, have been found to remain habitable for about one hundred years, but it takes over one month in this country and about 15 days in America to be completed. This time of two months and a half and one month respectively in case of puddled clay wall and hand-rammed earth wall can be reduced to only two days if loose earth is put into wall forms and pneumatically rammed into walls. Such walls are very much superior in quality and durability, cheaper in construction cost, in addition to time saved. When situation is such as it brooks no delay, pneumatically rammed-earth building is the only immediate solution for providing shelters for ten millions of refugees from East Bengal.

Pneumatically rammed-earth walls for a complete house, say, with two main rooms of 16 ft. 0 in. by 14 ft. 0 in. and 16 ft. 0 in. by 12 ft. 0 in. and two small rooms of 8 ft. 0 in. by 6 ft. 6 ins. each (can be used as kitchen or store or bath), a front verandah 27 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 0 in. and a back verandah 8 ft. 0 in. by 6 ft. 6 ins. can be completed only in two days. If ready-made doors,

door frames, windows, window frames, lintels, roof trusses and roofing materials are available at site, such a house can be made habitable within seven days from the date of start of construction.

Another special advantage for the construction of a house of this type is this that it does not demand any technician, artisan or specialized labour other than a few carpenters and compressor drivers, which can easily be had from amongst the refugees themselves, who can build their respective houses on co-operative basis without any labour cost.

This noble example of Shri S. K. Dey, an American-trained engineer and honorary Technical Adviser to the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry, Government of India, is before us. It is his experience, initiative, broad outlook and spirit of service which are responsible for the conversion of 1,200 acres of marshy jungle area of Nilokheri, between the Grand Trunk Road and a Railway line, 11 miles from Karnal towards Ambala, and 85 miles from Delhi, now transformed into an industrial co-operative township pulsating with new life and not only giving accommodation but hope for the future to 10,000 refugees from West Pakistan. Faridabad township built by the refugees from the North-Western Frontier Province themselves on co-operative basis is another example of such rehabilitation. The refugees from the Eastern Bengal, with their past brilliant records of organisation, ability and initiative are not lagging very much behind. The Monsoon Colony in the Dum Dum area is an example of their co-operative and constructive efforts. Under the able guidance and organisation of Shri J. K. Goswami, who is a refugee himself from Dacca, and with the aid of the Bahiraghata Hindu Kalyan Samity, this small co-operative colony has been built up to accommodate one thousand families.

Under the supervision of an Engineer of Shri Dey's calibre it is quite feasible to build up a township to accommodate 10,000 refugees in course of six to ten months and by the refugees themselves. The special advantage of this scheme is this that the refugees will not have to wait six to ten months to get in, but can start doing so by a batch of ten families per day after the seventh day from the date of starting the construction.

For a colony of 10,000 refugees five Ingersoll-Rand Portable Air Compressors — either 315 or 500 cfm. capacity, a few rubber hose pipes with couplings, a few Ingersoll-Rand 15 size or 24 size Floor Rammers or 34 size Backfill Tampers are the only special machineries and implements necessary for the purpose. Each rammer or tamper will require one length of rubber hose pipe, four to five such rammers or tampers can be worked from one 315 cfm. air-compressor. A 500 cfm. air-compressor will run seven to eight. Two to three rammers or tampers will complete the walls of a house in two days. One 315 cfm. compressor will supply air for two houses and one 500 cfm. compressor will do the same for three houses simultaneously.

In addition to these machineries and equipments a few pieces of steel sheets fabricated into wall forms, a few fish plates, bolts and nuts to tie the wall forms in position will be necessary. Other materials required are a few bamboos and coir strings for scaffolding phowrahs, baskets, carpenter's tools, plumb bobs, mason square, spirit level, metallic tape and the like. The entire materials, tools, etc., will be salvaged after two days and will be utilized for the next buildings.

In addition to doors, windows, roofing materials, 20 to 25 gallons of high speed diesel oil, $\frac{3}{4}$ gallons of mobil oil, $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon of petrol, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cotton waste will be consumed per compressor per shift of eight hours. These include the lubricant required for pneumatic rammers. Waste oil and cotton waste required thin oil coating to be applied inside the wall forms, can be had from the crank cases of the compressors when mobil oil will be changed after every one hundred working hours. Used cotton waste is quite good for this purpose.

There is no doubt about the availability of air compressors or rubber hose pipes either from Messrs. Ingersoll-Rand, Bombay or Calcutta or from the Disposal. If Floor Rammers or Backfill Tampers may not be easily available and immediately, Ingersoll-Rand 730 or 750 core breakers, size 58, 73, 75, 158, 173, 273 or 275 diggers, size 200, 300 or 400 Flapper-valve chipping hammers, or size L-54, R-63, CC-68 or CC-80 paving breakers and steel with backfill tamping pad can be used as workable substitutes. Floor rammers and backfill tampers are real implements for the job. The substitutes will be good and workable but will not be equal to the backfill tampers in efficiency. In the absence of any of the above—any light type Jack hammer can very easily be converted into a pneumatic rammer by taking out its rotation parts, such as rotation Pawls, Rotation pawl springs and Rotation pawl plungers.

Reinforced concrete lintels can be substituted by good hard-wood planks with a coating of coal tar on the covered area with considerable reduction of cost.

If there be scarcity of roofing materials, such as, C.G.I. sheets, asbestos sheets and timber trusses or their cost stand in the way, bamboos, grass and "gol" leaf from the Sundarbans or even palm leaf, if available at site, can be used as good and workable substitutes. These roofs can be converted into sheet roofs in a subsequent date when conveniently possible.

The monsoon months of Bengal are not suitable time for this type of construction. High and dry ground where there is no possibility of accumulation of rain water for an unusually long period of time or where there is no possibility of flood water coming in and where good sandy earth free from organic materials, is available in plenty, is an ideal site for this type of construction.*

* I thankfully acknowledge the valuable help I received from Messrs. Ingersoll-Rand Inc, Bombay Branch, and their excellent monthly journal *Compressed Air Magazine* in writing this article.

TRUTH ABOUT POPULATION

By M. K. SHETE,
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THE modern world is a very unfortunate world. It is threatened with so many economic problems which were not even heard of in its previous history. It seems that the advance of civilization creates more problems than it solves. The exchange-restrictions, quota-systems, trade-barriers, world-wide devastation of areas, shipping and transport, due to war, are some of the serious economic ills which the present world is suffering from. But the toughest of these is the problem of population.

Efforts to unriddle this question have been carried on in last few centuries. But this problem, more than any other problems, has defied almost all attempts at its analysis and revelation. The present modest article tries in its small measure, to face the question squarely. It is merely an humble attempt, on a small scale, to gather truth and no startling discovery is intended here.

This problem has a peculiarity of its own. Some nations face this problem, since they are over-populated. India, China and Japan are such countries whose teeming millions crave for more and still more food. To the other extreme are the countries like Australia, France and Canada, which are comparatively more fortunate but still suffer from shortage of population. It is thus clear that the problem is beset with striking paradoxes, which make it still more complex. The regional problems of population are so varied and heterogeneous that their aggregate cannot be called the entire world-problem. So, an independent, impassionate, global outlook is needed in the study of this question.

The problem of population is more or less a recent problem. Until the middle ages it was not even heard of. The world was awakened from its age-old slumber by Malthus. He was probably the first to state that the population has the tendency to outgrow the supply of foodstuffs. His theory is now regarded as, more or less, old-fashioned. But the element of truth contained in it has stood the test of time. The world has progressed much since his times; and we look at the problem not merely as a curse of nature but also as the result of man's relentless multiplication. We are no more as unnerved as Malthus. While the gravity of the situation is fully realised, we do not think ourselves as helpless in face of natural forces as Malthus did.

It is gratifying to note that more and more people are coming forward to express their views on so important a subject. The Presidential Address by Sir John Russell to the British Association for the Advancement of Science has very recently caught public imagination. Moreover, even in the *Reader's Digest*, a book, *Road to Survival*, was summarized. Both the book and the address deserve

the rousing enthusiasm with which they were received by the public. But both of them have grievously missed one very important point. None of them has expressed that redistribution of world-population is necessary. Mr. William Vogt, the author of the book, even thinks that the Asiatic population should not be allowed to migrate to countries in the West.

When the white man thinks of world-population, one thing is decidedly sure. He admits that some countries of the world are over-populated. But he tactfully avoids to prescribe the specific remedy for the redistribution of world-population. He will say thousands of other things but not the most obvious truth. When we think of redistributing people equally in all the countries, we presuppose migration of people from over-populated to under-populated areas, throughout the world. This the white man prefers to ignore. Since in spite of all hue and cry raised by the Western countries, the most thinly-peopled countries in the world are those of white men.

The reasons, for such attitude, are clear. The white labour, with all its fancy ideas of labour solidarity and other tall talk, has no soft corner for coloured labour. Free migration of black, brown and yellow labour in their countries would, they think, lower their rates and standard of living. This fear is again exploited by the politicians and industrialists, to justify the high tariffs to scare away the imported goods of such "sweated" labour.

Is there ample space in white man's countries? Yes; there is. Think of Australia. It is twice as large as India and Pakistan combined; but its entire inhabitants are only 75 lakhs. Combine war-inflated populations of Bombay and Calcutta and you get the entire people who occupy this continent. It is no wonder that the Australians find it difficult to cultivate all the land they have got. So, they have to use mechanised tractors, shovels, etc., not as addition to but as substitute of human labour. Many lands cannot be profitably cultivated which otherwise would have enriched world's food supplies. This is simply due to lack of adequate man-power. Think of Canada. We admit that its most northern part is almost unfit for living. Still, it is but common sense to know that the land can support more than the present 1½ crores. The vast area, stretching to the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans should come forward to admit more of the less fortunate people. Let the Canadian Steppes, the lands of wheat and corn, support more people on their soils.

And British South Africa? In British South Africa, another White Man's burden, in 150,333 square miles, live only 14½ lakh people. Should such large areas support so few persons, when other countries are crammed to

death by people? These days, many development schemes are well in progress in this and other British regions in Africa. It is said that Unilever (a British Commercial concern), with the assistance of the British Government, is growing groundnuts in this vast area. But, unfortunately, the fats provided by this colossal scheme will mostly go to the British people and factories. It is doubtful if the project will help much in relieving world's fat-shortage. Here, again, we get an instance of a vast regional scheme whose benefit will solely be derived by comparatively few people.

In spite of the shortage of man-power, the doors of Australia are permanently shut to the coloured people. "White Australia" policy now governs Australian immigration. Very recently Australia has slightly slackened her immigration rules; but only for the favoured white. We have heard of 27,000 British families going to Australia. Again, Australia has very generously consented to rehabilitate some European refugee children. But for the rest of the world, alas, Australia's frontiers are closed for ever. Australia has a peculiar immigration policy. The Australian nominates and undertakes the care of the migrant. The nominator is also expected to give accommodation and other assistance until the migrant gets hold of proper occupation. With such miserly policy even the white people cannot hope to settle in large numbers in Australia. What then of much detested coloured people?

In spite of the present closed-door policy of white nations, the coloured people have migrated to all possible areas. China, the land of perpetual wars and starvation, fitfully leads Asia in emigration. Up to recent times, nearly 42 million Chinese have migrated to Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Ceylon, Burma, East-Indies, and whenever possible to Manchuria. The Chinese is an industrious and clever race and they have made themselves prominent as traders, workers and artisans in most of the countries in South East Asia. The Chinese Government also never objected to it. It was, first of all, a step in the right direction; it relieved the pressure of population on the soil. Secondly, the remittances of the emigrants to their relatives earned for the government the valuable foreign exchange. Many Chinese have also settled in the American countries, until the tight immigration policy was enforced in them. Many Japanese, another industrious race, both with political as well as economic motives, migrated to many South American countries, especially Brazil. Many of them have, curiously enough, settled even in U.S.A. Now U.S.A. has adopted a quota system which is selective as well as discriminatory.

Even to the tiny nation of Palestine, between 1920-40 nearly 376 thousand people have migrated. The last war-time migration of thousands of people from Italy and Central European countries is causing concern to most of the European Governments. Thousands of displaced persons, especially the Poles, Czechs and the Jews have tried to take shelter in other European countries. There is no doubt that, the last war, more than any other war, has accentuated the already grave problem of world population. Vast fertile lands have become practically

barren through lack of care; millions of cattle have been killed to feed the armies; big factories, the sources of agricultural implements, have been razed to the ground. The farmers themselves suffer from lack of food, clothing, housing and fuel. Add to these, the break-down of transport system and you get a complete picture of helpless, present-day farmer. No wonder that the cultivators, in especially war-affected areas, are unable to produce food-stuffs at the pre-war rate.

The last war has converted some of the food-exporting countries into food-importing ones. This is true of Central Europe, India, and the Far East. Mr. W. H. Cummings, Regional Representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization recently declared:

"The Far East was now a net importer of agricultural produce instead of the net exporter that it was in pre-war times; and every indication was that this would continue to be the case."

This clearly shows that the battle for food-production will have to be fought for a very long time.

When we say the world is over-populated, it means that it has already passed a limit of human expansion. What is the "optimum" population for the world? An optimum world-population is a population which the world, as a single unit, can support without lowering the standard of living of people in general. There is no doubt that the optimum limit of the world-population has been already crossed. The statistics about total population of the world is not easily obtainable. Still, it is estimated that total of inhabitants in the world is 2,225 millions. According to Sir John Boyd Orr, the agricultural expert, we have only 3000 million acres of land under cultivation. These 3000 millions have to clothe and feed us. It means that per person we have hardly more than an acre to get our food and clothing from. It is a conservative estimate that by the end of this century, the land will have to feed and clothe 3000 millions of people. It means that there will be just an acre of productive soil per person. This prospect is certainly gloomy. For it is estimated that 2.5 acres per person are needed to keep a reasonably high standard of living.

What then is the remedy? First of all, let people migrate from thickly-peopled areas to thinly-peopled areas. This is rather a bold step; but it is inevitable. It is not impossible. During 1846-1937 nearly 55 millions have left their homes in Europe and have settled in American countries. They had to clear thick forests and fight Red Indians. The present world is a safer world to migrate. If hunger is satisfied the difficulties of language, culture, religion, customs will just vanish into thin air. This, of course, is possible provided that "big nations do not show small notions."

Barring few fortunate countries, the food crisis has enveloped the whole world. So the entire world should come forward to counteract it. World-co-operation is necessary here. Sir John Boyd Orr has already said:

"If the nations can be got to co-operate on a world food plan in which modern science can be applied to the development of agriculture and industry

with the same intensity which was applied to production of weapons of destruction during the war, within a few years, a world of hunger could be changed into a world of plenty. Increased food production to meet human needs would make a great contribution to agricultural and industrial prosperity and economic stability."

The modern science should be summoned to play an active role in our efforts for food. It is reported that the Russian scientists have been able to produce varieties of wheat from grass. It was also reported that hybrid corn which was sent by the F.A.O. to central Europe for seeds is capable of much more yield than average corn. Recently, production of fats from coal is said to have been accomplished by certain European scientists. Artificial milk from soyabean, and meat from some natural products have also been produced. Many of the above catables are still in the experimental stage. But, their mass-production can be undertaken. If the once elusive phenomenon like atomic explosion has proved a reality, why should not we expect chemically produced food-stuffs? If war can summon the untiring work of the best brains in the world for destructive inventions, certainly peace, threatened with total extinction of humanity, can claim a prior right on inventive abilities. To achieve this scientific knowledge of the world should be pooled together. Research in respect of hybrid corns, artificial manures; breeding and crossbreeding of cattle to yield both milk as well as meat, should be conducted under one Central Organization. Regional schemes in different countries should be co-ordinated to avoid duplication and wastage of time and efforts. White, black, brown and yellow scientists should work together to investigate newer and better resources of food. This seems difficult now, as the world at present is torn into uncompromising blocs. Racial discrimination dominates economic considerations. This has to give place to healthy and active co-operation among all nations.

Moreover, international scheme to arrest erosion of the soil; to reclaim deserts; to manufacture cheaper artificial fertilizers; to build effective systems of drainage, and irrigation should be worked out. To the present day, man has thought only to extract from nature. He did not care so much to restore to the soil the things that he had taken up from it. He busied himself only in cutting trees with indiscreet haste. He did not plant trees with as much zeal. By overcropping and overgrazing of the animals, man has robbed the soil of precious minerals which he has failed to return to it as manures. This remorseless attitude of man is now being amply repaid by nature in the form of dry belts of lands, and low fertility of the soil. An elaborate scheme, on international scale, is needed to reclaim the present dry lands and to set people on the right path. International propaganda to check erosion of soil is also immensely needed.

Mere food and clothing are not the only needs of mankind. Housing also presents a difficult problem these days. China needs at least one crore houses. In Burma

nearly 230 thousand houses were destroyed in war, they have to be rebuilt. In Philippines also 270 thousand houses were destroyed in war. Europe needs 14 million houses, as minimum. Only world-wide programme of housing will satisfy this urgent need of present day.

The decline in the birth-rate in many Western countries has been viewed with alarm by some Westerners. Late Theodore Roosevelt called it 'race-suicide.' He and his followers disfavoured the increasing use of birth control measures in Western countries. Their application would ultimately root out mankind, they thought. It is true that in Western countries, the rate of increase in population is declining. In some countries, like France and Austria, in recent years, the population is decreasing at the rate of 9.7 and 7.7 per thousand annually. But these are exceptions. We are not concerned with the white race only. Considering the world as a whole, the population is definitely increasing in an alarming scale. Every day roughly 55,000 babies are brought into this world. Nearly one-fourth of them die before they are one year old, for want of proper care and feeding. What a waste of life! Time has now come to shake away old ideals. Family planning and not indiscreet multiplication is the need of the hour. Limitation of the families should be encouraged now by the governments. Well-fed, well-housed and well-clad small populations should be preferred to ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad, untidy millions.

But best of all, man should live a simpler life. At present, a high standard of living invariably involves destruction of natural resources. Variety of fashionable cars, clothes, newspapers makes irreparable inroads into nature's resources. More and more mines are worked to exhaustion; more and more forests vanish to give you a variety of newspapers, books and rayon fibres. To satisfy the modern man's craving for clothing, cotton crops are squeezed out of weary acres of land. Why not lead a simpler life? Why have dozens of shirts when a pair will do? Why exhaust our iron resources to produce newer models of cars when an old Ford will do? Man's lust for fashion proves a curse to nature. This prodigal economy of high standard of living will soon exhaust natural resources. After all, gifts of nature are not indestructible. Why then invite catastrophe by a wasteful standard of living? Should not we lead a simpler life and use economically natural resources? Again, the standard of living is an elusive term. Today's high standard of life will be belittled as barbarians' mode of living, after two centuries. So a simpler living is definitely a choice. Let us also think of future generations. Let them not inherit a barren, exhausted world from us. We should, therefore, be more broad-minded and conserve natural resources for our future generations.

In short, impartial redistribution of world-population, international co-operation in enlarging world's food supply and checking wasteful ways of cultivation, and simpler standard of living are the chief weapons to counteract the looming danger of over-population.

THE FERTILIZER INDUSTRY AND FOOD PRODUCTION

By J. V. RAMANA, B.A., B.SC.

WITH the inauguration of our new Constitution, on the 26th of January, India has emerged as a Sovereign Democratic Republic. But what we have achieved is only political democracy, and economic democracy is yet to be achieved. As has been repeatedly pointed out and emphasised by our leaders, the standard of living of the common man should be improved before freedom can have any significance to him.

The most pressing problem today in India as well as in most other countries is the production of food. India being predominantly an agricultural country, the industrially advanced countries ought to be expected to buy their essential food requirements from us, but unfortunately, it is a sad irony of fate that India herself is actually importing her food requirements at present from abroad. Most of our dollar resources and foreign currency as a result of this is spent on importing food-stuffs from abroad instead of getting the essential goods and machinery necessary for the country's industrial advancement.

It is only of late that the Government of India have realised the urgency and the importance of the problem of food production and have evolved measures for tackling it on a 'War Basis.' The seriousness of the problem is aggravated by the phenomenal increase in population.

These problems can be best tackled by the application of the scientific methods of production in the field of agriculture, thereby increasing the yield per acre. The food grown in our country falls far short of our actual requirements and so if we are to make ourselves self-sufficient in our requirements of food the only course open is to lay greater emphasis on more intensive cultivation. The Government's 'Grow More Food' drive can be best followed by adopting this policy of intensive cultivation.

As has been pointed out, the crop yield per acre in our country is deplorably low and this can only be increased by the application of scientific methods of production, i.e., by making use of artificial fertilizers and manures. But unfortunately, the Indian cultivator being illiterate every possible effort should be made to educate him in the right direction so that he can learn and apply in turn these scientific methods of production to agriculture so as to produce a better yield per acre of the food crops. If our cultivators are not using the chemical fertilizers and manures in sufficiently large quantities it is mostly because of lack of money and also due to their rather imperfect knowledge about them.

Our Indian soils are deficient in nitrogeous and phosphorous compounds, the two principal substances necessary for enriching the soil in order to increase productivity. Owing to continuously long cultivation the fertility of the soil gets completely exhausted within a short time and unless the soil is enriched by supplying the necessary easily assimilable salts the land would become completely barren and useless in course of time. The quantity of fertilizers used in India is negligible with

the result that the yield per acre is very little when compared with other countries. By the application of scientific methods of production and with better manuring, undoubtedly our country can easily hope to reach the maximum levels in the yield of food grains and make herself self-sufficient in her requirements of food. By proper manuring, the yield per acre can easily be doubled.

The two important chemical fertilizers that are in great demand are the superphosphates and ammonium sulphate. The manufacture of superphosphates in our country is very limited at present as it is strictly dependent upon the availability of sulphuric acid. As we are in very short supply of our requirements of sulphur and as we do not have any deposits of sulphur in our country, it is not quite economical to make use of sulphuric acid manufactured from imported sulphur in the development of either superphosphate or ammonium sulphate industries. At present, bone superphosphate is being produced in our country only by two manufacturing concerns, Messrs. Parry and Company Limited, and the D.C.M. Chemical Works, Delhi.

The Technical Mission from the United Kingdom which visited India in 1944 investigated the possibilities for the production of fertilizers and made certain recommendations. The problem of fertilizer production in our country was mainly studied on the basis of the availability of the necessary raw materials. The other considerations, such as, the economic factors were also given due importance. Their main recommendation was that a single plant with an annual production of 350,000 tons of ammonium sulphate would be the most economical one. The process to be employed for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate was also recommended by the Technical Mission. For the conversion of ammonia into ammonium sulphate the use of gypsum has been recommended thereby dispensing with the use of the more costly sulphuric acid. Fortunately in our country gypsum is available in sufficiently large quantities and though the available gypsum is found to contain several impurities like silica and alumina, it is found to be quite suitable in the manufacture of ammonium sulphate.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Technical mission the Government decided to establish a fertilizer factory at Sindri in Bihar, Sindri being chosen for the location of the factory mainly because of its proximity to the coal deposits. The factory will be state-owned and will be directly under state control. The scheme is certainly quite an ambitious one and because of the various advantages the proposed factory will command the success of the scheme can easily be taken for granted. The factory is expected to start production some time in the near future.

In the South the Travancore State has gone ahead in the production of fertilizers by making use of the producer gas. As there are no available coal supplies in Travancore as in Bihar, the necessary producer gas is obtained from wood. Fortunately the State has exten-

sive forests and large quantities of wood required for the production of producer gas are easily obtainable. A large factory was established at Alwaye by the Fertilizers and Chemicals Travancore, Limited, in the year 1947. The output of the factory is about 50,000 tons. The other factory engaged in the production of ammonium sulphate in the South is at Belagula in the Mysore State. The combined total output of ammonium sulphate from the Travancore fertilizers, the Belagula Synthetic Ammonium Sulphate factory and the proposed factory at Sindri will easily meet our present demands though this may be still inadequate to meet our entire requirements. Hence arises the urgency of establishing some more factories for the production of chemical fertilizers.

If we are to develop our agricultural potentialities to the maximum extent so as to maintain our growing population, the problem certainly deserves the greatest consideration at the hands of the State Government. The food problem has always been the greatest problem

threatening us and for tackling this successfully there should be a drive for more intensive cultivation so as to get the maximum yield per acre. And this is possible only by resorting to scientific methods in agriculture. For an agricultural country like ours the manufacture of fertilizers on a large scale is of the utmost importance and this has been delayed by the absence of heavy chemical industries in our country for quite a long time. We are also deficient in the two basic raw materials, *viz.*, sulphur and rock phosphate which are absolutely necessary for the development of an indigenous fertilizer industry. And the raw materials that are available are not of the requisite standard so as to permit an economic working.

By proper utilisation of the results of scientific research and the methods of production, we can hope with confidence to surmount the difficulties which seem to threaten so much today, and make our country self-sufficient in her requirements of food before the end of 1951.

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HEALTH AND FOOD PRODUCTION

By DR. R. L. TULL, M.B.B.S., D.P.H., D.T.M., L.M.,
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Most people now realize that those who do not have enough of the right kinds of food to eat cannot be healthy. It is important to realize also that people in bad health cannot work as well as those in good health, and especially that agricultural workers, when they are constantly ravaged by disease, produce much less food. In many agricultural areas there is thus a vicious circle of poor health leading to low food production and a low economic level which in turn leads to still worse health.

In the past and in many Asian countries malaria has been the principal factor responsible for the poor health of a vast number of agricultural communities. It has frequently been the starting point of the vicious circle described above. In India alone it kills more than a million people in an average year and nearly two million people in a bad year. When it does not kill it saps the energy of the rural population, and renders millions incapable of work often at critical periods when food crops must be planted, tended or harvested.

In other cases, potentially rich agricultural areas are so malarious that nobody dares live or work on them. Millions of acres of fertile land are jealously guarded by King Malaria and his mosquito hordes, who keep a terrible punishment in store for defenceless and foolhardy trespassers.

In 1939 it was calculated that losses caused by malaria in India to individuals and families alone amounted to over 120 crores of rupees or 250 million dollars. And this is not all. It is estimated that the whole foreign trade of malarious countries is adversely affected, and that every product imported into any country from a malarious country carries a "hidden malaria tax" which may amount to as much as 5 per cent of the value of the goods. This

means that when the people of a country are freed from malaria, they can produce more goods and sell them abroad more cheaply. The result is a rise in economic well-being and a higher standard of life.

Only ten years ago the control of malaria by destroying mosquitoes in their resting and breeding places was so expensive that it was economically feasible only in certain larger towns. By these methods the cost per head of control measures in country districts with scattered populations was so high that it was out of the question.

To-day the situation is radically changed by the use of the so-called "residual" insecticides such as the well-known DDT. When malaria is the main cause of ill-health in an agricultural community, the vicious circle "poor health—low food production" can now be broken.

The insecticides are called "residual" because for a period of weeks and even months they remain deadly to an insect resting on a surface where they have been sprayed. Even one application of a "residual" insecticide on the interior walls of all houses both in towns and villages of a given area, before the malaria season begins, may be sufficient to control the transmission of malaria. The cost of this type of control operation would therefore be proportional to the wall-area sprayed. Unlike older methods, the cost per head of population would not vary greatly between town and village.

A malaria control technique based upon the use of residual insecticides is at present being demonstrated by five World Health Organisation (WHO) malaria teams operating in South-East Asia with the co-operation and support of UNICEF and national Health Services. These teams are using supplies and equipment provided for the most part by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). They are all placed in

highly malarious areas which could not have been tackled by costlier malaria-control methods.

Four of the areas are in India. They are situated in Terai (U.P.), Jeypore Hill Tracts (Orissa), Malnad (Mysore) and Ernad (Madras). The fifth is in Chiengmai (Thailand). In each area the WHO Team carries out detailed surveys both before and after spraying operations. The objective is to establish beyond cavil the effectiveness of the methods used, and to enable the teams to work out the most economical technique of malaria-control in rural districts in the countries of the Region. The teams began work during 1949, and are expected to continue through 1950 and possibly 1951.

Malaria, which is predominantly a rural disease, provides striking examples of the relationship between health and food production. But other diseases enter the picture also. They are, for instance, plague and cholera, venereal disease and yaws, relapsing fever and dysentery, all diseases which crippled agricultural populations, and all susceptible to the "eradication approach" by modern medical science.

To-day when many governments and international agencies are vitally concerned in planning the development of under-developed regions, the inter-dependence of health and economic prosperity is freely recognised.

The World Health Organisation has many schemes for fighting the most dangerous enemies of the health and well-being of the peoples of South-East Asia.

It has a venereal disease control team at present operating in the Himachal Pradesh State (India) where as much as 70 per cent of the adult population of certain mountain villages is infected with syphilis which thus seriously retards food production in that region. Further V.D. control teams are planned to begin operations in other countries of South-East Asia during 1950.

WHO is planning a plague-eradication project in Bombay Province in 1950, while cholera-control teams, it is hoped, will be able to begin work this year in the Cauvery Delta Region (Madras) and the Ganges Delta in East Pakistan. All these projects may be expected to have an effect on food production by raising the level of health of rural populations.

Together with the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), WHO is at present discussing plans for a joint campaign on a large scale. The principal objective will be "to increase food production in areas susceptible to agricultural development and in which ill-health, particularly severe endemic malaria, is the primary obstacle to such development."

Each project forming part of this campaign is conceived as extending over a period of five years, and as covering an area of at least 2 million and possibly 10 million acres of agricultural land inadequately worked by disease-ridden people. It is considered essential that the area chosen shall be sufficiently large for a significant increase in agricultural production to be obtained.

The site of the first of these vast combined disease-control and food-production projects will be decided upon only after a detailed survey during 1950 of a number of

possible areas. It may be that an area in South-East Asia will be selected. But even if the first of such projects is launched elsewhere, it will still be of service to other countries with similar health problems.

In the first place such a project will be a training ground where malariologists, public health workers and agriculturists from such countries may study the methods employed and observe the results achieved.

In the second place the success of the initial project, wherever it is situated, will convince governments of the soundness of investment in the health of their peoples, and of the solid economic benefits obtained from the control of malaria and other major diseases.

Concurrent with the principal operations aimed at the control of malaria or other major diseases in such areas will be the development of maternity and child health work, environmental sanitation and the health education of the public. This is the line with the overall objective of WHO — "The attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health."

It is important to note, that this joint FAO-WHO project is planned to form part of the United Nations Scheme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development, and its realization therefore depends upon funds being made available under that scheme.

To sum up then, the five WHO/UNICEF malaria control teams at present at work plan to establish what is the most effective and economical technique of malaria control in different rural areas in South-East Asia, and to give a practical demonstration of the results that can be achieved by using the most modern methods of destruction of the malaria-carrying mosquito. The areas selected for their control operations are of a magnitude of 100,000 to 150,000 acres.

Further practical field work is at present being carried out by WHO in venereal-disease control in the Himachal Pradesh (India) and is planned against plague and cholera in areas where these diseases are constantly present. All these projects are planned and executed in close co-operation with national health services.

The broad-scale FAO-WHO joint campaign to wipe out malaria or other major diseases, and increase food production over vast tracts of at least 2 million acres each is planned to begin next year, after detailed preliminary surveys of possible areas have been carried out. The first project of this campaign may or may not be in South-East Asia, but it will be followed with close attention by malariologists and agricultural economists of the whole region.

The final outcome of all these projects depends on national governments and on how much they will spend on the health of their peoples. The experts of WHO and FAO believe that the initial outlay needed to bring major disease risks under control, large though it may seem, would be amply repaid in our own life-times by the resulting improvement in food production and economic standards. And present investment in health will continue to pay dividends in greater happiness and well-being for our children and our children's children.

TAXILA—THE SEAT OF LEARNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

By MALATI SHRIKHANDE, M.A., B.T.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

THE most important feature of ancient Indian or Hindu civilization is that it has been moulded and shaped in the course of its history, more by religion than by any other influence. Religion, as the ancient Hindus understood it, practically dominated every sphere of their national or social life. Thus it is religion that gave its laws to the social life and regulated all of their activities. This distinctive tendency of Hindu thought manifests itself the most in the sphere of learning and education. Learning in India through the ages had been prized and pursued not for its own sake, but for the sake and as a part of religion. It was sought as a means of self-realization which was the highest means of life, i.e., *Mukti* or 'Emancipation.' The individual's supreme duty according to them is thus to achieve his expansion into the absolute, his self-fulfilment, for he is a spark of the Divine. Education therefore must help in this self-fulfilment and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge. Ancient Indian education therefore is more concerned with the subject than the object, the inner than the outer world. Pursuit of objective knowledge is thus not the chief concern of this education.

On the contrary, the mind is to be withdrawn from the world of matter, for when it does not indulge in individuation, naturally omniscience, the knowledge of the whole, comes to it. Its method is thus the method of *Yoga* which is defined as *Chitta-Vritti-Nirodha* or to stop the functioning of mind as the vehicle of objective knowledge. This method of *Yoga* is the most remarkable feature of the educational methods of ancient India. This can be achieved only by the reconstruction of self by discipline and meditation with the help of an efficient and capable teacher. It is therefore obvious that the ancient Hindu education being an individual concern was an intimate relationship between the teacher and the student. (The pupil must find a teacher and must live with him as his family member for a certain period of his life. As ancient India believed in its domestic system of education all education centres including universities, therefore, were based on this fundamental principle.)

TAXILA AS THE SEAT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Taxila was the most famous seat of learning in ancient India. It attracted scholars from different and distant parts of India. It was the seat of higher education of colleges or universities. The age-limit for admission of students was sixteen to eighteen, practically the same as prescribed by modern universities. The fame of Taxila as a seat of learning was of course due to that of its teachers. They were world-renowned being authorities and specialists in the subjects they professed. It is the presence of such scholars of acknowledged authority and widespread reputation that Taxila became the centre of Indian Education and Culture. There was a steady flow of qualified students of all classes and ranks

of society towards Taxila to complete their education which they had in the schools at their native places.

In ancient times, although travelling was not easy or quick, Indian parents were very particular in sending their sons to far and distant countries to complete their education in order to chasten their pride and conceit and to acquaint them with the ways of the world.

CLASSES OF STUDENTS AT TAXILA

From the pages of history it is learnt that four to five classes of students were receiving higher education at Taxila. When students used to come for admission at Taxila they were usually admitted to instruction by their teachers on payment in advance of their entire tuition fees. A fixed sum seemed to have been specified for the purpose of education at Taxila—amounting to 1000 pieces of money. Sons of rich classes of society and the princes of different States belonged to this class of students.

In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher. To this class apparently belonged the majority of the students who attended on their teacher by day and received instruction at night. We read of a school of 500 Brahmin pupils whose duties were, among others, to gather fire-wood from the forests for their masters. Sometimes, if a student who would prefer to devote his whole time to studies without sparing any time for such services or menial work and at the same time was too poor to pay his tuition fees in cash in advance, he was allowed to do so and was trusted to pay the fees after the completion of his education. We all have heard from our grandmother's bed-time stories, of a Brahmin boy student of Benares, who paid his tuition fees after completing his education by begging in distant countries beyond the Ganges. Under the Brahmanical system of education it was a practice for the Brahmacharin to pay his tuition fees to his teacher when he became a *snatak* and finished his education.

There was another class of students at Taxila whose tuition fees were paid from scholarships which they received from the State to which they belonged. Such students were generally the companions of the princes of their respective countries. We read of the sons of royal chaplains of the courts of Benares and Rajagriha accompanying their princes to Taxila for their education. However, there were many such students who were sent for higher education at Taxila on their own account at State expenses. Most of us have read the story of a Brahmin boy of Benares named Jotipala who was sent to Taxila by the king at his expense, for the purpose of specializing in the science of archery.

There were very poor students also whose parents were not able to pay their tuition fees. The charitable families used to provide for such students a free education. Such communities used to give day by day articles of food to the poor boys and had them taught free.

Although ancient education was based on the domestic system of education, residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship at Taxila. Day scholars and householders were also admitted to instruction. We read of Prince Junlia of Benares who attended his college at Taxila and was also running an independent house for himself. There are records of many day scholars and students who attended school at night classes.

LIFE AT COLLEGE

It is to be noted that fees of tuition here can hardly be considered as adequate expenses. Probably no part of the 1000 pieces he could claim as the wages of his own labour. The fees were necessary to cover the cost of the maintenance of the student who paid it in his free board, lodging and other expenses on account of the students who went into residence with their teachers under common roof.

The maximum number of pupils admitted with an individual teacher was generally 500. Sometimes the senior students worked as assistant masters in imparting instruction in the colleges. The students were a cosmopolitan group drawn from all ranks and classes of society, representing diverse social conditions. Youths from Brahmin and Kshatriya castes were of course large in numbers among them. There were many princes from distant kingdoms, nobles, merchants, poor students, tailors, fishermen. All these students lived together as fellow-disciples of a common school and teacher. Their divisions and distinctions merged in the democracy of learning. The poor students no doubt had to do daily a low kind of menial service for the school but the recognition of dignity of honest labour secured them a status of equality with their aristocratic fellow-brothers. The insistence upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life, levelled all kinds of distinction among them with the school, whether he was the son of a king or of an ordinary man. He did not possess any private money to spend as he liked, during his stay at school. Nor did the offences of the king's son escape their usual punishment. It shows that these ancient kings out of policy deliberately used to place their sons under such discipline and education for their best training in manners and morals and as a democratizing influence.

Plain living and high thinking was their motto. The food that was given to them was also very simple. Rice gruel was given at breakfast which was usually prepared by a maid of the teacher's house. At special occasions sugar-cane, molasses, curd and milk were given.

Life of the student was also very hard. His conduct was controlled by many strict rules. Obedience on the part of a student was considered as the primary and the most important virtue and was demanded under any circumstances.

THE COURSES OF STUDIES

Taxila was famous all over India for it provided facilities for higher education of all branches of education in arts as well as in Technical Education. The Vedas were of course to be learnt by heart. We had read of a teacher at Taxila from whom 500 students learnt Vedas by heart at a time. The study of the Atharva Veda was not included in the curricula for general education. Some of the colleges taught these subjects as : (1) Elephant lore; (2) Hunting; (3) Magic charms; (4) Archery; (5) The art of Prognostication; (6) Charm of commanding all things of sense; (7) Divining from the signs of body and (8) Medicine and many others.

The student was allowed to take one of these subjects for specialization. While students did not always confine themselves to their traditional subjects of studies, there was full freedom for the choice of studies.

Apart from these there were special colleges at Taxila of (1) Medicine, (2) Law and (3) Military Science. All these colleges were famous throughout India. They attracted students from all parts of the country. Among others the demand for training in the school of Archery was the greatest.

All these colleges seem to have had a number of sittings every day. Instruction was imparted at times convenient to the students. Night classes were also arranged for those students who could not pay their tuition fees in advance and had to perform menial duties at day-time. Students used to commence their studies very early in the morning with the crowing of the cock. It is remarkable that a cock was domesticated practically in every school to serve as a clock. The cock crowed betimes and roused them to studies.

The studies of these sciences and arts had theoretical and practical courses. Knowledge of the theoretical portion of a subject had to be followed by its practical application. In regard to some subjects like medicine the practical course had to be gone through under the direction of the teacher. The practical course in medicine at Taxila included a first-hand study of the plants to find out the medicinal ones. In other subjects the practical course was left to the students to complete when they left their college after finishing their instruction.

At last the finishing touch was given to the education of the students by advising them to travel in distant countries to enable them to qualify themselves for their life in the world. It was insisted upon to provide opportunity to the students to broaden the range of their experience and to deepen their insight into human affairs, to build up their physical constitution by inuring themselves to hardships of travelling and by standing all weathers and climates. Lastly, it was insisted upon to inspire the spirit of democracy and fraternity in the princes and nobles under strange conditions in foreign lands.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for May, 1950, p. 360; Notes, Ramana Maharishi, line 9 : Read "Tamil Nad" for "Andhra Desa."

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

By PROF. YUN YUAN YANG

WITH traditional friendship China and India are looking forward to the future for closer relations than in the past. For this the main languages of the two countries must be taken as the effective medium. It was through Sanskrit and Pali that the message of Buddha spread over ancient Asia. So it will be through the study of each other's national languages, both classical and modern, that the Chinese and the Indian people can be brought together in true understanding and appreciation of each other. We can not forget the historical examples set by the great pilgrims and sages of old. Among them there was Hsuan-Tsang of the Tang' dynasty of China in the seventh century A.D., who studied with great honour for sixteen years in India, and who after returning to China translated some seventy-five Buddhist manuscripts into Chinese, in addition to his famous original writing in Chinese on India: *The Record of the Western Kingdom*. With a good command of Sanskrit, he is said to have translated Tao Te-Ching (Lao Tze) into Sanskrit, though it is not extant anywhere. Then we may think of Kumarajiva, who was a great Indian Sramana and was received as a national master by the later T'sin in China in the early fifth century A.D. He revised and corrected much of the old Chinese Buddhist translations done before this period, and translated three hundred Chinese fascicles of works from Sanskrit or Pali into Chinese. Then, because of his familiarity with the Chinese language, he wrote directly in Chinese Buddhist Sastras and Chinese verses.

Now we are glad to learn that the Chinese language is being increasingly introduced into the curriculum of Indian Universities, and that departments of Chinese studies have already been initiated in some of the colleges in India. As a native Chinese, who has had the privilege of personal contacts with Indian students and teachers, I feel myself obliged to say something about the Chinese language, specially in terms of its usual misunderstanding.

IS CHINESE DIFFICULT ?

Along with Aryan, Semitic and other languages as one of the main language families in the world, the Chinese language without alphabet but distinct characters is unique and peculiar, and it is reported to be one of the most difficult languages to be learned. It is difficult, but really not so difficult as people usually imagine. Especially, the colloquial Chinese is even comparatively easy to pick up. One Chinese savant and linguist, Dr. Ku Hung-Ming, regarded it as the easiest language in the world except Malay. Some difficulty there is with the classical Chinese, which is generally so simplified and beautified through rhetoric that an extreme crispness and terseness of style has unavoidably developed. It is very terse, with contractions which often say more than what the words mean, and the model particles as well as other parts of speech used are far different from the modern language. This antiquated and contracted style can be attributed to the special feature of the Chinese

writing itself, to the inconvenience of writing and printing in old days, which had its effect on its construction, and to the necessity of repeating and reciting classics at that time.

Yet since the movement of Chinese literary revolution in 1917, advocated by Dr. Hu-Shih and Chen Tu-Hsiu, the literary language has coincided with the colloquial tongue. It has relieved much of the burden of the Chinese youth, saved their labour and energy in reading and writing; encouraged the advancement of mass education and even liberated more or less the fetters of thinking and learning. Since then, especially for the education of children and adults, both written and spoken language can be taken almost simultaneously.

Moreover, a series of the Chinese phonetic symbols for the national language was worked out and adopted by the Chinese educationists about thirty years back as a vehicle for promoting a unified and standardized pronunciation as well as for mass education. It has been found much helpful and useful both for the Chinese other than the Pekingnese and foreign people to learn the Mandarin. We learnt recently with great pleasure that some of our Indian friends studying in China through the new methods have learned to speak good Chinese within a short period.

One may think that Chinese with distinct characters must necessarily have an extensive vocabulary, and that the Chinese people must certainly have a marvellous memory. It is partly true that in *Shu Wen*, the earliest authoritative Chinese lexicon written by Hsu Shen of the later Han, there are over nine thousand characters, and the later complete Chinese dictionary, compiled during the reign of K'ang Hsi in the Ch'ing period in the year of 1716, contains forty-four thousand characters. Yet the characters of frequent occurrence in the present time are estimated at three to four thousands. And for the daily use of the common people even one thousand or so are sufficient, according to the recent survey of mass education in China. Such texts with one thousand basic characters have been published for the illiterate, although the problem of the frequency of characters is still to be investigated. Well then, why can't we recognize five characters daily and master these one thousand characters in about six months?

CHINESE WITH VITALITY AND PERSISTENCE

Then one may question the vitality and persistence of the language. The answer is that Chinese is an exclusive written language of the Chinese people as a great nation through centuries. Both the Mongols and the Manchus conquered and ruled over China for some time but could not help submitting to her culture and adopted her language. The evolution of Chinese writing can be traced back to the pre-historic period. That the Chinese written language has been developing successively for thousands of years signifies that it has stood the test of history. The characters and the style of writing are widely accepted and recognized all over the country,

though the spoken language has about half a dozen distinguished dialects. Since the literary revolution and the adoption of the Pekingese or Mandarin as Kuo Yu i. e. lingua franca, the national language has been spreading with great strides because of the development of communication and the advancement of mass education. Therefore, modern Chinese is not only uniformly written, but has become a common spoken language.

Chinese is often mistaken as merely a pictorial language as the Egyptian Hieroglyphs or the Assyrian Wedge-writing, primitive and backward. It was so at the very beginning of the script, vestiges of which can still be found in some of the modern characters. According to Chinese etymology, from the classical period there existed the theory of the origin of Chinese writing, known as six categories of characters, namely, indicative, pictographic, phonetic, suggestive, analogical and adoptive characters, into which the characters can be grouped with more or less distinctness. Here pictograph has only a small share, while nine-tenths of the whole vocabulary are built on the principle of phonetic combination.

Another thing which confronts the foreign students of Chinese language is the disturbing number of homonyms or words of the same sound. Really it is a monosyllable language, like Tibetan or Burmese, which has only four hundred separate sounds in Mandarin and about nine hundred in Cantonese. In comparison with some twelve hundred sounds in English, one should say, it is poor in pronunciation for the conveyance of speech. But it is rather a merit that the principal simplicity of spoken Chinese lies in the firmness of its phonetic elements. And foreign students most often ignore that with each character there are in Mandarin four tones, which actually multiply its sounds and reduce the homonyms. Besides, the coupling of words in pairs, or more complicated combinations, or double characters used together have become a historical tendency of the language and changed it almost from monosyllabic into bi-syllabic or multi-syllabic. And sometimes some characters used as suffix, and numerals with auxiliary words followed, have all been evolved to make up for the limited phonetic elements.

Furthermore, from the remotest age several different scripts have been evolved in historical sequence, and the present legible writing is derived from the script of the Han Dynasty in the beginning of the Christian era. Now we can read the Buddhist text in Sanskrit side by side with the Chinese versions, dating back from the later Han period. In addition to the wisdom and knowledge of those translators, we can witness the vitality of the Chinese. In this half century a tide of science and arts full of new words, conceptions and ideas was introduced into China from the West. The Chinese had no sooner entertained those fresh and new ideas and approaches than rendered them successfully into Chinese. New phraseology was properly realized in this old language and even new characters were constituted in accordance with its etymological principles. For instance, elements and words like hydrogen and radium as well as scientific measure units, never before known to the Chinese mind,

were wisely rendered by making new characters both with the original meaning and sound according to the phonetic principle of Chinese writing. So school children can recognize, memorize as well as understand the idea of them in no time.

CHINESE GRAMMAR, SIMPLE AND REASONABLE

The saying is correct that grammar is absent from Chinese, especially when we compare it with Sanskrit or other languages with an intricate grammatical system. In Chinese there are no declension for nouns, nor inflection of numbers, and verbs are not conjugated. Speaking roughly, a character or word may indifferently be used as a noun, a verb, an adjective or adverb without any change, while the syntax or the context is of primary importance. According to the Chinese point of view, it is quite unnecessary and unwise to make conjugation with the verb itself, since we can definitely express it by the use of adverbs to indicate the time and the manner of action. According to the Chinese, it is more ridiculous to say *La livre* is masculine and *La porte* feminine. Yet this is definitely not to say that Chinese is a language without grammar at all. Because it is totally different from the Aryan languages, its grammar is naturally a thing different in nature from them. Instead of the grammar in such a sense, there are Hsu tzu as empty words called in Chinese, or modal particles, which serve as auxiliary verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, articles, interjections and interrogatives. The interval between the grammar of classical Chinese and that of modern Chinese is apparent. The latter is the former reformed, made more clear, bright and lively, with more words in expressing one thing or an idea, and almost the same Hsu tzu as included in the daily spoken language, are used in the modern writing. A Sinologist like H. A. Giles, often interpreting Chinese in parables, advised his countrymen to learn Chinese in the way of Pidgin English, which means English corrupted and simplified, spoken by the Chinese coolie in Shanghai and Hongkong. Recently Bernard Shaw, in a contribution to the controversy about the most suitable language for international use, held that Pidgin English will become international because it gets rid of the incubus of merely useless grammar. There is, I think, much more than his humor in this argument.

Of course, in China there was no such scholar as Panini and no scholar ever produced any grammatical work until the later Ch'ing Dynasty, when a grammar of classical Chinese was written by Ma Chien-Chung, an old scholar versed in a knowledge of European languages. Dr. Hu Shih once related the reason why the grammar of Chinese language has not been early written and studied.

"In the first place", he said, "Chinese is so easy that people know no necessity of composing a grammar. The intelligent would understand it by a kind of insight or inspiration, while the stupid, who could make out the meaning through thousand times of reading, also never thought of any effective means in learning. Secondly, the opportunity of education in ancient China was limited to a small minority, hence they would not care for the inconvenience of the great mass of people and demanded nothing of a grammar.

Thirdly, the Chinese language, both spoken and written, has been isolated for centuries, when there was no opportunity of comparison with other highly developed languages in the world. The only great language which came in contact with it was Sanskrit, the grammar of which, however, appeared to be too complicated to draw a parallel. Other languages contacted were considered inferior to it and no comparative study could be made. Without comparison there never could be any sense of grammar with the Chinese."

It is admitted by scholars that the grammar of Western languages has thrown much light on Chinese, particularly classical Chinese, which generally seems so obscure. With a new approach, scholars are studying and commenting on the old classic, and much work is being done on textual criticism. For example, B. Karlgren of Sweden, an eminent Sinologist, has achieved much in this field in addition to his work on Chinese phonetics.

BHARATHI AND BENGAL

By V. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.

On September 11, nearly thirty years ago there passed away, in Madras, a poet, who was the symbol of awakened Tamilnad. He represented, as none before or after him did, the spirit of renaissance India in his life and poetry. The student of modern Indian history knows that the initial impetus for India's renaissance came from Bengal. To what extent and how was the militant bard of Tamilnad affected by the Bengali Risorgimento?

No two people can be so similar and yet so different as the Bengalis and the Tamils. History has been particularly kind to both these parts of the country in certain respects, but in some other respects, this very kindness of history has been an unmitigated curse. Tamilnad, isolated from the invaders of the north, had an unbroken tradition in literature, as old as five thousand years. But this complete isolation and freedom from the invader, had a cramping effect on Tamil literature, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, when the so-called Tamil poets produced nothing but word-jugglery of the most complicated sort. Tradition had nearly choked all freshness of thought, that was once the life and soul of Tamil literature, and every innovator was looked upon as a dangerous upstart to be persecuted.

The very reverse was the case in Bengal. By comparison with Tamil, Bengali language and literature are but things of yesterday. Bengal, which had been the refuge of Buddhism and had a fine national culture under the Palas and Senas, was nearly wiped off the cultural map of India after the Muslim conquest of Bengal. There was hardly any literature, and less of literary resurgence. But the fresh wind of foreign contact and the sunlight of foreign knowledge, that the English brought with them to Bengal, gave a new life to the withering plant of Bengali literature. Bengal saw such an outburst of literary activity in the 19th century, comparable with the Augustan age in Rome, the Risorgimento in Italy and the literary revival in Germany. There was no such cramping tradition to inhibit the free development of Bengal's master minds, and there was a veritable rich literary harvest, which was gathered by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Romesh Chandra Dutt, C. R. Das, Saikat Chandra Chatterjee and the greatest of all, Tagore.

Bharathi had a rich tradition in Tamil literature, nearly five thousand years old, a wealth of analogy and

technique, and a super-abundance of vocabulary, to draw from. But, on the other hand, he had to clear the cobwebs of some centuries of literary scholasticism, almost single-handed. A fiery soul himself that would have been an ornament to any company of martyrs, Bharathi found consolation and encouragement for his own new ventures, from the Bengali Risorgimento. He had himself personal contacts with some leaders of Bengal, and with one of them Sri Aurobindo, he lived in close friendship for a good part of his life. It is an interesting task to analyse, how far the cross currents of Bengali renaissance have enriched and been enriched by confluence with the stream of the new Tamil awakening.

During Bharathi's impressionable years, he came under the influence of the teachings of Vivekananda. It was Madras that discovered his genius and paved the way for his world renown. Himself learned in the ancient Sanskrit lore, and yet thoroughly modern-minded, Bharathi found a hero after his heart in the mystic-minded warrior that carried the message of India all over the world. Bharathi was a first-class matriculate of the Benares Hindu University, and was well acquainted with Hindi also and its literature and music.

The tradition of mysticism and mother worship (i.e., Kali worship) is nearly five thousand years old in Tamilnad, but it was the Bengal of Vivekananda, Bankim and Tagore that rediscovered its immense potentialities. The Mother, representing love and power in one (Shakti Mata) is one of the most profound conception of Hindu theology. That power can be useful, only when it is tempered with love, and love fruitful only when it is reinforced with power, is a refined ideal, which the West has always misunderstood. The Bhawani Cult in Maharashtra, the Kali worship of Bengal and Tamilnad, all owe their origin to this idea. In times of distress, India has always turned to the All-powerful Mother; and Bengal during her awakening turned to her for inspiration. There is the vengeful, furious Mother of Bankim who seeks to destroy the enemies of her children, the mellowed but yet loving-chiding Mother of Vivekananda and lastly the Mother of Tagore, the very picture of beauty and love. Bharathi was a child at once of age-long tradition, and frothing revolution, and the Shakti he worshipped in his poems is the finest blend of all the three, now destructively furious, now chiding with kind-

ness and then the very embodiment of love. Shakti was the breath of his nostrils, and the soul of his poetry, in all its varying moods and metres. When his poetry is translated by the right person into Bengali, Bengalis will find him so intensely their own in content and tone that they will regard him as a Bengali.

Bharathi came into contact with another great Bengali, Sri Aurobindo, and might have exercised a decisive influence on him. Aurobindo and Bharathi, both refugees in Pondicherry, fleeing from imperial wrath, used to talk for hours on end, about all things spiritual and material. Both were severely critical of Romesh Chandra Dutt's and Griffith's Ramayana, which they called lifeless. Both were worshippers of Krishna, and loved to study the *Gita* again and again. When, as time went on, Aurobindo slowly retired from worldly activities, Bharathi used to twit him with Tilak's satire on political workers in India that they started as revolutionaries, became Congressmen later, then turned into moderates, finally ending by doing flood-relief work for the Ramakrishna Mission. Bharathi used to point out to Aurobindo, how he was lapsing slowly from the very ideals of the *Gita*, which he had so intensely studied. Bharathi, however, did not live to see the development of Aurobindo into a world-famous expounder of the *Gita*.

Bharathi was a contemporary of Tagore, though he did not come into personal contact with him. Tagore whose genius flowered out fully at 40, lived long enough to reap a rich harvest in fame; but Bharathi, after a meteoric career, passed away at forty, leaving it to posterity to discover his greatness fully. He lived poetry so intensely in his life, that short in years, it is so full of human experience, that Bharathi combines at once the maturity of Tagore's poetry, with the fire and force that lit up Vivekananda's utterances. A piecemeal comparison of their poetry would be just invidious, but both are exemplars of how the same ideals drawn from the *Upanishads*, the *Gita*, and intense human experience, could exhibit such different beauties in construction and utterance, due to their different settings. Bharathi had read something of Tagore's poetry, and had even made a translation of a few of his short stories.

The inspiration for Bharathi came from his own soul, and was reinforced by the rich tradition of poetry in Tamilnad. But the Bengali renaissance certainly served as a tributary to the rich stream of his poetry and prose. In tone and content, their sentiments are steeped in the best that is to be found in the Bengali masters.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR, Vol. II: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. xvi+403. Price Rs. 5.

This is the second volume of collection of Gandhiji's writings on the subject indicated in the title of the book. The dates covered are from 1946 up to the end, i.e., January, 1948. The volume will prove one of the most indispensable books of reference. The reviewer however misses in it a number of very important reports published in the daily press between the years 1944 and 1946, when Gandhiji had not yet revived his *Harijan*. They would have formed a necessary and welcome addition to the present compilation.

FOR PACIFISTS: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. viii+106. Price Re. 1-4.

When the World Pacifist Meeting was held in Saniniketan and Wardha in 1949, the Navajivan Publishing House came out with this small selection of Gandhiji's writings which might prove useful during the deliberations of the delegates. The book was very much appreciated by delegates from overseas.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MONUMENTS OF THE UDAYAGIRI HILL: By D. R. Patil. Map, site-plan and fourteen illustrations. Archaeological Department, Gwalior, 1948. Pp. 62. Price Rs. 2.

The ancient caves of the Udayagiri Hill, situated within four miles of the world-famed Buddhist remains at Sanchi, have suffered comparative neglect at the hands of students of Indology. It is the author's aim, as he tells us in the course of this short but extremely useful monograph, to supply the long-felt need of a complete and up-to-date work on the subject. A perusal of this book shows that he has done his task with great success. After a short sketch of the topography and the ancient history of the site, along with those of the neighbouring town of Vidisa, the author gives us a descriptive list of twenty caves in the Hill. This is followed by an examination of the architectural features as well as sculptures of the caves in the course of which the author has been able to trace, with not a little degree of originality, the progressive development of artistic and iconographical forms. After this comes a description of the more important inscriptions, the text being given in the footnotes. The illustrations, however, are reproduced in a manner hardly worthy of a State archaeological department publication. A bibliography of books and

papers on Udayagiri antiquities would have been very welcome.

TIRUKKURAL (in Roman transliteration with English translation): By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. *The Adyar Library*. 1949. Pp. 271. Price Rs. 3.

Ever since it was made accessible in an English garb to non-Tamilian readers, the Tirukkural of the South Indian poet Tiruvalluvar has been recognised to be one of the world's classics. It consists of 133 short poems arranged under the three broad heads of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, the three-fold end of human life according to Hindu categories of thought. Professor Dikshitar, the author of the present version, has already given us an excellent translation of the difficult Tamil classic *Silappadikaram*. The present work will add to his reputation for capacity to render old Tamil texts into simple clear English. The book would have gained much in usefulness if it had been accompanied with an introduction and a bibliography at least of all printed editions and translations published so far.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB—1846-49: By Jagmohan Mahajan. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 6.

This book makes painful reading owing to the treachery of the functionaries who controlled the Sikh State after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In course of 40 years only (1839-49), the inheritance left by this great king was liquidated by the men who came into control. The only relieving feature in this picture of degradation was the loyalty and heroism of Sikh soldiers and their immediate superiors.

The author has brought together all the evidences of British designs on the integrity of the Sikh State; many of these were unknown and untapped. But known or unknown, the major responsibility for this crime and disaster must be laid at the door of the Sikh ruling class which lost all sense of respect for their State's interests, conspired with one another, against one another for individual gain, and betrayed their king and kingdom to the British.

The same rot had overtaken the Moghul Empire and the Marhatta confederacy. And the British were just human to pick up the "ripe pear" that had so many rival claimants for it. They need not have taken the trouble to rationalize their imperialism. That was due to a guilty conscience—another human handicap.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB.

A TREATISE OF LONG-TERM CREDIT: By Prof. P. N. Narasingha Rao, M.A. *The International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4*. Pages 269. Price Rs. 7-8.

As the name implies this is a special study of the subject by the author from different angles. The author personally investigated the long-term loans in different localities in South India and results of these investigations are contained in this book. The nature, uses, interest, sources and problems of the long-term loan have been very elaborately discussed by the author to arrive at the conclusions. According to the writer, while problems of short and medium term credit are being tackled by various institutions in the country, the problem of long-term credit is left to individuals to finance, entirely unregulated, except in cases when land-mortgage banks operate. This is an unsatisfactory

state of affairs from a national point of view, particularly unfortunate in an agricultural country like India, where the tillers of the soil are ever in debt. He is born in debt, he lives in debt and he dies in debt. The author discusses the working of Land Mortgage Banks, House-building Societies, Nations and Funds, Insurance Companies, Industrial Credit Corporations, the Government, private individuals who lend on long-term credit funds and comes to the conclusion that long-term credit possesses many distinct characteristics of very different short-term credit. He also opines that the interest earned by long-term loans has no relation whatsoever with the interest on short-term credit. He also discusses the securities against which long-term credit is granted, dealing at the same time with methods of repayment of such loans—advantageous or otherwise with both the parties of the transaction.

India with her vast agricultural population steeped in chronic indebtedness is specially interested in institutions catering long-term credit, say, for 25 to 50 years. But it is important in spite of the recommendations of the Agriculture and Banking and Labour Commission Reports, action taken by the Government is inadequate so far. With the attainment of freedom by the country much is expected to be done now. The author deserves congratulations for focussing public attention on the burning question of long-term credit and making suggestions.

AN OUTLINE OF BANKING SYSTEM IN INDIA: By Prof. M. V. Subba Rao, M.A., B.L. Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay 2. Pages 162. Price Rs. 6.

This is a book of thirteen chapters in which the author deals in different aspects of Indian Banking, Development of Banking in India, Rural Credit, Industrial Finance, Financing of Foreign Trade, Exchange Banks, Imperial Bank of India, Joint Stock Banks, Reserve Bank of India, Money, Bill and Capital Markets. Bank Failures and Banking Legislation are the subjects which the author discusses in the book. In the appendices (four in number), Recent Debt Legislation in Bombay, Relevant Sections of the Indian Companies Act, re: Banking Companies, Remittance Facilities offered by the Reserve Bank of India and Balance Sheet of a Commercial Bank are given.

This is a timely publication when the subject of banking is getting special attention from the administrations and educationists of India. Banking education is receiving special attention at the universities and also at the Indian Institute of Bankers. In the studies of credit it is natural that rural India will be given special importance and the author must be congratulated in devoting four chapters on the different aspects of this subject. Indigenous Money Lenders, Co-operative Societies, Land Mortgage Banks, Debt Conciliation and Redemption, Commercial Banks, Insurance Companies, Loan Offices, Nidhis, Chit-funds, the Government and Marketing Finance, all have been discussed to throw light on the subject. In the planned economy of the country rural uplift programme covers a wide field and rural finance as such has particular importance in our national life. The entire system requires to be reorganised with a view to raise the standard of life of the common man and woman of the country and this can not be done unless agriculture, industries and the entire economic structure of the society are given a new shape and life by the builders of New India. Finance and Banking will naturally play a great part in their nation-building activities.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PHYSICS OF MUSIC : By R. K. Viswanatha, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Physics, Annamalai University. Published by the Annamalai University, Madras. Price not mentioned.

There are many books on Acoustics with European Music at the background, but there are few or none with Indian music in background. Shri Viswanatha is a keen student of South Indian music in its scientific aspects. In introducing the book the Head of the Department of Physics, Annamalai University, writes: "The book is written in non-technical language so that it may be used by a lay man who is not well-versed in the technicalities of music nor in that of Physics."

The sixteen different chapters of the book are Vibration and Waves, Voice, Ear, Vina, Violin, Flute, Reed instruments, Mridanga, Bells, Melody, Harmony, Timba, Halls and Auditoriums, Gramophone Recording, Film Recording and Broadcasting.

A comparative study of the science and technique of melody, harmony and rhythm as used in both Indian, and here South Indian or Carnatic, and European music will help improvement of the Indian system particularly in comparison with the European innovations specially in Orchestral music. The makers of musical instruments will profit very much from the study of acoustics. A scientific examination of the various parts of a musical instrument, as the author asserts, will help the making of the more perfect instruments.

The book is expected to be used largely by the musicians and the students of acoustics as well.

WITH LOVE AND BRICKBATS : By G. A. St. George with drawings by Denley. Published by Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 5.

A few of the items of the satirical verses, some five dozens of which are collected in the book, are titled as: "Some of Our Caesars," "The Ladies of Karachi," "The Commucrats," and "A. B. C. of India." The verses are grouped under four sections, namely, (a) Deadlock Ditties, (b) He and She Shanties, (c) Cleriheiw Gallery and (d) Roving Rhymes.

Many of the verses of the book appeared in *The Times of India* and some in various other journals outside India.

The author, "by way of Foreword," writes:

"May you discover here and there
Among these verses
Some elements of merriment,
Some fragments which to some extent
Requite the five rupees you've spent."

To make humour subtle and polished, yet entertaining, is a great literary effort for which only a few are capable. And that through the medium of verse is a far greater effort. Mr. St. George excels anybody in this country and favourably compares himself with any top-ranking contemporary of abroad. He uses a variety of measures for the verses, so he is rarely monotonous. He is frank but his outspokenness being skilfully dissolved in rhyme and music seldom wounds anybody. His 'pen'-sketches of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah, Sardar Vallabhbhai, Pandit Nehru and others collected under the sections—"Deadlock Ditties" (From the Gallery) and "Clериheiw Gallery" are quite characteristic and appreciatively satirical.

THE FAR ASCENT : By V. N. Bhusan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3.

A collection of 32 poems comprising a wide range of subject-matters from "Diwali," "Spring" and "Rainbow" to "Ninth August, 1942," "The Goal" and "Defiance."

In the first poem Professor Bhusan hears what "Life's oracle speaks" to his poetic soul and in the next he finds "earthiness mould itself into Godliness." Thus, he touches life at various points in the darkened nooks, at the fire altar of faith and on life's high-ways, and looks through gleam and glow of Diwali, the rainbow of thoughts and dreams and over "tuneless spaces filled with the magic of song." And what he finds in the end? Divine radiance kindles his heart. Professor Bhusan's poems are ennobling.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

GENESIS (How we are born and how we grow) : By S. C. Verma, M.Sc., LL.B. Educational Publishing Co., Chārbagh, Lucknow, India. Available at 3B, Behar Road, Allahabad. First edition. 1949. Price Rs. 7-8.

This scientific treatise has been admirably and lucidly written by the learned author and it reads like a novel. Every man and woman, particularly our leaders should read it carefully and think over the problems given in the last few chapters. Every one will agree with the author that the maternity and the child welfare work should receive the proper attention and careful consideration of our National Government. It should try to follow the splendid examples, set up by Soviet Russia and America in these respects. Every one will be benefited if the author publishes Hindi, Bengali and Marathi versions of this valuable book as he proposes. There are a number of printing mistakes here and there and there is no bibliography of the references already alluded to. These should be rectified in the next edition.

R. M. DATTA

SRAMIKA DHARMA RAJYA : By Mandeswarar Sarma. Published by The Andhra Sramika Dharma Rajya Sabha. To be had of the author, Veeramandiram Kovvur, West Godavari District, Andhra.

The book contains three essays wherein the author has tried to interpret the approach of "The Andhra Sramika Dharma Rajya Sabha", an institution, whose aim and object is mass contact through service. In going to explain the ideals of "Sramika Dharma Rajya," the author says, "It is a Samanvaya of Sankara, Marx and Gandhi." He has made comparative study of Marxism and various systems of the Hindu philosophy and has tried to prove that though Marxian standpoint is materialistic, there are some fundamental points where it agrees with the spiritualistic outlook of ancient India, expounded by Sankaracharya and other Hindu philosophers. Though we fundamentally differ with the author, we cannot but praise his originality of thought, clear exposition and penetrating analysis which make the book worth reading.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

SANSKRIT

PRAKRITAPRAKASA OF VARARUCHI : Edited by Dr. Kunhan Raja and K. Ramachandra Sarma. The Adyar Library Series, No. 54. Price Rs. 4-4.

We have here a handsome edition of the well-known Prakrit grammar in Sanskrit of Vararuchi with the Sanskrit commentary of Ramapanivada, an eighteenth century Prakrit poet, one of whose poems published in this very series was noticed in these pages (June 1944). Three manuscripts were utilised for the preparation of the edition. The name of the commentator occurs only in the chapter colophons as found in one of the manuscripts and also in the colophon of the fifth chapter of another. It is signi-

ficant that none of the manuscripts include the last three chapters of the work dealing with the different varieties of Prakrit—Paisachi, Magadhi and Sauraseni. These however have been incorporated in the present edition along with the commentary of Bhamaha available on two of them. It will be noticed that the concluding portion of the present commentary refers to a few characteristic features of Paisachi which are found under Magadhi in one of the chapters not recognised by it. The introduction points out that 'there are differences in the wording of the *sutras*, in their order and number as between this edition and the editions with other commentaries' but these differences have not been properly noted or studied here. Manuscript variants have been recorded in an appendix. Description of the manuscript material is given in the introduction. A number of indices (e.g., indices of the *sutras*, of the Prakrit words given in the commentary as examples with the Sanskrit *chhayas*, and of passages cited as examples with references (to sources as far as could be traced) have been added to make the edition thoroughly useful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

ASHRAM-BHAJANABALI : Compiled by Narayan Moresvar Khare. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Sixteenth edition. February, 1960. Pp. 230. Price ten annas.

Gandhiji evolved a particular form of prayer, which was followed in the Asram at Sevagram and elsewhere every morning and evening. The elements of this form of prayer were gathered together from various religions and have therefore an importance of their own.

The present booklet is a compilation, not only of the prayer form evolved by Gandhiji, but also of most of his favourite hymns in various languages of India as well as in English. It should therefore prove helpful to those who are interested in the subject.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HAMARA BHOJAN KI SAMASYA : By Kaviraj Shri Agnideva Gupta. Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay 2. Pp. 102. Price Re. 1-12.

An original contribution on the "why and wherefore" of the properties of various kinds of food so that knowing these one may transmute what one eats not only into a factor leading to physical fitness but also mental keenness and spiritual serenity. Only if the book, which is based on our own ancient Sanskrit works as against the researches of modern West, (hence, its originality) had been written in a somewhat simpler style, it would have easily become every literate householder's *anna-gita*. The author, however, is entitled to sincere congratulations for his highly useful work.

1. **NAGINE** : By Sudarshan. Vora and Company, Publishers, Ltd., Bombay 2. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 3.

2. **JAYA-SANDHI** : By Jainendra Kumar. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 3.

3. **NAYAN-TARA** : By Shrinath Sinha. Didi Karyalaya, Allahabad. Pp. 162. Price Re. 1-8.

4. **MANOKAMNA** : By Rajendra S. Avtar. Published by Rajmahal Publications, Rajmahal, Amritsar. Pp. 297. Price not mentioned.

5. **BIR BALAK** : By Raghuvira Sharan "Man." Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Meerut. Pp. 63. Price Re. 1.

The first two are collections of short stories by two of the top-ranking story-writers. Sudarshan's *forte* is humanity, warm-hearted and winged. Jainendra Kumar's special virtue is his intellectual analysis of human beings and happenings in a highly-polished style. *Nayan-Tara*'s second edition is, perhaps, an index to its author's popularity as a writer of stories, one who sees as he writes and who writes as he sees,—a quality which is shared by the author of *Manokamna* which, however, is a novel of heart's desire with all its colourfulness. *Bir Balak* is a short play for children, written with a view to evoking patriotism in them, though anti-British "acerbity" in it need not have been made so vivid.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ABHISAR : By Prof. Mansukhlal M. Jhaveri, M.A. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay 2. 1947. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. Jhaveri has taken his place, now, in the front rank of verse-writers in Gujarat, and this collection of about 150 poems fully bears out his claim to be considered an admirable writer of verse from many points of view, emotional, descriptive, social, domestic, etc. His work is notably simple in language and expression.

GITA GURJARI : By Raseshacharya Shri Charan Tirtha Maharaj, of Gondal, Kathiawad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 56. Unpriced.

Rajvaidya Jivram K. Shastri before he took Sannyas and called himself Shri Charantirtha, had out of his large collection of Sanskrit, Prakrit and other MSS., referred to a Kashmiri manuscript of the Bhagvad Gita containing 745 *shlokas* in place of the 700 which current editions contain. He had commented on that while referring to it and explained why this MS. in his possession contains a larger number of *shlokas*. He has now translated this Gita into Gujarati verse, equivalent with the Sanskrit one. His translation is so simple, that it reads as if a narrative was being narrated. He is bringing out the original text also.

VISHWAJYOTI : By Mangaldas J. Gordhandas, B.A., LL.B., Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Published by N. H. Thakkar and Co., Bombay 2. With a Foreword by Kaka Kalelkar. 1947. Thick card-board. Artistically tri-coloured cover. Pages 36. Price Re. 1-8.

In 82 four-lined stanzas Mr. Mangaldas has packed to overful the life, preachings and propaganda of Gandhiji. Each line of the stanza reads like a Sutra, so wisely has he put each facet of the life and work of Gandhiji in it. It is an admirable performance. The following translation of stanza 74, for example, would give the reader some idea of the terseness along with the simplicity of the author's style :

"Some one says Gautam has come, some say Jesus. Some one says Thomas has come, some say Francis.

Kabir, Narsayyo say some, and some one says Murlidhar,

Gandhiji is the quintessence of every saint, on this earth." It would also be seen that Mr. Mangaldas' study is wide and so is his vocabulary.

K. M. J.

Miracle Man with Unrivalled Power

Everybody in this country is aware of the fact that India's unrivalled and greatest palmist, Tantric, Yog. vastly learned in the Astrology and Astronomy of the East and the West, gifted with super-natural power of predictions, permanent President of the Internationally famed Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares and All-India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta.



RAJ-JYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, Samudrikratna, Jyotish-shiromani, Raj Jyotishi, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Sahiba of Tripura State says:—"He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son." The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words." The Honourable Chief Justice Mr. B. K. Ray of Orissa High Court says:—"He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot, says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities have struck me with greatest astonishment." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keorjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my almost dead son." Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2723, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Mumi Etia, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas on several occasions", etc., etc. and many others.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Mysticism in Politics

Acharya J. B. Kripalani writes in *Vigil* :

The recent controversy between India and Pakistan is happily ended, but while it was going on we were more often than necessary treated to moral maxims from various, specially governmental, quarters. We were reminded that we must return good for evil. We were also told that our good conduct will produce psychological reaction on our opponents and convert them. This appeared to us as dismissing an inconvenient situation by quoting a moral maxim in the manner of ancients who thought that such maxims and fables contained the quintessence of wisdom. They had no suspicion that a proverb contained only half the truth which can be rebutted by a contrary epitome of wisdom. Let us analyse the generalisations on which our nation is being fed and lulled to sleep.

First, when our monitors say that we must return good for evil they forget that they have, by saying so, declared Pakistan to be evil. Now the question is not whether evil be returned by evil or good but should evil be resisted or should it be encouraged by non-resistance to produce desirable psychological results and conversion. When therefore our spokesmen ask us, "Should evil be returned by evil?" they ask a wrong question. Put that way, those who give an affirmative reply would be repudiating the moral law. The real question should be: "Must evil be resisted or allowed to have its way?" If the answer is, as in group life it should be, that it must be resisted, only then does the question of the means of resistance arise.

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE

We know that the mystic commandment is: "Judge not"; "Resist not evil"; "If anybody smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also"; "If anybody take away the coat let him have thy cloak also"; "Whosoever compel thee to walk a mile walk ye twain with him." Again the mystic repeats the words of the Lord: "Vengeance belongs to me; I will repay it." Apart from the question whether this morality can work in social as in the individual field, and apart from the question whether ordinary individuals can suddenly reach such high altitudes of morality and breathe normally, the question arises, have those who keep this morality before the nation practised it themselves in life and guided the nation to follow it in its internal and international policies?

We shall not discuss here the conduct of individuals, however important and high-placed. That may be left for the reader to judge for himself. We shall only deal with the public aspect of the question as it affects groups and nations.

As a group organised by a government we maintain a police force and a magistracy to keep internal peace. The magistrate judges and condemns people. The police he and the police inflict pains and

penalties upon people, of course with 'due process of law' as it is called. Not only are these punishments 'evil' but those on whom they are inflicted consider them so. Further, it is not the guilty alone who suffer these evils but even those who are not concerned with the original evil, that is, the members of their families. Sometimes by imprisonment or judicial murder an innocent family may be deprived of its bread winner and it is quite possible that the wife and the daughter as a consequence may be thrown in the clutches of vice and sons may be brought up in ignorance and crime. Society is so inter-related that with the guilty some innocent people also do suffer. That is the social law.

RETURNING GOOD FOR EVIL

Moreover by punishing criminals the psychological effect on them is diametrically opposite to what it would have been if evil had not been resisted. If the criminal were not punished but rather helped to get further advantage through indulging in what are called evil propensities, the psychological effect may be a conversion and the turning over a new leaf. The lives of saints and mystics furnish us with examples of such conversion. Victor Hugo's great novel, *Les Misérables*, is based upon such conversion of a thief. In the lives of Hindu saints and those of other religions examples of such conversion are often given. If the Indian police and magistracy were to provide facilities for all anti-social elements to indulge in their evil propensities, I wonder what will be the attitude of those who are today talking about the psychological effect of returning good for evil!

As a matter of fact, if not consciously then unconsciously, our authorities are trying this experiment in case of blackmarketeers. By imposing fresh controls the possibilities for the black-marketeer are increased. If we have sufficient faith and patience blackmarketeers will surely be reformed one day and rehabilitate themselves into future saints and Mahatmas of India! The pity of it is that no such instructions are being given to the police and the magistracy in this country. If black-market prospers it is due more to leniency and indifference than to the belief by our government in the mystical doctrine of doing good to public enemies. If doing good had been the motto of our government, the murderer of Gandhiji, whom Babu would certainly have forgiven, would not have been made to pay the extreme penalty of the law of the land, and this in spite of the mystical advice of those who follow in spirit the teachings of Babu.

HYDERABAD AND KASHMIR

Let us go further afield. The Indian Government in Junagadh and Hyderabad, instead of offering fresh victims from India to satisfy to surfeit the blood-lust of the communalists there and bring about their psychological conversion, coerced them through 'police action' into reason and decency. In Kashmere the raiders and the regulars of Pakistan who entered

the land with fire and sword were driven away with the sword. In so far as the action was not complete the Kashmere problem yet remains and it has been said in high quarters that therewith was linked what happened in E. Bengal. Kashmere action because of Pakistan's intervention, becomes international. So neither in the internal nor in the international field does our Government act upon the mystical plane. This however does not take away the validity of the proposition that evil cannot be cured by evil and that violence cannot be cured by violence. These propositions are there. They have a validity in the spiritual field where individuals act from the highest morality not caring for consequences. Rather they know that their non-resistance may involve martyrdom and they are ready for it.

CALL OF MARTYRDOM

Can nations go in for martyrdom? Yes, if the morality of non-violence and truth is to gain currency in the political and more specially the international field, some nations will have to make the sacrifice, as some individuals have to, for the establishment of the highest standard in morality. Is our Government making the experiment? Does their past conduct prove that they are making such a moral experiment? Who is to make this experiment? Manifestly the Government, through its highest executive or its head. We are told that the head alone is responsible for major decisions. Whoever may be responsible, can a decision for martyrdom be made by others than the would-be martyrs? Would not that make of them helpless victims of somebody else's moral or spiritual experiment? However, in a democracy if this delicate experiment of non-resistance to evil and returning good for ill is to be tried the decision must be taken not by the head of the state but the nation itself. Will a body of citizens, under the present circumstance, decide on a nation-wide act of martyrdom at the altar of the spiritual principle of non-resistance to evil? It is more than doubtful.

WAS GANDHIJI A RELIGIOUS MYSTIC?

Did Gandhiji's non-violence go so far? It is well known that he judged men and institutions and he resisted evil. True, his resistance was non-violent. But did non-violence inflict no evil on the neutral and the opponent? The families of Satyagrahis had to undergo great hardships. When he advised the boycott of British cloth he was accused by thoughtless persons whose conscience was more sensitive than his, of trying to starve the workers of Lancashire and their families. Did he plead guilty to the charge? England was draining India's wealth by her financial and trade policies. Did Gandhiji advise his countrymen to throw more money into the coffers of England by purchasing English goods in preference to Indian goods? These questions have to be put to prove the absurdity of the proposition, "judge not," "resist not evil," "do good to those that do evil to you," in group life, even though they may hold good in mystic philosophy and practice. From that point of view Gandhiji was not a religious mystic.

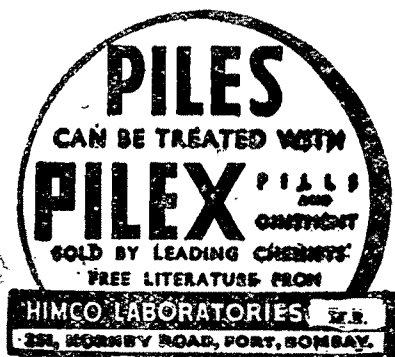
In many instances Gandhiji even applauded violent resistance to evil in preference to ignoble ease or submission. During the last war he said that China's resistance to Japan and Poland's to Germany, though they were violent, were very near to nonviolence. He did not depict lurid pictures of the horrors of war for the Chinese and the Poles to induce them to desist

from their effort of violent resistance. We have been told that armed action in Kashmere had Gandhiji's approval. It is therefore not only wrong but irrelevant to quote Gandhiji in our attitude to our opponents and enemies. When he denounced violence he also found an effective weapon of non-violent resistance. If he had not done this the nation would not and could not have followed him. He did not denounce violence in favour of ignoble ease or peace at any price.

GOVERNMENT'S DUTY

Situated as our Government or any Government is today, its motto can never be non-resistance to evil and doing good to its enemies or their conversion by these means. As modern Governments maintain a police force and an army they cannot talk even in terms of non-violent resistance. They can only rely upon their armed forces for redress of international wrongs. Their motto therefore at least should be 'Love thy friends and do justice to thy opponents and enemies.' For a modern Government to go beyond that would be to produce a mystical muddle and create confusion for the people. It may ultimately result in cowardice. All this, however, does not mean that peoples and governments have to rush to war on every conceivable occasion. It is their duty to try all peaceful methods before they think in terms of war. Our Cabinet did well to make a search for an honourable and peaceful solution of the problem as between India and Pakistan. However, our leaders need not have made incursions in the field of mystical philosophy or even idealist policies. These are not their strong points; nor must they quote Bapu in support of their policies. They understand best, like politicians elsewhere, empirical and opportunist politics. If they are wise in these (we hope they are) the nation need not demand more from them. Certainly, it does not expect or demand anything more exalted from them.

Pakistan too played the game as it suited its interest. It did not rush into war. But it did not justify its policies on mystic grounds of non-judging and returning good for evil. Frankly, at the time not war with India but peace served their best political and economic interests. I hope our politicians have not the arrogance to suppose that their supposed goodness had converted the heart of Pakistan's Premier and the people.



The New Decanted... serves :
 secularism come
 Prime Minister. His
 Congress spirit, his fierce
 in the Congress fold
 declarations. The
 of the Constitution
 communal prejudice is
 the Central Legislature,
 on the ill-defined limit
 with socio-religious reforms
 this undiluted secularism
 when decanted into
 administrative channels. Instances
 nepotism in nominations and of
 cal measures. What causes anxiety
 of the executive to spoil the
 of legislation. A case in point is a
 the Orissa Government which has
 '11 new backward castes' and which allows
 discrimination of grants in the following
 : "A person belonging to a Scheduled Tribe but
 professing tribal religion will not be treated as a
 member of the tribe but treated as a member of
 other backward classes.' He will not, however, be
 treated as a member of other backward classes if he
 is socially, educationally or economically attained a
 degree of advancement which, in the opinion of the
 Government, does not entitle him to any protection
 to which the backward classes are eligible under the
 constitution."

What the essentials of a tribal religion are, what degree of 'hinduization' disqualifies a form of worship from being tribal, what chance of religion cuts off from tribal life (unbelief is never supposed to do so) all such matters are entrusted to the mercy of the secular executive, in spite of the letter and spirit of the secular legislative. In the name of equality, one would have expected that all members of a backward class who have advanced socially, educationally or economically, would have been treated alike, whether they have kept or given up a tribal or non-tribal religion. The general purport of the Orissa circular amounts to penalising the backward people who have progressed owing to their initiative or to private assistance. It ignores the psychological elation a backward class or tribe draws from the promotion of one of theirs to a university or to a high post. To recondition a backward class or give a tribe civic buoyancy, a High Court Judge, a University professor, a Magistrate is a much more potent factor than scores of postal peons or police constables. But in Orissa, the humble folks are allowed a neatly measured advance, never enough to rival higher classes and castes, and

there is no hope of any special help for promising lads who have progressed beyond the tribal standard.

MENTAL CONFUSION

Vagaries in the jungles and swamps of Orissa do not alter the Constitution of Bharat or weaken the stand taken by Pandit Nehru and the Central Government. What is more intriguing is the assurance of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan when making a parallel appeal to Pakistan's constitutional enactments. He boldly asserts that complete equality is guaranteed to all in the Objectives Resolution voted by the Pakistani Constituent Assembly. Whoever has read the text can only gape with amazement at Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's serenity.

The 'Objectives Resolution' appeals to the 'principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice enunciated by Islam', so that one would have expected that according to Islamic enunciation and tradition there would be three classes of citizens : Muslims, peoples of the Book, and infidels. The Resolution, however, mentions only two classes : 'The Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna,' and 'adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religion and develop their cultures.' In a speech introducing the Resolution, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan explained : 'The state shall seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions . . . All sects will be given the fullest latitude and freedom . . . It will be necessary for the state to direct and guide the activities of Muslims in such a manner as to bring a new social order based on the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice.' The speech visualized a dual society and a dual policy : a Muslim class positively helped by the state policy of Islamization, a non-Muslim class tolerated by the Islamic policy of respecting minorities and their cultures.

It would be idle to seek out cases of nepotism and communalism in nominations, but it is strictly relevant to enquire what provisions have been made by the Pakistani Government for admitting the minorities in public services and armed forces. How will the provinces implement the belated instructions of the Central Government on education (a provision subject) and when will they cease their attempts to enforce Quranic prayers on Christian children in Christian schools? If the religious freedom of a harmless community as the Pakistanis are, is endangered in official circulars and administrative measures, what hope is there for the Pakistan? Pakistan's Prime Minister is a man with remarkable volubility, but he is a little out of sounds Double-Dutch.



AMRUTANJAL

I Meet the Maharshi

Sri Ramana Maharshi, the sage of Arunachala, passed away at the Ashram at Tiruvannamalai on the 14th April at the age of 71. In his *A Writer's Notebook*, the well-known author W. Somerset Maugham gives this vivid picture of Sri Ramana Maharshi and his healing presence. The quotation is taken from *The Indian Review* :

He was of average height for an Indian, of a dark honey colour, with close-cropped white hair and close-cropped white beard. He was not stout, but plump. Though he wore nothing but a white loin cloth he looked neat, very clean and almost dapper. He walked slowly, leaning on a stick, and he had a slight limp. His mouth was somewhat large, with thickish lips, and his eyes were neither so big nor so lustrous as are the eyes of most Indians ; the whites were bloodshot. He bore himself with simplicity and at the same time with dignity. He was cheerful, smiling, polite ; he did not give me the impression of a scholar, but rather of a sweet-natured peasant. He came into the room in which I was lying down on a pallet bed, followed by two or three disciples, and after a few words of cordial greeting seated himself. I was not very well, having fainted a little time before, and he sat close to me. It was because he had been told that I was not well enough to go to the hall in which he ordinarily sat that he came to the little room into which I had been carried.

After the first few moments he ceased to look at me and with a sidelong stare of a peculiar fixity gazed as it were over my shoulder. His body was absolutely still, but one of his feet tapped now and then a little on the floor. He remained thus for perhaps a quarter of an hour, and they told me afterwards that he was concentrating in meditation on me. Then he broke off and asked me whether I wished to say anything to him or to ask him any questions. I was feeling weak and ill and said so, whereupon he smiled and said : "Silence also is conversation." He turned his head away again slightly and resumed his concentrated meditation, looking as it were over my shoulder. He remained like this for perhaps another quarter of an hour, no one saying a word, the other persons in the room with their eyes riveted on him, and then got up, smiled a farewell, and slowly, leaning on his stick, followed by his disciples, limped out of the

room. I was wondering whether it was the result of the rest of the day's meditation, but I felt very much better, and went into the hall where he sits every night. It is a long bare room with a low ceiling, and about half as broad. There is a small table and a low dais on which he sits. There is a small brazier in the middle of the room. He was agreeable to my sitting on the floor. He sat on the floor.

another little inclination of the head that they were to withdraw themselves again and went away faithfully. Then the yogi gave me a little shiver as he was there, and I tipped my head.

I heard later that there were fantastic rumours. They were only to various parts of America. It was ascribed to the holy man. Others overcame me at the prospect of the holy man. Others on me before ever I saw him. I was rapt for several minutes. I asked about it I was convinced. In point of fact, I was not the last time I have fainted due to an irritability of the sensory diaphragm against my pressure will continue a little unwell for a few minutes and more till one regains consciousness.

The Basis of Social O

Prabuddha Bharata writes

Two main theories of society—the spiritual—have been adhered to by different social groups at different times. The *Chandogya Upanisad* makes mention of distinctly disparate bases of individuality through the story of Indra and his demoniac followers (*asura*) for the sensory values of this world, the Self with the physical body, the Godless and purely materialistic civilization insatiable in its pursuit of power and aggressive beyond measure. The gods, on the contrary, did not regard corporeal and ephemeral view of their inquiry still further till they reached imperishable reality. They meditated on the Self, and, as a result, all the values came to their hands. Therefore, they assure us that 'any one else who learns from his teacher and realizes It, and all the values.' It is clear from the teachings that each individual as which he formed a part were expending their energies and endeavours to the realization of the Self by subordinating of life to the higher spiritual goal.

The failure to harmonize the individual and universal social group-interests and world peace is the cause of much unnecessary and the life of people. The antagonism between individualism and socialism is one of degeneration. The call of socialism has the past its general appeal lies in its sympathy and in its struggle against social classes consisting of the upper ten per cent every form of special privilege, a miseries of their own less fortunate excellent institution of the Hindu

Those who passionately
social solidarity of the
to their dismay, the wind
by narrow caste prejudices,
to the extent of untouchability,
of the poorer members of society.
ir opponents have not been slow
it of these glaring but regrettable
hindu society. The individualistic
broadened, and the wrong notions
a caste or class should be eradicated
understanding of the verities of
istic outlook should cease to look
producers or consumers, or as
social and economic factors

struggle inevitable in
high ideal? If individual
from man to man, yet
as to minimize the clash
for the establishment of
perfection? Love thy
not a platitude uttered in
ignizing inevitable differences
y proclaims that all men are
divine basis. But this divinity

has to be manifested before we can claim equality.
The mystics and seers who had realized the oneness
of all existence made no difference whatsoever between
man and man on grounds of caste, creed, or nationality.
A forced equality or a violent fight for rights or
privileges can only end in perpetuating mutual hatred
and disharmony. Good men need not necessarily belong
to the higher caste. The true spirit of progress does
not decry or deny the heritage of the past, but fulfils
its promises. Progress is organic and not discontinuous,
and no complete break with the past is ever called for.
Morality or humanism cannot be the ultimate goal
of society, for there can be no lasting solution on the
moral level which is variable from group to group.
Perfection is in the spirit which is beyond all dualities.
The fundamental problem of human relationships is
often lost sight of in the welter of political and
economic conflicts. If it is possible to form a society
wherein the knowledge and poise of the Brahmin, the
valour and culture of the Kshatriya, and the distri-
butive and adventurous spirit of the Vaishya, and the
ideal equality and hardihood of the labourer are all
kept intact, it will be an ideal social organization. In
the achievement of this, who will lead the way but
India?

*What's your trouble mister?
if it's...*

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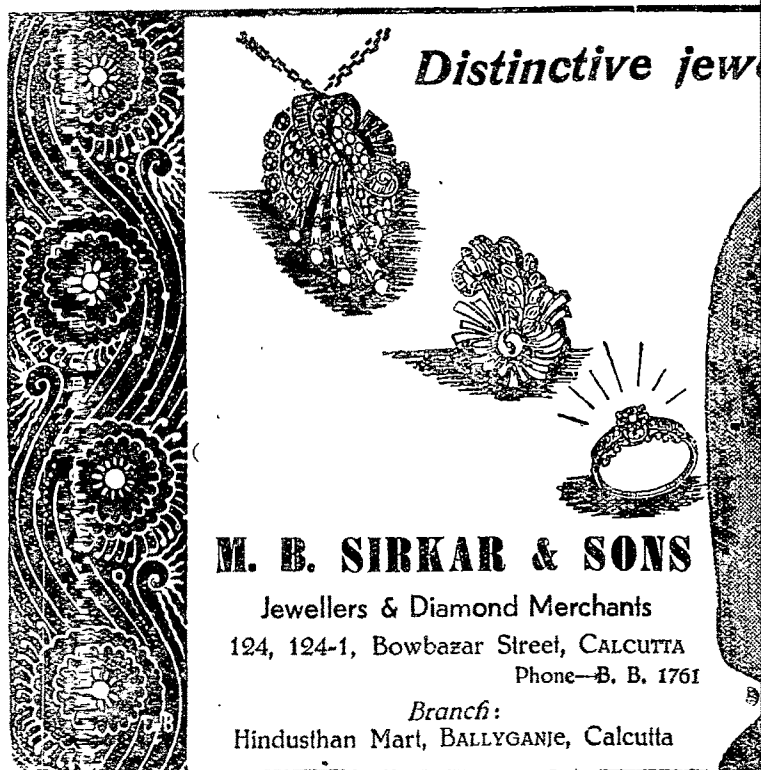




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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Partition and Punjabi Poetry

Michael Overman thus writes in *The Over of Trinidad*:

While spending a week with a Bengali friend in Dehra I was working on the English translation of a Punjabi. My Bengali friend asked me what I was doing and I told him he at once censured me for wasting my time on so-called Punjabi poetry. "There is no Punjabi literature," he said, "so you're foolish to waste time on so-called Punjabi poetry."

I promptly suggested reading to him the lines I had most completed; when he had heard them he looked me squarely in the face and said most sincerely: "I am surprised! There are really stirring." That there is no Punjabi literature is a popular misconception among non-Punjabis due largely to the fact that few people of other provinces have ever taken the trouble to study the Punjabi language and partly because over half the Punjabi speaking peoples—I refer to the Muslims—like to deny the existence of a written Punjabi language. Those that do take the trouble find, at once, that there is a very fine, if small, literature on the language of the land of the Five Rivers.

While there has been much fine Punjabi prose written during the past 10-15 years, the recent poetry of the Punjab has probably been read and loved considerably more. Punjabi poetry has always been a perfect mirror of life in the province and this aspect of it has by no means suffered by the strong tendency of the last decade to put away the older classical forms and create a new modern poetry of the Punjab. Even Professor Mohan Singh, a water craftsman in the art, had begun to make use of modern forms and progressive ideas during the war years. Though he is a poet strongly influenced by the old classical poetry of his province and became famous mainly as a *Save Patra* are the most famous. Amrita Pritam, who started writing at the early age of sixteen is almost entirely a product of the progressive movement. Her poetry has been mostly in the modern style and its great virtue lies in its sweet simplicity and beauty of the imagery displayed in it. Writing mostly nature and life Amrita Pritam excelled herself at expressing profound thoughts in the simplest of language, producing such gems as this short verse:

Children and poetry,
Two pillars of happiness on earth.
That, ere they see the light of day,
Must cause the pain of birth.

Piara Singh Sahrai was another of the progressive Punjabi poets of war years who impressed me considerably. His favourite product was the lyrical love poem; and he succeeded so well in this field because he was a cripple believed from an early age that he would never be able to bestow the love in his heart on woman—so he poured it forth in his poetry instead. Of course there were other Punjabi poets writing fine poetry during the last decade but I cannot discuss them here though perhaps the great popularity of Amrita Pritam's *Awara* poetry should be mentioned. Amrita Pritam's speciality has always been the modern outlook, though she has always been in a strictly classical style.

It was only natural that the partition of the Punjab should leave as deep a mark on Punjabi literature as it did on every other aspect of life. Even before the actual partition, Piara Singh Sahrai, moved by the gravity of the rioting that had begun, and yet seeing in it the culmination of the freedom movement that was to end British rule, had been moved to write beyond his more usual sphere of love, and in July 1947 produced a poem which, rather ironically, was full of optimism and which proved to be one of the finest he has ever penned. He called it 'Nawen Domel,' or 'New Horizons,' and it ran something like this:

The spirit of song is trembling,
Life's harp strings have been crushed,
Civilization has foundered in blood,
Culture is submerged in gore.
Eyes that were possessed by dreams,
Have become destitute,
The glow of smiles on happy lips,
Has lost its brilliance.
Yesterday the land throbbed with joy;
It was filled with dreams.
Its grief-laden breast
Is seen today lightless.
The feet of the dance of life are stumbling.
Life's song is being cut short;
The eyes of age-old love
Have suddenly closed.
Mankind is weeping;
His limbs are continually aching;
A starless night
Is spreading over life.
But eyes, glancing up
Are piercing the chaste darkness;
The first light of dawn is breaking;
World-embracing rose-tints are appearing
Forces that have slumbered for centuries
Are opening their eyes.
The darkness is shrinking in firm.
The night is growing infirm.
The earth's sons have awakened,
Revealing the unseen new world,
Dissolving the time-worn scene,
Creating new horizons.
Partition practically silenced Dr. Mohan Singh was not until April 1948 that the first part of a long, vivid picture of the emotions that partition had brought forth in the mind of a great intellectual. The poem headed simply "Punjab di War." It began with Mohan Singh's own vision of the cataclysm in the flames flashing across from one to the next and wider and wider afield as the water flowed land.

It was the beginning of a long poem that might become a great classic of the age. But Dr. Mohan Singh has been strangely silent though still brooding over the terrible past. The hopes that the future always holds. About the same time as the publication of "Punjab di War," S. Gur Bakshi wrote editorially of Amrita Pritam in his *Lari*:

"Amrita Pritam saw with her own eyes
but had their clothes stripped from their backs."

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JUNE 1947

...aded naked through the city; she saw them dis-
honoured in the crowded streets and she watched knives
being plunged into people she had known and loved; she
saw innocent children and helpless old women murdered
in cold blood. Seeing these sights Amrita Pritam's breast
became horribly wounded, but out of the wounds flowed
not blood, but poetry."

Here is my impression in English of the poem that
S. Gur Bakhsh Singh was referring to:
Today I call to Waris Shah:
Give us today a new chapter of your love lay.
A daughter of the Punjab was weeping; you wrote
her sad story;
Now thousands weep together calling to you, O Waris
Shah.

Rise up, friend of cheerless hearts; rise and see your
Punjab;
Its meadows are strewn with corpses; the Chenab is
filled with blood.
Someone mingled poison with the waters of our Five
Rivers.

And then used them to irrigate the land.
The venom germinated quickly in our fertile earth;
Hatred sprung from every clod; anger sprouted every-
where.
The canker-laden air blew through the forests,
Turning each road, each uncarved flute, into a deadly
snake.

First their charmers were stung; the magic notes
were lost;
Then they attacked again, stinging the people.
The contagion spread to every mouth; and sting
followed sting;
The Punjab was poisoned; her limbs became swollen
black.

Love songs were choked in singers' throats; the thread
was snapped from the spinning wheel;
Spinner girls were separated, their charkas' whirr cut
dead.
Ludan sank the pleasure boats with their silken
cushions;
The pipal trees have dropped the swings that hung
from their branches.
There, where the love songs used to echo, the flutes
have been lost;

All Ranjha's Punjabi brothers have forgotten how to
play them.
Blood has drenched the land, seeping into the graves
below;
Our departed princesses of love lie sobbing today in
their coffins.
Today all men have turned Kaidons, pirates of beauty
and love;
Where can we find, from where bring, another Waris
Shah?
I call to Waris Shah: please speak from your
tomb;
us today with a new chapter of your classic
ay.

...has been acclaimed all over the Punjabs,
West, as one of the finest examples of
the holocaust of the
ion. What is more it is a lovely example
gives us hope in the troubled world of
like all artists, are bound together in a
hood across the world. In India they
analysts. They are not Hindus, nor Mus-

...they are just artists.
Amrita Pritam, who, with her own eyes
one of the unbelievable horrors of un-
...was able to address her verses

to a great Muslim Punjab
Dr. Mohan Singh was able
yet so neutrally of the trag-
"Punjab di War." And that
Sahrai was able to see, in the
was beginning and threatenin-
future in a new age beyond the
The effect that the partition
poets I have mentioned was con-
three, but to almost every poet in the unhappy
In all cases the progress of their usual poetical
came to an abrupt halt, producing, after a p-
quiescence, work that, while mirroring the horro-
had known, was among the best they had ever crea-
student of history to conceive just how grave wa-
Punjabi poetry during the decade before, during and-
the days that followed partition, will find strong-
convincing evidence that unprecedented happenings
place.
Even today, almost two years after the actual re-
the Punjab poets are showing very little sign
back to their old poetic ways. One wonders i-
will.

Industrial Labor in India

The dramatic rise of India to its position as
the world's greatest industrial nations naturally
has been accompanied by the formation of a large
of men and women whose factory and mechanical oc-
tations give them a personality that differs sharply from
peasant of old India.

Industrial labor in India today can be divided roug-
into three sorts. Four millions work along lines co-
parable to the industrial Occident. Of these work-
about half a million work in mines, one million on railw-
ships, other transport. The remaining two and a
million in this "modern industrial" class work in the
of set-up Americans think of as factories — either
fifty or more working together without machinery, or
ten persons or more with the aid of power-driven ma-
using power but employing fewer than ten workers. I
there is a large number engaged in decentralized "a-
trial" work on the old-fashioned cottage level, witho-
aid of power-driven machinery. The total for all
categories is between 25 and 30 million people. Thi-
not include tens of millions more who are primari-
mers but do some simple form of craft work beside
as cigarette or rope making or pottery and spinnin-

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